AN

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. I.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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LIBRARY

To his GRACE

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

THE Nature and Deſign of this Work may, in ſome Degree, atone for the Liberty we take in prefixing to it the immortal Name of MARLBOROUGH. For whoſe Protection ſhould we court in publiſhing an *Univerſal Hiſtory*, wherein are diſplayed the Atchievements of all the Heroes of former Ages, if not your GRACE's, who are Grandſon to the greateſt Hero of our Age? Whoever impartially peruſes the following Hiſtory, and compares the ſo much exalted Heroes of Antiquity with the late Duke of *Marlborough*, will find, that their mighty Acts now ſerve but as Foils to ſet off his more glorious Enterpriſes and Succeſſes. Moſt of thoſe great Conquerors were, we may ſay, but licenſed Thieves, Subverters of States and Empires, Plunderers of the Subſtance, and Enemies to the Rights, of Mankind; whereas the generous Duke of *Marlborough* drew his Sword in the noble Cauſe of Liberty, againſt the ambitious Attempts of a powerful and inſulting Nation, defeated its beſt-concerted Meaſures, and delivered not *Britain* only, but all *Europe*, from impending Slavery.

NOR have Arms alone reflected an extraordinary Luſtre on Your GRACE's Family; Letters too have greatly contributed to its Splendor. The Earl of *Sunderland* Your Father, altho' engaged in the moſt arduous Scenes of publick Life, hath enriched this Nation with a Monument of his Love and Value for the liberal Arts, which other Nations may well envy, but few can equal. No Wonder then, that Your GRACE, in whom the eminent Prerogatives of two ſuch illuſtrious Families have centred, ſhould be ſo much the Darling of this happy Nation. But it is not the Luſtre alone, which is derived on You from Your noble Progenitors, that entitles You to the Love and Eſteem of Mankind. The Excellency of Your own Virtues heightens the Glory which You received by Inheritance: Among the many good Qualities, which we might here take occaſion to celebrate, without riſquing the uſual Cenſure incurred by Dedicators, we ſhall only ſingle out that truly noble and generous Spirit, which is ſo becoming Perſons of Your

eminent

eminent Station. Providence ſeems to have put Wealth in Your Hands merely that You might deſpiſe it, and ſhew by Your Example in theſe Times of Corruption, that the Value of Gold is to be meaſured only by the Opportunities it gives of exerting Good Nature. That Greatneſs of Mind, which You happily join to Greatneſs of Fortune, will make the Duke of *Marlborough* live, when mean Men, of the ſame Rank, are, in ſpite of their Treaſures ſo carefully hoarded up, buried in Oblivion. The Humanity of Your Temper, Your obliging Affability and Condeſcenſion, might be a noble and juſt Subject of Panegyric: But it is not our Intent here to enter into a Detail of Your GRACE's Virtues and Perfections. We are too conſcious of our own Inabilities to attempt it. We ſhall therefore only add, that if Your GRACE's Patronage can recommend this our Performance, to all who love and honour the Duke of *Marlborough*, its Reception will be Univerſal. What we lay before You has been hitherto kindly received by the Public, both at Home and Abroad; which, we hope, will in ſome meaſure excuſe the Liberty we take in ſuing for Your GRACE's Protection. To have intirely depended on Your Good Nature, without any kind of Merit in the Work itſelf, would have been unpardonable.

BUT we have already treſpaſſed too much upon Your GRACE's Patience; wherefore we ſhall only beg leave to aſſure You, that our greateſt Ambition is, that this Addreſs, and the following Hiſtory, be acceptable to Your GRACE, and that we may be allowed the Honour of Subſcribing ourſelves,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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THE

PREFACE.

HISTORY is, without all doubt, the moſt inſtructive and uſeful, as well as entertaining, Part of Literature; more eſpecially, when it is not confined within the narrow Bounds of any particular Time or Place, but extends to the Tranſactions of all Times and Nations. Works of this Nature carry our Knowledge, as *Tully* obſerves, beyond the vaſt and devouring Space of numberleſs Years, triumph over Time, and make us, though living at an immenſe Diſtance, in a manner Eye-witneſſes to all the Events and Revolutions, which have occaſioned aſtoniſhing Changes in the World. By theſe Records it is that we live, as it were, in the very Time when the World was created; we behold how it was governed in its Infancy, how over-flowed and deſtroyed in a Deluge of Water, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have riſen, flouriſhed, and declined, and by what Steps they brought upon themſelves their final Ruin and Deſtruction. From theſe and other like Events occurring in Hiſtory, every judicious Reader may form prudent and unerring Rules for the Conduct of his Life, both in a private and publick Capacity. But, as the eminent Advantages accruing to us from this valuable Branch of Learning have been ſufficiently diſplayed by many others, we ſhall not trouble our Readers with a minute Detail of them, but haſten to what is peculiar to the Work, which we now offer to the Publick.

WE promiſed in our firſt Number to prefix to this Volume, when it was compleated, a Preface, wherein, after ſome Account of the Method we have obſerved, and the Authors we have chiefly followed in the Work, we ſhould examine the different Computations of Time, the Coins, Weights, and Meaſures uſed by the ſeveral Nations whoſe Hiſtories ſhould be therein delivered, with ſuch other Particulars as we ſhould judge uſeful and neceſſary. This Promiſe is what we now intend to diſcharge, and to begin with a ſuccinct Account of the Method we have purſued.

OUR Intent was to write a General Hiſtory of Mankind, from the earlieſt Account of Time to the preſent. Purſuant to this Deſign, before we enter upon the Hiſtory itſelf, we have thought it neceſſary to premiſe, by way of Introduction, an Account of the Coſmogony, or Production of the Earth, as being the Theatre on which the Scenes of the enſuing Hiſtory were to be acted. In this preludious Diſcourſe, after having related, without omitting any thing that was really curious or entertaining, the various Opinions both of the antient and modern Philoſophers, concerning the Formation of the animate and inanimate World, we proceed to the only authentick and genuine Hiſtory of the Creation, that which has been left us by *Moſes*. The Opinions of the Philoſophers are, for the moſt part, abſurd, incoherent, and contradictory; whereas the *Moſaick* Account, if rightly underſtood, carries with it all

the Marks of Truth and Probability, even though it be regarded only as a ~~human Compoſition, abſtracted from divine Authority.~~ Having attended the Earth through its ſeveral Degrees of Formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with Trees and Plants, repleniſhed with Animals, and at laſt Man, for whom the Whole was deſigned, and to whom the Dominion of it was expreſly given by its Maker, introduced and placed in it; we take ſome Notice of the Opinion of thoſe who think Mankind were in being before *Adam*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the Progenitor of the *Jews* only; we touch upon ſeveral Enquiries that have been made concerning the Time and Seaſon of the Creation, the Place where *Adam* was created, *&c.* and cloſe the Introduction with ſome Account of the Creation of the Angels, of the Nature, Power, Employments, *&c.* of thoſe Spiritual Beings, that ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the Affairs of Mankind, at leaſt in the firſt Ages of the World. The Introduction, we hope, will not be thought of a diſproportionable Length; ſo copious a Subject, as the Origin of the World and Mankind, could not be well reduced into a narrower Compaſs. If there ſhould be ſome little Obſcurities or Inconſiſtencies, where we have delivered or explained the Opinions of the old Philoſophers, we need not ſay much to excuſe ourſelves to thoſe who know in what Uncertainty and Confuſion the Hiſtory of thoſe Philoſophers and their Opinions have been left by the Antients.

FROM the Coſmogony, or Formation of the Earth and Things that were made for the Uſe of Man, we proceed to the General Hiſtory of the World till the Flood, but premiſe ſeveral curious Enquiries touching the Situation of the Garden of *Eden*, the State of Innocence and its Continuance, the two Trees, the Prohibition laid on the firſt Pair, the Tempter and his Puniſhment, the Fall of Man, and the Effects it had on human Nature, and on the Earth, with the different Opinions touching the manner in which the Change in the Conſtitution of Man and of the Earth was effected. The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge is what we likewiſe thought neceſſary to ſettle, before we entered upon the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian World. As *Moſes* hath not ſet down the particular Time of any Tranſaction before the Flood, except only the Years of the Patriarchs, all we can do in this Period is to determine that Point, which might have eaſily been done, were there no Varieties in the ſeveral Copies we now have of *Moſes*'s Writings. But as the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and *Greek* Verſion of the *Septuagint*, vary very much from one another, and ſome Writers prefer one Copy and ſome another, we have exhibited theſe Varieties in ſeveral Chronological Tables of the Years of the Patriarchs, adding to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, the Numbers of the Years of the Patriarchs, as delivered by *Joſephus*, and corrected by Dr. *Wills* and Mr. *Whiſton*, the Numbers in the preſent Copies of that Hiſtorian being greatly corrupted. Having thus ſtated the Chronology before the Flood, we deliver the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, as tranſmitted to us in the Writings of *Moſes*, which are the only to be depended upon in thoſe early Times. However, we have thought it not amiſs to collect the moſt material Pieces of Hiſtory to be found in profane Authors, relating to the Times preceding the Flood; among which though there be ſome which bear apparent Marks of Truth, yet we believe the greater Part will be judged to deſerve little Credit: However, as every thing, which has the leaſt Pretence to ſo great Antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our Labour in collecting them will not be condemned as uſeleſs.

FROM the Hiſtory of the Antediluvian World, we paſs to that of the Flood, where we produce profane Teſtimonies of that wonderful Cataſtrophe, relate various Conjectures of antient and modern Writers, as to the Manner in which that

that dreadful Devaſtation was brought on the Earth, give ſome Account of the Ark, whereby *Noah* and his Family, with ſuch Kinds of living Creatures as he took in with him, were delivered from this Deſtruction; and laſtly, before we diſmiſs the Hiſtory of the old World, take a tranſient View of the Antediluvian State of Mankind, of their Religion, Policy, Arts, and Sciences, of the Alterations which have been wrought in Nature by the Flood, of the Longevity of the Antediluvians, and the Cauſes of it, as well as of the prodigious Fertility of the firſt Earth. To theſe we add an Enquiry touching the Situation of Mount *Ararat*, and the various Opinions about it.

HAVING thus collected, in the beſt manner we could, what we have found worth Notice, from Writers of various Times, Religions, and Countries, relating to the Antediluvian World, we proceed to the General Hiſtory from the Deluge to the Birth of *Abraham*; but firſt ſettle the Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of *Abraham* from *Haran*. This is one of the moſt difficult Periods to ſettle in all Chronology, not only becauſe we have no Aſſiſtance therein from profane Hiſtory, but alſo on Account of the great Diverſity between the ſeveral *Moſaick* Writings. However, it is no ſmall Satisfaction, that the great Differences between the ſeveral Copies end here, and that, being once got below the Birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain Series of Time, about which Chronologers do more generally agree; the Variety of the Copies making a Difference of but a few Years, not of ſeveral Ages, as we find before this Period: For the better exhibiting of which we have inſerted Chronological Tables of the Years of the Poſtdiluvian Patriarchs to the Call of *Abraham*, according to the Computation of the *Hebrew*, of the *Septuagint*, and of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. Having ſtated the Chronology, we come to the Hiſtory of *Noah* after the Flood, and of his Deſcendants to *Abraham*, preſenting the Reader with whatever we find curious or entertaining, not only in ſacred, but profane, Writers, namely, in the ſmall Remains which are left us of the *Phœnician* Antiquities collected by *Sanchoniatho*, and which are ſuppoſed to relate to the earlieſt Times. As the planting of Nations in the two firſt general Migrations, the forming of Societies and Governments, the Riſe of Arts and Sciences, the Beginning of States and Monarchies, fall within this Period, we give the Reader as diſtinct an Account of theſe important Facts, as the Records which have reached us will allow of.

FROM the general Hiſtory of the Migrations of the Children of *Noah*, of the peopling of the Earth by them, and the ſettling of the firſt Governments, we deſcend to the particular Hiſtories of each Kingdom; beginning with that of *Egypt*, which is without doubt one of the moſt antient Nations of the World, having been peopled either by *Ham*, or his Son *Mizraim*, with his own Iſſue, which inhabited ſeveral Parts of it, under the Names of *Mizraim*, *Pathruſim*, *Caſluhim*, and *Caphthorim*. This Hiſtory we purſue from the firſt Original of the *Egyptian* Nation to its Conqueſt by the *Perſians*, when the ſevere Prediction of the Prophet [a] was fulfilled, *There ſhall be no more a Prince in the Land of Egypt*. And here to acquaint the Reader, in a few Words, with the Method we have followed in delivering the particular Hiſtories of each Nation; we begin with accounting, in the beſt Manner we can, for the Name or Names which each Nation bears; then we proceed to a Deſcription of the Country, containing an Account of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Diviſions, Fertility; of its animal and vegetable Productions, of the natural and artificial Curioſities it contains; of its Cities, Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, and whatever elſe worthy of Notice is to be found in each Province.

[a] Ezek. xxx. 13.

Next we inquire into the Original and Antiquity of the Inhabitants, conſider their Laws, Government, Religion, Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, Language, Commerce, Learning, Trade, Navigation, and alſo endeavour, as far as ſo intricate a Subject will allow, to ſettle the Chronology of each Nation. Laſtly, we deliver the Series and Hiſtory of their Kings, which comprizes the Wars, Treaties, Revolutions, and all the moſt remarkable Events of each Country. Thus we may ſay, without Vanity or Oſtentation, that no Hiſtory has hitherto appeared in any Language, which can with more Juſtice challenge the Title of an Univerſal Hiſtory than the preſent, ſince it comprizes not only the Hiſtory of all Nations and Countries, but of all Religions and religious Ceremonies, of all Arts and Sciences, of the Laws that have been any where obſerved, of Trade, and Navigation, and, in ſhort, of whatever has been invented for the Uſe and Convenience of human Race. But to return to the Sequel of our Hiſtory:

AFTER delivering the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Egypt*, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, we thought it might be deemed an Omiſſion, if we ſhould take no Notice of the Series of the *Egyptian* Kings given us by the Oriental Writers. Wherefore we have ſet down their Names, and briefly mention their principal Actions, as related by the Eaſtern Hiſtorians, leaving the Reader to judge what Credit ought to be given them.

NEXT to the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* we give that of thoſe Nations, with whom the Children of *Iſrael* waged War before, or upon, their ſettling in the Land of *Canaan*, namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philiſtines*. From theſe we proceed to the Hiſtory of the antient *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and that of the *Jews*, from *Abraham*, Founder of the *Jewiſh* Nation, to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. We have enlarged ſomewhat on the latter, giving a diſtinct Account of their Patriarchs from *Abraham* to *Moſes*, of their *Egyptian* Bondage, Deliverance, and 40 Years wandering in the Wilderneſs; of their Wars with the Inhabitants of *Canaan* and the neighbouring Nations; of their Religion, Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, Learning, Arts, Commerce, with an accurate Deſcription of the Land of Promiſe, *&c.* We have alſo ſettled the *Jewiſh* Chronology, from the Call of *Abraham* to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and then proceeded, firſt to the Hiſtory of the Judges that governed *Iſrael*, from the Death of *Joſhua* to *Saul* their firſt King, and thence to the Reign of *Zedekiah*, when the City of *Jeruſalem* was burnt, and the whole Nation carried into Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Having thus delivered the Hiſtories of the moſt antient Kingdoms, till they were ſeverally ſubdued by the great Empires, and became Parts or Provinces of them, we enter upon the Hiſtory of the ſaid Empires, and cloſe this Volume with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to its Conqueſt by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and of the *Babylonian* Empire to its Deſtruction by *Cyrus*.

Now to ſay ſomething of the Authors we have chiefly followed in the Work, for we have advanced nothing without quoting our Authors, that the Reader may, for his fuller Satisfaction, recur, if he pleaſes, to the Originals; *Moſes* is the only authentick Writer of what happened before, and for ſeveral Ages after, the Flood. He is by univerſal Conſent allowed to be the moſt antient Hiſtorian now extant; for, whether he was contemporary with *Inachus*, as *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Julius Africanus*, *Joſephus*, *Tatian*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Porphyrius*, and others ſuppoſe, or lived in the Time of *Cecrops*, the firſt King of *Athens*, as *Euſebius* affirms, it is certain, that his Hiſtory was compoſed, not only before all the Hiſtories, but even before the Fables, of the *Greeks*; ſince, according to the Calculation of the former, he wrote 675 Years before the *Trojan* War, and according to that of the latter

275 Years before that Æra. His Hiſtory as well as the *Jewiſh* Laws, whereof he was Author, are comprized in five Books, known under the Title of the *Pentateuch*, which is univerſally received both by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinoſa* among the former, and ſome modern Criticks among the latter, if their avowed Principles can permit us to call them Chriſtians, who denied him to be Author of it, and who have been learnedly confuted by a late Writer [b]. Beſides the *Pentateuch*, there have been ſome other Works aſcribed to *Moſes*, though without any Certainty, ſuch as the Book of *Job*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been compoſed by him, during his 40 Years Abode in *Midian*, and have this Argument on their Side, that it appears to have been written before the Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* from the *Egyptian* Bondage; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either *Job* or his Friends, conſidering what Kindred and Country they were of, could be ſo ignorant of the Wonders which God had wrought in Favour of that oppreſſed People, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt Terms, during their long and intricate Controverſy about the various Diſpenſations of Providence. *Moſes* is alſo ſuppoſed to have wrote eleven Pſalms, *viz.* the 90th, 91ſt, and ſo on to the 100th. *Origen* [c]. believes him to have tranſlated the Book of *Job* out of the *Syriack* into *Hebrew*. Some few Fragments of other Books are likewiſe quoted by ſeveral of the Ancients as wrote by him; ſuch as, 1. his *Apocalypſe*, out of which St. *Paul* is by them ſuppoſed to have taken thoſe Words, *For in Chriſt Jeſus neither Circumciſion availeth any thing* [d]. &c. 2. his *Leſſer Geneſis*; 3. his *Aſcenſion*; 4. *Aſſumption*; 5. his *Teſtament*, and *miſterious Books*. St. *Jerom*, who quotes a Paſſage or two out of his *Leſſer Geneſis*, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his Time [e]. The *Sethites*, an antient Sect of Hereticks, quoted his *Teſtament* and his *Myſterious Books* or *Diſcourſes*; but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any Authority in the Church, that they fell into Contempt and Oblivion, in Proportion as Chriſtianity prevailed.

THOUGH the Writings of *Moſes* be the only Records to be depended upon in the early Times, yet we have not omitted to give ſome further Accounts, relating to the ſame Period, tranſmitted to us by profane Writers, namely by *Sanchoniatho*, *Manetho*, and *Beroſus*. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Tyrian* according to *Athenæus* and *Suidas*, according to others of *Berytus*, is ſaid by *Porphyry* the Philoſopher [f], *Euſebius* [g], and *Theodoretus* [h], to have lived about the Time of the *Trojan* War: whence *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and others ſuppoſe him to have been contemporary with *Gideon*. But theſe Writers are certainly miſtaken in their Chronology, and *Sanchoniatho* muſt be of a much later Date, ſince he ſpeaks of *Tyre*, which was built but 91 Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, as a very antient City. He muſt therefore have lived, as *Suidas* thinks, ſome conſiderable Time after that War, but the Number of Years we cannot preciſely determine. If what is ſaid of *Sanchoniatho* be true, *viz.* that he dedicated his Book to *Abibal* King of *Tyre*, who was *Hiram*'s Father, and *Solomon*'s Ally, he muſt have been Contemporary with *David*, who did not begin his Reign till ſeveral Years after the *Trojan* War. He compiled the *Phœnician* Hiſtory, according to *Porphyry*, from the antient Monuments and Memoirs which were imparted to him by one *Hierombalus* a Prieſt, whom *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and ſome others take to be *Gideon*, he being in the Book of *Judges* ſometimes named *Jerobaal*. But this Conjecture is refuted by others [i]. He is ſaid to have likewiſe made uſe of the Regiſters of the Cities of *Phœnice*,

[b] Abbadie. Verit. de la Relig. Chriſtien. [c] Origen, in Job. [d] Gal. vi. 15. [e] Epiſt. 127. ad Fabiol. [f] Lib. 4. adverſus Chriſtian. [g] Lib. 1. Præparat. Evangel. [h] Lib. 2. de curat. Græcar. affect. p. 28. [i] Vandalen. Diſſer. de Sanchoniath.

which he found lodged in the Temples, and to have carefully ſought out, as *Philo Biblius* informs us, the Writings of *Taaut*, knowing him to have been the firſt Inventor of Letters, and the ſame whom the *Egyptians* call *Thoth*, the *Greeks Hermes*, and the *Latins Mercury*. He wrote alſo the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, and another Book of the Coſmogony and Theogony of the *Phœnicians*. Theſe Works were tranſlated out of the *Phœnician* into the *Greek* Tongue by *Philo Biblius*, a famous Grammarian, who lived in the Reigns of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*. *Philo* digeſted them into nine Books, though *Porphyry* mentions but eight, perhaps not counting, as *Bochart* conjectures, his Coſmogony and Theogony. He begins his Hiſtory with the Origin of the World, and of Mankind: but, his Work being apparently written with a Deſign to apologize for Idolatry, inſtead of deducing the Hiſtory, as *Moſes* hath done, from *Adam* in the Line of *Seth*, the Worſhippers of the true God, he has, according to the Hypotheſis of Biſhop *Cumberland*, given us that of the idolatrous Line of *Cain*, that the Religion which this Author, or thoſe he tranſcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder Branch, a Circumſtance which, they might think, gave it no ſmall Luſtre and Reputation. In the few Fragments of his Works that are remaining, we might be juſtly ſurprized to find not ſo much as the leaſt Mention of the Deluge, did we not conſider that Deſtruction was a Judgment on the idolatrous World, with which the Profeſſors of the true Religion probably reproached the Heathens, and which the latter were therefore deſirous to conceal, and to bury, if poſſible, the very Memory of ſo extraordinary a Monument of Divine Vengeance and their own Shame. Biſhop *Cumberland*, ſuſpecting, with a great deal of Reaſon, the *Phœnician* Records, where they deliver the Pedigree of *Cain*'s Line, to have been corrupted, propoſes an Amendment of them; for which we refer the Reader to that learned Prelate's Book on *Sanchoniatho*, or to Page 133, Note C of the preſent Hiſtory. We muſt not forget to acquaint the Reader, that ſome Writers have, upon very ſlight Grounds, endeavoured to prove all that has been ſaid of *Sanchoniatho* to be an arrant Fable; and the Work, which goes under his Name, as well as the Name itſelf, to have been forged by *Philo Biblius*, in Oppoſition to the Books which *Joſephus* had wrote not long before againſt *Apion*. But their Arguments are ſo frivolous, that they ſcarce deſerve an Anſwer.

MANETHO, an *Egyptian* by Birth, High-Prieſt and Keeper of the ſacred Records of that Nation, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whoſe Order he undertook the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, tranſlating out of the *Egyptian* Language, into the *Greek*, the ſacred Regiſters that were committed to his Care. This Work he divided into three Parts, whereof the Firſt contained the Hiſtory of the Gods; the Second that of the Demi-gods; and the Third the Dynaſties, which ended in *Nectanebus*, the laſt King of *Egypt*, who was driven out by *Ochus* in the 107th Olympiad, a few Years before the Conqueſt of *Perſia* by *Alexander*. Beſides his Hiſtory of *Egypt*, he wrote ſeveral other Books, *viz.* one of *the Theology of the* Egyptians, commonly ſtiled *the holy Book*; one of *the antient and religious Ceremonies of the* Egyptians, called by *Porphyry*, *the Book of Antiquity and Piety*; one of *Phyſick*; and one *concerning the Manner of preparing Incenſe to be uſed by the* Egyptian *Prieſts*: The two latter Books are aſcribed by *Suidas* to another *Manetho*, by Birth a *Mendeſian*; but his Authority in Matters of this Nature is little to be depended upon. He likewiſe wrote ſix Books in Verſe on *the Influence and Power of the Stars*, which he dedicated to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This Piece is ſtill extant, and was publiſhed in the Original *Greek*, with a *Latin* Explanation and Notes by *Gronovius* in 1698, from the only Manuſcript that was remaining

remaining, and lodged in the *Medicean* Library at *Florence*. To this *Work* *Paulinus Nolanus* alludes in the following Verſes:

Nunc tria miremur texentem fata Platonem,
Aut Arati *numeros, aut picta* Manæthonis *aſtra.*

He publiſhed alſo a Book *of the Jews*, which *Joſephus* refutes in his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, as filled with fabulous Accounts. Of all his Works, except his Aſtronomy, there are now but a few Fragments remaining in *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*. The Credit of this Author has been called in queſtion by ſeveral Writers, not only on account of the incredible Antiquity to which his Hiſtory is ſuppoſed to have aſcended, but from the Account which, it is ſaid, he himſelf gave of the Records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain Pillars in the *Syriadic* Land, on which Inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred Dialect and Letters by *Thoth*, the firſt *Hermes*, and were tranſlated, after the Flood, out of the ſacred Dialect into *Greek*, and laid up by *Agathodæmon*, the Son of the ſecond *Hermes*, the Father of *Tat*, in the inner Receſſes of the *Egyptian* Temples. Now it is impoſſible, that the firſt *Hermes*, who lived in the earlieſt Years of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, could write a Hiſtory of ſo many Generations, which came into the World after his Death; and if *Manetho* could aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the Credit of his whole Work. But we do not think that Writer could mean any ſuch thing; the Words cited from him do not ſay, he took his whole Hiſtory from thoſe Pillars; though he might probably quote thoſe Records to ſupport the ancient Hiſtory, which preceded the Time of *Thoth*; and ſuch Pillars, or at leaſt ſome Pillars of great Antiquity, and by the Prieſts attributed to *Thoth*, muſt have been extant in the Days of *Manetho*, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo public a Manner, eſpecially in writing to his Prince. The ſtronger Prejudice againſt the Credit of this Writer, ariſes from his Chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive Antiquity, and to have certain Records for a prodigious Length of Time paſt. This appears not only from the old *Egyptian* Chronicle, but from the extravagant Numbers of Years their Prieſts impoſed upon *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus*; but *Manetho* ſeems to have been much more modeſt, though the Sum of his 32 Dynaſties, from *Menes* to fifteen Years before *Alexander*, (without taking the Reigns of the Gods and Demigods into the Account) if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 Years, which will reach higher than the Creation of the World; and *Joſeph Scaliger* has accordingly ſettled their Chronology in ſuch manner, that, by his own Way of reckoning, it exceeds the Epoch of the Creation 1336 Years. After *Cambyſes* had carried away the *Egyptian* Records, the Prieſts, in all Probability, to ſupply their Loſs, and keep up their Pretences to Antiquity, began to write new Records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great Miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own Invention, eſpecially as to diſtant Times. From theſe Materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting his Hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a good deal of Fable, as there is indeed in the Antiquities of all Nations; ſince it cannot be expected, that People could have begun to keep Records till ſome Ages after their Settlement. It is unjuſt therefore to lay the whole Blame of the Confuſion and Uncertainty, we find in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, at the Door of *Manetho*: He collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the Records he had, and we have ſo little genuine Remains of him, and what we have has been ſo mangled by Tranſcribers and Pretenders to correct him, that they ſcarcely bear any Reſemblance of that antient and venerable Hiſtorian. Several antient Writers of good Judgment,

as *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, *Euſebius*, and *Joſephus*, looked upon him as a Writer, whoſe Authority was to be depended on; and the curious Fragment tranſcribed from him by *Joſephus*, before his Copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good Opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentic Piece of *Egyptian* Hiſtory, of ſo great Antiquity, that is extant, and the Series of Kings, which we have thence exhibited *p.* 234, is a pretty exact one, connecting the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Hiſtories, by acquainting us, that *Sethoſis* was *Ægyptus*, and his Brother *Armais Danaus*.

BEROSUS, by Birth a *Chaldean*, flouriſhed under *Antiochus Soter*, or his Son *Antiochus Theos*, and not in the Time of *Moſes*, as ſome, groſsly miſtaken, have imagined. For he dedicated his Work to *Antiochus*, the third King after *Alexander*, as *Tatian* informs us, that is, to *Antiochus Theos*; *Alexander* was ſucceeded by *Seleucus Nicanor*; *Seleucus Nicanor* by *Antiochus Soter*; and he by his Son *Antiochus Theos*. He tells us himſelf in his firſt Book of the Hiſtory of *Babylon*, that he was born during the Minority of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote in Three Books the *Chaldean* and *Babyloniſh* Hiſtory, which took in that alſo of the *Medes*. *Pliny* tells us [a], that his Hiſtory contains the Events of 480 Years. But of that Work we have now remaining only ſome few Fragments, quoted by *Joſephus* in his Books againſt *Apion*, and by *Alexander Polihiſtor*; for the *Beroſus*, publiſhed by *Annius* of *Viterbo*, is, without all Doubt, a ſpurious Piece. *Joſephus* ſays, that he agreed with *Moſes* in his Accounts of the Deluge, the Fall of Man, the Ark, in which the Reſtorer of Mankind was ſaved; and adds, that he mentions the Deſcendants of *Noah*, and their reſpective Ages, to *Nabulaſſar*, King of *Babylon*; and that, relating the Actions of that Prince, he ſpeaks of the taking and burning of *Jeruſalem* by his Son *Nebuchadonoſor*; on which Occaſion, ſays he, the *Jews* were carried Captives to *Babylon*; whence enſued the Deſolation of that City for 70 Years, till the Reign of *Cyrus*. He is quoted by *Pliny*, *Tatian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Vitruvius*, and *Euſebius*, which ſhews him to have been a Writer of good Authority. In the Series he gives us of the ten Kings, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned at *Babylon* before the Flood, there are ſome ſmall Variations in the Authors, who have tranſcribed that Hiſtorian, which has induced us to exhibit them to the Reader's View, *pag.* 90 of the preſent Hiſtory. As theſe ten Succeſſions exactly anſwer the ten Generations from the Creation to the Flood, the firſt King, by Name *Alorus*, has been ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Adam*, as *Xiſuthrus*, the laſt in the Series, plainly appears to be *Noah*. The Reader will find his Account of the *Chaldean* and *Babylonian* Coſmogony, *p.* 14, and the Subſtance of the few Fragments that are ſtill remaining, and relate to the earlieſt Times, *p.* 90.

To *Beroſus* we may add *Abydenus*, who flouriſhed ſome Time after him, and, in many Things, follows him. *Abydenus* wrote the Hiſtory of the *Chaldean* Empire, whereof there are but a few Fragments remaining in *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Syncellus*. In one of theſe Fragments he gives the Names and Reigns of the ten firſt Kings of *Chaldea*, copied with ſome ſmall Variation from *Beroſus*, as the Reader may ſee, *p.* 99. In another he ſpeaks of the Tower of *Babel*, and the Confuſion of Languages, agreeable to the Account we have in Holy Writ. Theſe Fragments *Scaliger* has illuſtrated with learned Notes in his Book, *De emendatione temporum*. Some confound this *Abydenus* with *Palæphatus*, called alſo *Abydenus*, from the City of *Abydus*, the Place of his Birth. *Palæphatus* was contemporary with *Alexander*, a favourite Diſciple of *Ariſtotle*'s, and wrote the Hiſtories of *Cyprus*, *Delos*, and *Arabia*.

[a] Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 55.

ERATOSTHENES

ERATOSTHENES the *Cyrenæan* was a Man of eminent Learning, Keeper of the famous Library of *Alexandria*, and greatly in favour with *Ptolemy Euergetes*, by whoſe Order he wrote the Hiſtory of the *Theban* Kings of *Egypt*, the Catalogue of which has met with a very favourable Reception among the Learned, not only as a Supplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that Succeſſion, but as a certain Foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* Chronology. His Authority has been by ſeveral Writers preferred to that of *Manetho*, in regard he was not an *Egyptian*, and took his Liſt from the ſacred Records of *Thebes*, or had it from the ſacred Scribes there. He has given, together with the *Egyptian* Names of the Kings, their Interpretation in *Greek*, which the ſkilled in the *Coptic* Tongue allow to be juſt in ſome Inſtances; but ſeveral of them are corrupted and unintelligible. This Author wrote a great Number of Books, whereof the Catalogue may be ſeen in *Fabricius*, *Galens*, *Voſſius*, &c. but the only Piece, now remaining entire, is his Deſcription and fabulous Account of the Stars. He ſtarved himſelf thro' Grief for the Dimneſs of his Sight in the 10th or 12th Year of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 196 Years before Chriſt.

In the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, beſides *Manetho*, we have chiefly followed *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*. *Herodotus*, or, as others call him, *Erodotus*, is the moſt antient Writer among the *Greeks*, whoſe Works have reached us. There is no Room left to doubt of the Place of his Birth, he himſelf having inſerted, at the Beginning of his Hiſtory, both his Name and Country: *This is*, ſays he, *the Book of* Herodotus *of* Halicarnaſſus. He was alſo ſurnamed the *Thurian*, having accompanied a Colony, which was ſent from *Athens*, to ſettle at *Thurium*, a City of *Magna Græcia* on the *Tarentin* Gulf. This happened the third Year of the 83d Olympiad, during the Archonſhip of *Callimachus*. Here, if we believe *Pliny*[1], he wrote his Hiſtory, being then forty Years old, in the firſt Year of the 84th Olympiad, 310 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, and 444 before Chriſt. Before he began his Hiſtory, he travelled all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Egypt*, to enquire into the Origin, Traditions, and Records of the Nations he was to write of. His main Deſign was to write the Wars of the *Perſians* againſt the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Cyrus* to that of *Xerxes*; but he extended it to the Hiſtory of other Nations, namely, of the *Lydians*, *Egyptians*, and *Scythians*. This Hiſtory he divided into nine Books, giving to each of them the Name of one of the nine Muſes; wherein he has ſince been followed by *Cephalion*, *Bion* the Rhetorician, and *P. Aurelius Opilius*; tho' ſome are of Opinion, that his Books were not by himſelf diſtinguiſhed with thoſe Titles, but by the Admirers of his Performance. He recited his Hiſtory, as *Lucian* informs us, on the publick Theatre at *Olympia* to a crowded Auditory of the chief Men of all *Greece*, met to celebrate the Olympic Games, and was more admired even than thoſe who carried the Prizes. *Euſebius* ſays, that this happened, not at *Olympia*, but at *Athens*, on the Feſtival of the *Panathenæa*. On this Occaſion it was that *Thucydides*, tho' then eighty Years old, was ſo touched with Emulation, that he reſolved to undertake the writing of an Hiſtory, and ſtrive to equal or excel *Herodotus*. The Hiſtory of *Herodotus* has been propoſed by *Tully*, *Hortenſius*, *Quintilian*, and all the beſt Judges of Antiquity, as a Pattern to all Hiſtorians. As for the Truth of his Accounts, we muſt own, that it has been called in queſtion by Men of no mean Character. *Cteſias* doubts the Truth of what he writes concerning the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*; but we ſhall prove hereafter this Hiſtorian leſs worthy of Credit than *Herodotus*. *Manetho* cenſures him, for advancing many Fal-

[1] Lib. 12. c. 4.

ſities, with regard to the *Egyptian* Hiſtory; which Charge is not quite groundleſs, ſince he himſelf owns, that what he relates to have happened before the Reign of *Pſammitichus*, and on the Credit of others, is far from certain. But none ever attacked with more Virulency, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, the Credit of *Herodotus*, than *Plutarch*, whoſe Judgment would be of great Weight, had he not himſelf declared, that the Reputation of his Country had engaged him in the Diſpute. *Herodotus* relates, that, in the Expedition of *Xerxes*, the *Thebans*, to conſult their own Safety, abandoned the Common Cauſe, and joined the *Perſians*. Tho' this was Matter of Fact, and *Demoſthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch*, who was a Native of *Chæronæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear the baſe Behaviour of his Countrymen to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, but vented his Reſentment againſt the Publiſher of their Cowardice in a Book wrote for that Purpoſe, and entituled, *Of the Malignity of* Herodotus. But his Exceptions are either trifling, or turn upon Facts, which *Herodotus* himſelf delivers as doubtful. Beſides, he betrays throughout the whole Work a great deal of Paſſion, Prejudice, and Ill-nature. On the other ſide, all *Greece*, by their ſolemn Approbation, gave an ample Teſtimony of his Veracity, at a Time when moſt of the Tranſactions, which he deſcribes, were very well known. In his whole Work there appears an Air of Sincerity, which even his Enemies have been forced to acknowledge: He examines the Truth of the Facts which he relates, and for the moſt part acquaints his Readers with what others have ſaid on the ſame Subject. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us, that he copied them from others, and declares which he believes, and which he ſuſpects, adding, *as it is ſaid*; *as I have been told*; *this does not at all ſeem probable*; *thoſe, who feign ſuch Stories, relate*, &c. He often repeats, that what he relates ought not be depended on, any further than it appears probable; that the Character of an Hiſtorian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that the Readers are not bound to believe whatever he has been told. As to the *Lydian* Hiſtory, which ſome look upon as fabulous, it cannot be denied, but that he was acquainted with the Tranſactions of that Nation, which bordered on the *Aſiatic Greek* Cities, in one of which *Herodotus* was born, not above 60 Years after the Deſtruction of the *Lydian* Empire. He ſeems very ſincere in his *Egyptian* Hiſtory; for he ingenuouſly owns, that all he relates before the Reign of *Pſammitichus* is uncertain, and that he reports the early Tranſactions of that Nation on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, on which he did not much depend. His Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* does not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologiſts have followed; but moſt of the Antients have preferred *Herodotus* to all others. In his Hiſtory of *Perſia* he differs in many Particulars from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*; but we muſt obſerve with *Tully*, that the *Cyropædia* is rather an inſtructive Piece, than an Hiſtory. The Chronology of *Herodotus* is far from being exact, eſpecially with relation to the *Egyptian* Affairs, extravagant Numbers of Years having been impoſed upon him, as well as upon *Diodorus* and *Plato*, by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, who piqued themſelves mightily on the Antiquity of their Nation. *Herodotus* wrote other Books beſides the Hiſtory now extant; for *Ariſtotle*[m] finds fault with him for ſaying that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh*, whereas no Bird with hooked Talons, as that Philoſopher affirms, ever drinks. This Paſſage is not to be found in his Works now extant, which has made ſome Authors imagine, that *Ariſtotle* quoted it from the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*, which, in two Places of his firſt

[m] Lib. 8. de Anima. c. 18.

Book,

Book, he promiſed to write. But, if he had ever publiſhed it, we can ſcarcely believe, that none of the Antients would have ſo much as mentioned it. It is more likely, that his preſent Hiſtory was more complete in *Ariſtotle*'s Time, than it is now; or even that *Ariſtotle* thro' Miſtake quoted *Herodotus* inſtead of ſome other Author, whereof we have Inſtances in other antient Writers. Some aſcribe to *Herodotus* the Life of *Homer*, which in moſt Editions is annexed to his Hiſtory; but the Diverſity of Stile, and the Diſagreement between *Herodotus* and the Author of that Piece, plainly evince theſe two Works to have been penned by different Hands. We refer the Reader for further particulars concerning *Herodotus*, to *Henry Stephens*, *Joachimus Camerarius*, and *Montfaucon* in his Book on *Judith*.

Diodorus Siculus was born at *Argyrium*, or *Agyrium*, a Town of *Sicily*, and thence called *Siculus*, or *the Sicilian*. He flouriſhed under *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and began his Hiſtory after the Death of the former, as he himſelf informs us [n]. He travelled with no ſmall Danger over great Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and all *Egypt*, to acquaint himſelf with the Geography of the Places, as well as the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Inhabitants. He wrote a General Hiſtory from the earlieſt Times to the 180th Olympiad, that is, to *Cæſar*'s War with the *Gauls*. This Hiſtory he intituled the *Bibliotheque* or *Library*, having copied his Accounts from the Writers of different Nations, who flouriſhed before. In his Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, and *Rhodians*, he follows *Herodotus*, *Cteſias*, *Beroſus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Philiſtus*, *Calliſthenes*, *Theopompus Chius*, &c. in what relates to the *Macedonians*, he depends on *Cardianus* and *Marſias*; in his Hiſtory of *Crete* he quotes *Epimenides*, *Dorſiadas*, *Soſicrates*, and *Laoſthenides*: Of the forty Books of his Hiſtory, fifteen only are now remaining, *viz.* the five firſt, the eleventh, and the following to the twentieth. The four firſt Books comprehend the Theology and Hiſtories, preceding the *Trojan* War, of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indians*, *Scythians*, *Arabians*, *Ethiopians*, *Africans*, and *Greeks*. This Part is interwoven with many Fables, which however were believed by thoſe Nations, whoſe Hiſtories he writes. In the 5th Book he gives an Account of the Origin and Antiquities of the greater Iſlands. The five following Books contained the Antiquities of all the Eaſtern Nations, the Origins of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the moſt remarkable Tranſactions that happened in any Part of the World, from the taking of *Troy* to the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*. The 11th Book begins with the Expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and ends in the Year which preceded the Expedition of the *Athenians* into *Cyprus* under the Conduct of *Cimon*. The five following Books continue the Hiſtory of all Nations to the Time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe Exploits are related in the 16th, as thoſe of his Son *Alexander* in the 17th, and of his Succeſſors to the Death of *Antigonus* in the three next. In the other twenty Books our Author purſued the Hiſtory of all Nations, from the Death of *Antigonus*, which happened in the 119th Olympiad, to *Cæſar*'s War with the *Gauls*, that is, to the 180th Olympiad. The 11th Book and the following were written in the Nature of Annals, with the Names of the *Athenian Archons* and *Roman* Conſuls to each Year. But *Diodorus* is not ſo exact in his Computations, with regard to the *Roman* Affairs, as could be wiſhed; for he places the Beginning of *Xerxes*'s War in the firſt Year of the 75th Olympiad, which, according to him, concurred with the Conſulſhip of *Spurius Caſſius* and *Proclus Virginius Tricoſtus*; but theſe had been Conſuls ſix Years before, and thoſe of that

[n] Lib. 5. p. 208.

Year were *Cæſo Fabius* the ſecond time, and *Spurius Furius Fuſus*; a Miſtake which is continued thro' the whole Sequel of his Annals. In the Affairs of *Egypt* he was likewiſe greatly impoſed upon, as to the Numbers of Years, by the *Egyptian* Prieſts.

In the Hiſtory of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, &c. we chiefly follow the Scripture and *Joſephus*, from whom however we diſſent, when he takes the Liberty, as he frequently does, to diſſent from holy Writ. *Joſephus* wrote his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* War and Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* firſt in *Hebrew*, or, as ſome ſay [o], in *Syro-Chaldaic*, for the Uſe of his own Nation, and afterwards tranſlated it into *Greek* about the ſeventh Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, to whom he dedicated it. This Work was, by the Emperor's Order, placed in the publick Library at *Rome*, and the Author, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* inform us [p], diſtinguiſhed with a Statue, an Honour conferred upon very few. Beſides his Hiſtory he wrote twenty Books of the *Jewiſh* Antiquities, which he dedicated to *Epaphroditus* his great Patron. In theſe Books he gives us the Hiſtory of the *Jews* from their firſt Origin to the 12th Year of *Nero*, when they began to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. This Work, as *Joſephus* himſelf informs us, was compleated in the 13th Year of *Domitian*, that is, in the 93d of *Chriſt*. In his Chronology he often diſagrees both with the *Septuagint*, and the Writers of other Nations; nay, he is frequently inconſiſtent with himſelf, which we may impute to the Careleſneſs and Ignorance of his Tranſcribers, ſeeing there appears ſuch a Diſagreement between the antient Manuſcripts of the ten laſt Books of his Antiquities and the printed Copies, that ſome have imagined [q] him to have left two different ones. The Veracity of this Writer, eſpecially in the Books of his Antiquities, has been often call'd in queſtion; and truly, his Accounts ſometimes not only vary from holy Writ, but are diametrically oppoſite to what we read in the Hiſtory of *Moſes* and the Prophets, and this after having ſolemnly proteſted, that his Deſign was to add nothing of his own, but faithfully to tranſcribe, without the leaſt Alteration, what he found in the ſacred Records of his Nation. He wrote alſo two Books againſt *Apion*, who, in the third and fourth Books of his *Egyptian* Hiſtory, had defamed and traduced the *Jews*. In this Work he ſhews himſelf converſant not only in the Hiſtory of his own, but of all other Nations, and to have peruſed, as St. *Jerom* expreſſes it [r], all the Libraries of the *Greeks*. This Book likewiſe *Joſephus* dedicated to *Epaphroditus*, whence it is manifeſt, that it was publiſhed before the 95th Year of *Chriſt*, for in that Year *Epaphroditus* was, by Order of *Domitian*, put to Death. Beſides his Hiſtory and Antiquities, he wrote the Hiſtory of his own Life; and, according to ſome, a Diſcourſe on the Empire of Reaſon, in Commendation of the ſeven *Machabees*; a Book alſo againſt the *Greeks*, namely againſt *Plato*, is aſcribed to him; but it is uncertain, whether he was the Author of the two latter, ſome affirming, ſome denying, him to have wrote them.

In our Hiſtory of the antient *Syrians*, we have had always before our Eyes the Books of the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Prophets, and have left *Joſephus* and the profane Hiſtorians, where they ſeem to contradict holy Writ, but at the ſame time acquainting the Reader in our Notes with their various Opinions, and the Reaſons that are alledged to ſupport them. The Hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* we have taken chiefly from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Juſtin*, *Curtius*, *Pauſanias*, *Appian*, *Oroſius*, *Plutarch*, and from *Dius*, *Menander*,

[o] Sam. Baſnagius, Exercit. in Baronium. [p] Euſeb. l. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. & Hieron. c. 13. catalog. [q] Emericus Bigot. epiſtolæ Reineſii ad Boſium, p. 381. [r] Epiſt. 84. ad Mag. Orator.

and

and *Philoſtrates*, as quoted by *Joſephus*. *Dius* and *Menander* wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, and are both commended by *Joſephus* as very exact in their Accounts, having compiled their Hiſtories from the antient Records that were lodged in the Temples. *Dius* was by Birth a *Phœnician*, and *Menander* an *Epheſian*; the Accounts of both perfectly agreed, as *Joſephus* often repeats, with Scripture. Beſides the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, *Menander* wrote the Life of *Ithobal* King of *Tyre*, wherein he mentioned the Drought that happened in *Ahab*'s Reign. *Philoſtrates* likewiſe wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*, and, as *Joſephus* informs us, gave an exact Account of the Siege of *Tyre*.

THE Account we give of the *Phœnician* Kings, from the antient fabulous Hiſtory of the *Greeks*, is chiefly extracted from *Apollodorus*. This Writer was by Birth an *Athenian*, by Profeſſion a Grammarian, Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus* the Grammarian, and *Panætius* a *Rhodian* Philoſopher, who lived in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. He wrote his Hiſtory, which he intituled *the Bibliotheque of the Gods*, in the Reign of *Attalus Philadelphus*, King of *Pergamus*, who died in the third Year of the 160th *Olympiad*, that is, 138 Years before *Chriſt*. Of this Work there are now but three Books remaining, tho' there is no doubt but it contained ſeveral others; for *Macrobius* quotes the 14th, *Hermolaus* the 16th; and *Photius* tells us, that *Sopater* the Sophiſt, handling the ſame Subject, copied ſeveral Paſſages out of this Work, from the firſt to the 24th Book. This Piece, in *Scaliger*'s Opinion, is a very judicious Performance, and tho' moſtly fabulous, yet ſuch as may give us ſome Inſight into antient Hiſtory, the Fables being founded on hiſtorical Truth, and the Perſons ſuch as have exiſted, tho' their Actions be exaggerated or diſguiſed. The ſame Author adds, that we may extract from *Apollodorus* a more certain and better grounded Chronology, than from the Rhapſodies of *Beroaldus*; and *Voſſius* is of Opinion, that, by ſeparating the fabulous Stories from real Events, we may form from his Writings a true Hiſtory. He begins with *Inachus*, who is believed to have founded the Kingdom of the *Argivi*, in *Abraham*'s Time, and brings his Hiſtory down to the Time of *Theſeus* Prince of *Athens*. The Books that are loſt reached to the 1040th Year after the *Trojan* War, or to the 258th Olympiad.

IN the Hiſtory of the *Jews* we have followed the Scripture and *Joſephus*, where he agrees with the Sacred Hiſtory, not neglecting to acquaint the Reader in our Notes with the Traditions of the Rabbies.

THE Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Babylonians* we have likewiſe delivered agreeable to what we have found in Scripture relating thereto. We have rejected as an arrant Fable the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory of *Cteſias*; but as it has been, we may ſay, from all Antiquity admitted into the Body of Hiſtory, we ſhall here give ſome Account of that Writer. *Cteſias* was a Native of *Cnidos*, and accompanied *Cyrus* in his Expedition againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, on which Occaſion he was taken Priſoner; but, having cured *Artaxerxes* of a Wound he received in the Battle, he became a great Favourite at the Court of *Perſia*, where he continued practiſing Phyſic for the Space of 17 Years. Thus far *Diodorus Siculus*. *Photius* likewiſe informs us, that he flouriſhed in the Time of *Cyrus*, the Son of *Darius* and Brother of *Artaxerxes*, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom of *Perſia*. *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the great Men of *Cnidos*, mentions *Cteſias*, who, ſays he, cured *Artaxerxes*; and *Xenophon*, who was his Contemporary, tells us, that *Cteſias* of *Cnidos* was a Phyſician, and, being taken Priſoner, dreſſed the Wound, which *Artaxerxes* received in the Engagement. He was employed, as he himſelf witneſſes, by *Artaxerxes* in Negotiations with the King of *Salamis*, with *Conon*, and the *Lacedemonian* Embaſſadors; which ſhews what Credit he was in at the Court of that Prince. *Cteſias* wrote the Hiſtory of *Perſia* in 23 Books, whereof

whereof the firſt Six contain the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, the other Seventeen the whole Hiſtory of *Perſia*, from *Cyrus* to the Author's Death. He alſo wrote the Hiſtory of the *Indies*. But theſe Works are loſt, and all we have remaining of them is an Abridgment compiled by *Photius*, which is alſo imperfect, he having omitted the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*. However, we have that Hiſtory too abridged in *Diodorus*, and the Names of the Kings, which *Diodorus* left out, carefully ſet down by *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*. *Cteſias* has always been looked upon, by the moſt judicious among the Antients, as a fabulous Writer. *Ariſtotle*, who was almoſt his Contemporary, declares him a Writer unworthy of Credit. *Antigonus Cariſtius*, who lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ſays, that he frequently lyes, and relates what is altogether incredible. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, calls him a vain Man, and a notorious Lyar. *Lucian* charges him with relating in his *Indica* what he had never ſeen or heard; and truly, whoever peruſes that Work, muſt immediately conclude him to have been a Man of no Sort of Sincerity. His Hiſtory of *Aſſyria* is moſt evidently calculated to aſtoniſh, amaze, and to ſtrain Credulity beyond all poſſible Bounds. His Liſt of the *Aſſyrian* Kings ſeems to be a groſs Forgery, it being a Medley of *Greek*, *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, and other Names. Again, in all long Liſts of Kings the ſame Names, or ſome bearing a near Reſemblance to them, are obſerved often to recur. But the Names in *Cteſias* are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of Forgery; the Length of the Reigns may be urged as another Argument againſt him; except it be anſwered, that in thoſe very early Days, ſo nearly bordering on the Times of the Deluge, ſuch Length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no Anſwer at all; for at leaſt three fourths of them muſt have lived, when the Life of Man was reduced to its preſent Standard. But yet, ſeveral of the antient Hiſtorians, and, what is more ſurprizing, of the modern *Chriſtian* Writers, have blindly followed him, in oppoſition to Scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted Authorities. *Diodorus Siculus* tranſcribed him; *Cephaleon*, *Caſtor*, *Trogus*, and *Velleius Paterculus* have copied ſeveral Accounts from him. *Julius Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus* have adopted, in part, his Chronology of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, wherein they have been followed by moſt of the modern Chronologers.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct Account of ſeveral Authors quoted by us in this Volume, with whom perhaps every Reader may not be acquainted. Theſe are,

Zoroaſter, a *Bactrian*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been contemporary with *Nimrod*, and King of the *Bactrians*. *Cluverius* takes him for *Adam*; *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, and *Epiphanius*, for *Abraham*; *Huetius* for *Moſes*; *Gregory* of *Tours* for *Shem*, &c. We are in no leſs Uncertainty as to the Time wherein he flouriſhed; *Epiphanius* making him contemporary with *Nimrod*, *Euſebius* with *Semiramis*, and *Apuleius* with *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*. *Plato* calls him the moſt antient of all the *Perſian* Sages: *Eudoxus*, *Pliny*, and *Hermippus* tell us, that he lived five thouſand Years before the *Trojan* War: *Xanthus* of *Lydia*, according to the Teſtimony of *Laertius*, reckons but 600 Years from *Zoroaſter* to *Xerxes*. As to his Works, *Hermippus* ſays, that he wrote two Millions of Verſes. *Suidas* gives us the Titles of ſome of his Works, *viz.* Four Books of Nature, one of precious Stones, and five of Aſtronomical Predictions. *Euſebius* quotes a Paſſage from his Sacred Hiſtory of *Perſia*, containing an excellent Deſcription of the Divine Attributes. *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, treating of the Magic of the *Perſians*, produces *Zoroaſter*'s Hypotheſis, admitting two Principles. *Proclus* collected the pretended Oracles of *Zoroaſter* in 280 Hexameter Verſes. He is ſaid to have been the Inventor

tor of Magic among the *Eaſtern* Nations; but by Magic nothing was meant in thoſe Days beſides Phyſic and Theology, as *Naudæus* proves with very convincing Arguments.

Mochus, or *Moſchus*, a *Sidonian*, lived before the *Trojan* War, as *Strabo* informs us, and wrote the Hiſtory of *Phœnice*. He is quoted by *Joſephus* in the firſt Book of his Antiquities, by *Athenæus*, and *Tatian*, who names two other *Phœnician* Writers, *viz.* *Theodotus* and *Hiſicrates*. His Hiſtory was tranſlated into *Greek* by *Chætus*, or *Lætus*; but we have now only a few Fragments of it remaining in the above-mentioned Writers.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, a celebrated Writer in the Reign of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, and by *Sylla* carried Captive to *Rome*, wrote a great many Hiſtories, as his Name witneſſes, and among others thoſe of *India* and *Egypt*. *Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes a Book of his concerning the *Jews*, wherein were inſerted *Solomon*'s Letters to the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* Kings, with their reſpective Anſwers. *Euſebius* alſo recites a Fragment of the ſame Author, relating to the *Jews*.[s]

ORPHEUS, ſurnamed the *Librethian*, was a *Thracian*, and is famous among the Antients, not only for Poetry and Muſic, but alſo for Theology. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the *Greeks* the *Egyptian* Myſteries. *Clement* of *Alexandria* ſays, that *Homer* borrowed ſeveral Paſſages from his Poems. The Antients mention many Pieces that were under his Name, ſome of which are ſtill extant, *viz.* an Epic Poem, entitled, *The Argonautics*; 86 Hymns; a Poem on precious Stones and their Virtues, and ſeveral Fragments of other Works, aſcribed to him by *Proclus*, *Tzetzes*, and other Writers. *Plato* mentions the Hymns of this Author in his eighth Book of Laws: *Stobæus* and *Suidas* aſcribe the Hymns to *Onomacritus*, and others, with *Clement* of *Alexandria*, to *Pythagoras*. We alſo find ſeveral Verſes cited by *Juſtin* Martyr, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret*, out of the *Teſtament of Orpheus*; but the bare reading of them will convince us, that they are the Performance of a more modern Writer.

NEITHER have *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Africanus*, and *Syncellus*, been excluded from our Hiſtory. In their Time the Libraries of *Greece* were furniſhed with excellent Manuſcripts, which have been ſince loſt. From them they made their Collections; and we may judge of their Sincerity by the Authors which remain, and which they have faithfully quoted; ſo that where other Writers were at a loſs, they have often put us in the way in our Purſuit of Truth.

IN the Deſcriptions of Countries we have chiefly followed, among the Antients, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dionyſius Periegetes*. *Strabo* flouriſhed under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, and viſited moſt of the Places which he deſcribes; whence his Deſcriptions are very exact, if we except thoſe of *Germany*, wherein he depended on the Relations of others. He publiſhed ſeveral Works; but his XVII Books of Geography are the only that have reached us. In theſe he not only deſcribes the Situation of the Places, but often the Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, and Religions of the Inhabitants.

PTOLEMY was of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and flouriſhed in the Reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. In his Geography he followed *Marinus Tyrius* who was almoſt his Contemporary. He is often miſtaken as to the Degrees of Longitude and Latitude, and ſometimes ſpeaks of Cities, which had been deſtroyed many Years, not to ſay Ages, before his Time, as ſtill extant. Moſt of his Miſtakes have been carefully corrected by *Ortelius*, and *Gherardus Mercator*, *Cluverius*, *Velſerius*, and others. His *Canon* is ſo exactly agreeable to Scripture Hiſtory, that if this latter could poſſibly ſtand in need

[s] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9.

of Confirmation, ſo far as it relates to the Hiſtory of the great Empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be ſo effectual towards it as this *Canon*, which has given birth to one of the moſt famous profane Æra's, that of *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt King in it, and without which there would be the greateſt Obſcurity in the Affairs of theſe People. Nothing is more ſurprizing, than that this moſt noble Monument ſhould have been ſo little examined by the Light naturally reflected on it from the ſacred Pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole Body of Chronologers and Hiſtorians from out of the Labyrinth, they have almoſt all bewildered themſelves in, miſled by the Extravagances of *Cteſias*, a fabulous Writer, who has been blindly followed by the Antients, and moſt of the Moderns. This *Canon* takes Date from about the 23d Year of *Pul*'s firſt Appearance on this Side of the *Euphrates*, about the Year 2252 after the Flood, according to our Computation, and 747 Years before Chriſt; which ſhews the Kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Aſſyrian* Origin, according to the Prophet [r]: *Behold the Land of the* CHALDEANS; *this People was not till the* Aſſyrian *found it for them that dwell in the Wilderneſs; they ſet up the Towers thereof, they raiſed up the Palaces thereof.*

DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, born at *Charax*, a Town ſituated on the Gulph of *Arabia*, flouriſhed in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, by whom he was ſent, as *Pliny* informs us [s], to ſurvey the Eaſtern Countries, namely *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Arabia*. His Geographical Deſcription of the World was originally wrote in *Greek* Verſe, and tranſlated into *Latin* Verſe by *Rufus Feſtus*, *Avienus*, and *Priſcian*. *Euſtathius*, Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, wrote in *Greek* a learned Commentary on this Work.

THUS we have taken the Materials to compoſe this Volume from the pureſt Sources of Antiquity. However, we muſt own, that as to the Hiſtory of antient Times, and the Original of particular Nations, we have not been able to give ſuch ſatisfactory Accounts as we could wiſh, not one of the Hiſtories of thoſe antient Nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the Natives, or extracted immediately from their Records, having reached us. What Fragments of them have been preſerved here and there in other Writers, we have connected together, filling up the Chaſms of one Writer with the Teſtimony of another, and melting down together the moſt precious Metals of Antiquity, in order to form a new one leſs precious indeed, but, perhaps, more ſerviceable.

BUT as the Authors, that we have had Occaſion to follow, or even to tranſcribe, in this Volume, are ſuch as have tranſmitted to us Accounts of the earlieſt Times, we muſt here, in a few Words, remove the Prejudices which ſome Criticks have raiſed againſt the profane Writers in general, who have treated of the original and early Antiquities of Nations. In moſt Nations, ſay they, Poets were the firſt Hiſtorians, who of courſe interſperſed their Accounts with a thouſand Fables. From ſuch infected Sources the Hiſtorians in After-ages, for want of better Materials, copied, and conſequently deſerve no more Credit than thoſe they tranſcribed.

To anſwer this Objection, we muſt with *Varro* divide the whole Series of Time into three Periods; the firſt, from the Beginning of the World to the Deluge; the ſecond, from the Deluge to the firſt Olympiad; and the third, from the firſt Olympiad to the preſent. The firſt Period he calls an Age intirely unknown; and truly we find nothing in profane Hiſtorians, relating to that Time, which has any Appearance of Truth, if we except two or three, quoted by *Joſephus*, whoſe Accounts of the Deluge, and the Times prece-

[r] Iſai. 23. 13. [s] Lib. 5. c. 27.

ding

ing it, agree, as he informs us, in many Particulars, with that of *Moſes*. The ſecond Period *Varro* ſtiles the fabulous Time, by Reaſon of the many Fables with which the Accounts of it, that have been tranſmitted to Poſteri-ty, are interwoven: The laſt he calls the Hiſtorical Time. *Diodorus Siculus* extends the fabulous Age no farther than the *Trojan* War; and indeed from that Time the impenetrable Miſt, which had overcaſt the preceding Ages, begins to clear up, and ſome Rays of Truth to break out. Now to anſwer the Objection, we do not pretend to give any tolerable Account of the firſt Ages from profane Authors. In After-Ages, when the Uſe of Letters was introduced, Poets, it is true, are ſaid to have been the firſt Hiſtorians; but we muſt not ſuppoſe whatever they wrote to be a mere Fable; their Ground-work was often Truth, tho' embelliſhed with various Fictions. Thus for in-ſtance, *Homer*'s Poems ought not to be regarded only as an excellent poetical Performance, but as the moſt antient Hiſtory of *Greece*; inſomuch that if we had no other Remains of Antiquity, than *Homer*'s Works, to convince us of the *Trojan* War and the taking of that City, we could not call in queſtion the Truth of that Event. *Homer*, tho' a Poet, diſcovers to us the State of *Greece* at that Time; he gives us an Account of their Kings and Generals; deſcribes their States, Cities, and Government; ſhews us, that *Greece* was divided into ſeveral ſmall Dynaſties, each of which had their reſpective So-vereigns, of which *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the moſt powerful, *&c.* Theſe, and a great many other Events are purely hiſtorical, and confirmed by creditable Hiſtorians; ſo that *Homer*'s Work is both a Poem and a Hiſtory. And what we have inſtanced in one Poet, may in the ſame manner be applied to others: For tho' their Works were inter-ſperſed with many fabulous Strokes, yet they might have furniſhed a judici-ous Hiſtorian, that could diſtinguiſh between Truth and Fiction, with good Materials for a Hiſtory: Beſides, it is not to be doubted, but that ever ſince the Uſe of Characters was firſt introduced, Men have left behind them Mo-numents of ſuch Things as might concern Poſterity; Fathers, what regarded their domeſtic Affairs; Princes and Magiſtrates, what related to the Public. Theſe were the firſt Hiſtories of Mankind, and the moſt antient Hiſtorians have done nothing elſe but digeſt them into a better Form. Thus *Manetho* compiled his Hiſtory from the Memoirs of *Jerombalus*, an *Egyptian* Prieſt; *Beroſus* from the Regiſters of the *Babylonians*; *Sanchoniatho* from thoſe of the *Phœnicians*, &c. And indeed there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that moſt Cities and States had Regiſters, in which from Year to Year they wrote down the moſt remarkable Occurrences, and Archives, wherein they lodged Letters, Treaties, and other Pieces, which might ſerve as Evidences to Poſterity. They alſo tranſmitted the Memory of Things by the Inſtitution of Feſtivals, the building of Cities, erecting of Stones, Pillars, Altars, Tombs, and the like Monuments. The Cuſtom of engraving on Stone is, without doubt, very antient, and the Number of theſe moſt faithful Monuments of Antiquity was almoſt infinite, as is plain from all the antient Hiſtorians, who often ap-peal to them. From theſe, as well as from the Poets, it is reaſonable to ſup-poſe, that the firſt Hiſtorians extracted their Hiſtories, and therefore they de-ſerve the ſame Credit; nay, the Poets themſelves often worked upon Ma-terials already prepared, and only put into Verſe what they found regiſtered in the Annals of their Country. But who can warrant that the Prieſts, who in moſt Nations were the firſt Annaliſts, did not through Superſtition inſert many Fictions? Prieſts, zealous for the Worſhip of their Gods, and whoſe Intereſt it was by falſe Prodigies to deceive People, may have ſcattered ſuch up and down in their Accounts, and made their Gods interpoſe in the prin-cipal Actions. And in this Point the beſt Hiſtorians have ſuffered themſelves to

to be impoſed on. But as to the Subſtance of the Narrations in Matters of War, Politicks, new Settlements, Treaties, Deaths of Princes, &c. what Motive could the Prieſts have to be guilty of Forgeries? The relating of Prodigies is an Abuſe, which Superſtition has brought into all the Hiſtories of the World. Has not Credulity inſerted even into the modern Hiſtories a thouſand Prodigies? and are theſe Hiſtories leſs true with reſpect to the great Events?

'Tis true, that moſt of the Monuments of Antiquity are now loſt; but they were in great part extant, when thoſe Hiſtorians wrote, whoſe Works have reached us. Beſides, tho' many of the public Monuments have been deſtroyed by Wars, Time, miſguided Zeal, and other Caſualties, yet they are not all loſt. What few Facts we have ſtill remaining in the moſt antient Writers, furniſh a Stock of Materials, which, with the Help of Criticiſm, whoſe Province it is to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Fiction, may be made uſe of, without Danger of our being impoſed upon. The Fragments of thoſe venerable Hiſtorians, preſerved here and there in other Writers, are like ſo many Rays, which, in the midſt of the Darkneſs thrown over the early Times, ſerve to diſcover a Way through the Ruins.

NEITHER is the Diſagreement of Authors among themſelves any certain Proof that they deſerve no Credit. Oftentimes, with reſpect to Things that have happened in our Days, and almoſt in our Sight, we find a Difference in the Accounts given by thoſe who were Eye-witneſſes to what they relate. The Particulars of a Battle are not always told the ſame way by thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it. The neareſt Objects appear differently, according to the different Views of the Spectators. Imagination, Prejudice, and Partiality often ſet a Bias on Mens Underſtandings, and hence ariſe all thoſe Variations we find in the Writings, which have ſerved as Memoirs to the firſt Hiſtorians of particular Nations. This Diſagreement among Authors has very much encreaſed the Labour of collecting them into one Body: We have often been in Suſpenſe about the Choice and Preference, and always taken care to relate, at leaſt in the Notes, the Variations we found among different Authors, it not being reaſonable to confine the Reader to our own Sentiments.

AN exact Diſtribution of Time is, as it were, the Light of Hiſtory: Without this it would be only a Chaos of Facts heaped together. An exact Chronology is like *Ariadne*'s Clue, which conducts our Steps through all the Windings of the Labyrinth. By the means of certain fixed Epocha's we perceive the Progreſs of States, the Variations of their Fortunes, and the Changes made in their Government. For this Reaſon we have thought it neceſſary to ſettle the Chronology, and refer the Facts we have collected to their proper Dates. Our general Æra's are, the *Creation*, the *Flood*, and the *Years before, or after, Chriſt*. The Mind being thus conducted, the Ideas we retain from reading are more diſtinct, and more eaſily fixed in the Memory.

GEOGRAPHY is another eſſential Part of Hiſtory. Every Hiſtorian that neglects it muſt of neceſſity be confuſed in his Relations. We have therefore endeavoured to be exact in the Situation of the Towns, Rivers, Foreſts, Lakes, and Mountains, whither the Courſe of Events has led us. Our Guides in this were not only the Hiſtorians, who are not always very exact, but alſo the moſt eminent Geographers of Antiquity, whom we have mentioned above; and in doubtful Caſes we have had Recourſe to the Moderns, particularly to *Cluverius*, *Ortelius*, *Cellarius*, and ſuch of the modern Travellers as have ſurveyed the Places, and are generally looked upon as exact and faithful in their Accounts. From all theſe together we have got Maps drawn by a ſkilful Hand, where we thought them neceſſary. Thus the Reader will be

be able with one Caſt of an Eye to run over the ſeveral Countries which he reads of. There are many Nations, which have not the ſame Limits at this Day, that they had formerly; neither are all Towns, which have antient Names, unqueſtionably ſituated in the very Places, where the Towns of the ſame Name ſtood heretofore. We have therefore choſe rather to deſcribe moſt of the Places, mentioned in our Hiſtory, by their antient Names; but at the ſame time we have conſtantly taken Care to reconcile the antient Geography with the modern in our Notes, and to mark the different Limits of the new Nations and the old.

It is not uſual to publiſh Hiſtories with Notes, or at leaſt to crowd them with ſo great a Number: But tho' no other Hiſtory, perhaps, has need of them, yet they are neceſſary to this which we have undertaken. The Manners, Cuſtoms, Religions, Arms, Dreſs, Governments, *&c.* of the various Nations we deſcribe, are not only ſo different among themſelves, but from any thing we now ſee, or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly poſſible to give juſt Ideas of them without Explications, which could not have well been brought into the Text. The Thread of the moſt beautiful Story would have been often broke, and no Point of Hiſtory would have been brought to its Concluſion, but in a languid manner. It was neceſſary therefore to throw into *Notes* the great Number of inſtructive Obſervations, without which the Hiſtory would have been imperfect. Beſides, abundance of Diſputes have been raiſed by learned Men upon ſeveral Events, which we are obliged to inform the Public of, in order to make our Work more complete. But this could not have been, if we had not taken notice of the Variations of the ſeveral Authors, who have tranſmitted to us the ſame Facts. Hiſtorians often diſagree as to the Circumſtances, and, on the other hand, the Thread of the Hiſtory will not admit but of one way of relating the Event. We have therefore placed in the Body of the Hiſtory what ſeemed to us moſt probable, and the reſt in the Notes, leſt thoſe Readers, who peruſe but one Author, ſhould charge us with Falſhood, if we differed from his Hiſtorian. The Length of ſome of our Notes ought not to frighten the Reader: Every judicious Perſon will perceive, that we have taken pains to be as conciſe as the Subject would allow us, having often brought, within the Compaſs of a few Lines, Diſſertations, with which learned Men have filled large Volumes.

The Knowledge of the Coins, Weights, and Meaſures of the Antients, is neceſſary for the right underſtanding of their Writings, as well as of the preſent Hiſtory, where we could not avoid uſing now and then their Terms and Phraſeology. But as it cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a minute Diſcuſſion of a Subject which has ſupplied Matter to whole Volumes, we ſhall only exhibit ſome Tables, wherein the Value of the antient Coins, Weights, and Meaſures is, with great Care and Exactneſs, reduced, by Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to the *Engliſh* Standard. Several Writers of great Abilities, namely Biſhop *Cumberland*, Mr. *Greaves*, and Dr. *Hooper*, have, with great Learning and Accuracy, handled the ſame Subject: But we have given the Preference to Dr. *Arbuthnot*'s Calculations, by reaſon they are more adapted to the Capacity of every Reader; and, on the other hand, do not differ in any conſiderable Matter from thoſe of the learned Writers we have mentioned. In theſe Tables the Reader will find, 1. The *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Jewiſh* Meaſures of Length. 2. Their Meaſures of Capacity for Things both liquid and dry; and laſtly, Their Money reduced to the *Engliſh* Standard.

1.

ENGLISH MEASURES of LENGTH.

Inch	Palm	Span	Foot	Cubit	Yard	Pace	Fathom	Pole	Furlong	Mile
3	1									
9	3	1								
12	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1							
18	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1						
36	12	4	3	2	1					
60	20	$6\frac{2}{3}$	5	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1				
72	24	8	6	4	2	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1			
198	66	22	$16\frac{1}{2}$	11	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{10}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$	1		
7920	2640	880	660	440	220	132	110	40	1	
63360	21120	7040	5280	3520	1760	1056	880	320	8	1

2.

GRECIAN MEASURES of LENGTH, reduced to ENGLISH.

Dactylus	Doron or Dochme	Lichas	Orthodoron	Spithame	Pous	Pugme	Pugon	Pechus	Orguia	Stadium or Aulos	Milion	Paces. Feet. Inch. Dec.
1												0—0—0,7554$\frac{11}{16}$
4	1											0—0—3,0218$\frac{3}{4}$
10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1										0—0—7,55467$\frac{7}{8}$
11	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{10}$	1									0—0—8,3101$\frac{9}{16}$
12	3	$1\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{11}$	1								0—0—9,0656$\frac{1}{4}$
16	4	$1\frac{6}{10}$	$1\frac{5}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1							0—1—0,0875
18	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$	$1\frac{7}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$	1						0—1—1,5984$\frac{3}{8}$
20	5	2	$1\frac{9}{11}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{9}$	1					0—1—3,109$\frac{3}{8}$
24	6	$2\frac{2}{5}$	$2\frac{2}{11}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1				0—1—6,13125
96	24	$9\frac{3}{5}$	$8\frac{8}{11}$	8	6	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$4\frac{4}{5}$	4	1			0—6—0,525
9600	2400	960	$872\frac{8}{11}$	800	600	$533\frac{1}{3}$	480	400	100	1		100—4—4,5
76800	19200	7680	$5981\frac{9}{11}$	6400	4800	$4266\frac{2}{3}$	3840	3200	800	8	1	805—5—0

3

ROMAN MEASURES of LENGTH.

Digitus tranſverſus	Uncia	Palmus minor	Pes	Palmipes	Cubitus	Gradus	Paſſus	Stadium	Milliare	ENGLISH. Paces. Feet. Inch. Dec.
1										0—0— 0,725$\frac{1}{4}$
$1\frac{1}{3}$	1									0—0— 0,967
4	3	1								0—0— 2,901
16	12	4	1							0—0—11,604
20	15	5	$1\frac{1}{4}$	1						0—1— 2,505
24	18	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1					0—1— 5,406
40	30	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1				0—2— 5,01
80	60	20	5	4	$3\frac{1}{3}$	2	1			0—4—10,02
10000	7500	2500	625	500	$416\frac{2}{3}$	250	125	1		120—4— 4,5
80000	60000	20000	5000	4000	$3333\frac{1}{3}$	2000	1000	8	1	967—0— 0

4.

SCRIPTURE Measures of Length.

Digit	Palm	Span	Cubit	Fathom	Ezekiel's Reed	Arabian Pole	Schœnus measuring line	ENGLISH. Feet. Inch. Dec.
1								0— 0,912
4	1							0— 3,648
12	3	1						0—10,944
24	6	2	1					1— 9,888
96	24	8	4	1				7— 3,552
144	36	12	6	1½	1			10—11,328
192	48	16	8	2	1⅓	1		14— 7,104
1920	480	160	80	20	13⅓	10	1	145—11,4

Note. *The* East *used another* Span, *equal to* ⅓ *of a* Cubit.

5.

The LONGER SCRIPTURE MEASURES.

Cubit	Stadium	Sab. days Journey	Eastern Mile	Parasang	a Day's Journey	ENGLISH. Miles. Fur. Pac. Yar. Dec.
1						0— 0—1,824
400	1					0—145—4,6
2000	5	1				0—729—3,0
4000	10	2	1			1—403—1,0
12000	30	6	3	1		4—153—3,0
96000	240	48	24	8	1	33—172—4,0

6.

ENGLISH SQUARE MEASURES.

Inches	Feet	Yards	Paces	Poles	Rood	Acre
144	1					
1296	9	1				
3600	25	2⅞	1			
39204	272¼	30¼	10,89	1		
1568160	10890	1210	435,6	40	1	
6272640	43560	4840	1743,6	160	4	1

7.

ENGLISH MEASURES of CAPACITY.

Wine Measure.

Solid Inches	Pint	Gallon	Rundlet	Barrel	Tierce	Hogshead	Puncheon	Butt	Tun
1									
231	1								
4158	18	1							
7276½	252	31½	1¾	1					
9702	336	42	2⅓	1⅓	1				
14553	504	63	3½	2	1½	1			
19279	672	84	4⅔	2⅔	2	1⅛	1		
29106	1008	126	7	4	3	2	1½	1	
58212	2016	252	14	8	6	4	3	2	1

8.
ENGLISH Corn Measures,

Are raiſed from a *Wincheſter Gallon*, which contains 272¼ Solid Inches; and, as far as ſerves our Purpoſe, are,

Solid Inches

34 1/32	Pint				
272¼	8	Gallon			
544½	16	2	Peck		
2178	64	8	4	Buſhel	
17424	512	64	32	8	Quarter

9.
GRECIAN Square Measure.

Plethron, by ſome ſaid to contain 1444, others, 10000 Square Feet;
Arura, the Half of the Plethron.

The ÆGYPTIAN Arura was the Square of 100 Cubits.

ROMAN Square Measure.

The ROMANS divided their As, Libra, or any Integer, after the following Manner; ſo the Jugerum was reckoned the Integer.

Jugerum contained

Unciæ.		Sq. Feet.	Scruples.	Engl. Roods.	Sq. Poles.	Sq. Feet.
1	As - - - - - 12	As - - - 28800	- - 288	2 —	18 —	250,05
11/12	Deunx - - - 11	Deunx - - 26400	- - 260	2 —	10 —	183,85
5/6	Dextans - - - 10	Dextans - 24000	- - 240	2 —	2 —	117,64
3/4	Dodrans - - - 9	Dodrans - 21600	- - 216	1 —	34 —	51,42
2/3	Bes - - - - - 8	Bes - - - 19200	- - 192	1 —	25 —	257,46
7/12	Septunx - - - 7	Septunx - 16800	- - 168	1 —	17 —	191,25
1/2	Semis - - - - - 6	Semis - - 14400	- - 144	1 —	9 —	125,03
5/12	Quincunx - - - 5	Quincunx 12000	- - 120	1 —	1 —	58,82
1/3	Triens - - - 4	Triens - - 9600	- - 96	0 —	32 —	264,85
1/4	Quadrans - - 3	Quadrans - 7200	- - 72	0 —	24 —	198,64
1/6	Sextans - - - 2	Sextans - - 4800	- - 48	0 —	16 —	132,43
1/12	Uncia - - - 1	Uncia - - 2400	- - 24	0 —	8 —	66,21

NOTE. Actus Major *was* 14400 *Square Feet, equal to a* Semis-Clima 3600 *Square Feet, equal to a* Seſcuncia. Actus Minimus *was equal to a* Sextans.

10.
ATTICK Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.
ENGLISH Wine Meaſure.

										Gall.	Pints.	Sol. Inch.	Dec.
Kochliarion										0—	1/120 —	0,356	5/11
2	Cheme									0—	1/60 —	0,712	5/6
2½	1¼	Myſtron								0—	1/48 —	0,089	11/48
5	2½	2	Konche							0—	1/24 —	0,178	11/24
10	5	4	2	Kyathos						0—	1/12 —	0,356	11/12
15	7½	6	3	1½	Oxybaphon					0—	1/8 —	0,535	3/8
60	30	24	12	6	4	Kotyle				0—	1/2 —	2,141	1/2
120	60	48	24	12	8	2	Xeſtes			0—1	—	4,283	
720	360	288	144	74	48	12	6	Chus . . .		0—6	—	25,698	
8640	4320	3456	1728	864	576	144	72	12	Metretes	10—2	—	19,626	

* * *

11. ATTICK

II.

ATTICK Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

							Engliſh Corn Meaſure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. Inch.
						Kochliarion	0—0—0— 0,276$\frac{7}{8}$
10	Kyathos						0—0—0— 2,763$\frac{1}{2}$
15	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon					0—0—0— 4,144$\frac{3}{4}$
60	6	4	Kotyle				0—0—0—16,579
120	12	8	2	Xeſtes			0—0—0—33,158
180	18	12	3	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Choinix		0—0—1—15,705$\frac{3}{4}$
8640	864	576	144	72	48	Medimnos	4—0—6— 3,501

Note, 1. *Beſides this* Medimnus, *which is the* Medicus, *there was a* Medimnus Georgicus, *equal to ſix* Roman Modii.

Note, 2. *There are ſome other Meaſures (mentioned by Authors) of uncertain Value, eaſily reducible to thoſe of the Tables.*

12.

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.

									Engliſh Wine Meaſure. Gall. Pints. Sol. In. Dec.
								Ligula	0—0$\frac{1}{8}$— 0,117$\frac{5}{12}$
4	Cyathus								0—0$\frac{1}{12}$— 0,469$\frac{2}{4}$
6	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Acetabulum							0—0$\frac{1}{8}$ — 0,704$\frac{1}{2}$
12	3	2	Quartarius						0—0$\frac{1}{4}$ — 1,409
24	6	4	2	Hemina					0—0$\frac{1}{2}$ — 2,818
48	12	8	4	2	Sextarius				0—1 — 5,636
288	72	48	24	12	6	Congius			0—7 — 4,942
1152	288	192	96	48	24	4	Urna		3—4$\frac{1}{2}$ — 5,33
2304	576	384	192	96	48	8	2	Amphora	7—1 —10,66
46080	11520	7680	3840	1920	960	160	40	20	Culeus .143—3 —11,95

Note, 1. Quadrantal *is the ſame with the* Amphora, Cadus, Congiarius, *and* Dolium, *and denotes no certain Meaſure.*

Note, 2. *The* Romans *divided the* Sextarius, *as the* Libra, *into twelve equal Parts, called* Cyathi; *and therefore they denominated their* Calices, Sextantes, Quadrantes, Trientes, *according to the Number of* Cyathi *which they contained,*

13.

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

						Engliſh Corn Meaſure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. In. Dec.
					Ligula	0—0—0$\frac{1}{48}$ —0,01
4					Cyathus	0—0—0$\frac{1}{12}$ —0,04
6	1$\frac{1}{2}$				Acetabulum	0—0—0$\frac{1}{8}$ —0,06
24	6	4			Hemina	0—0—0$\frac{1}{2}$ —0,24
48	12	8	2		Sextarius	0—0—1 —0,48
384	96	64	16	8	Semimod	0—1—0 —3,84
768	192	128	32	16	2 Modius	1—0—0 —7,68

14.

JEWISH Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.

						Engliſh Wine Meaſure. Gall. Pints. Sol. Inch.
					Caph	0—0$\frac{5}{8}$ — 0,177
1$\frac{1}{2}$					Log	0—0$\frac{5}{6}$ — 0,211
5$\frac{1}{2}$	4				Cab	0—3$\frac{1}{3}$ — 0,844
16	12	3			Hin	1—2 — 2,533
32	24	6	2		Seah	2—4 — 5,67
96	72	18	6	3	Bath Epha	7—4 —15,2
960	720	180	60	30	10 Coron, Chomer	75—5 — 7,625

15.

JEWISH Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

						Engliſh Corn Meaſure. Pecks. Gall. Pints. Sol. In. Dec.
					Gachal	0—0—0$\frac{17}{120}$— 0,031
20					Cab	0—0—2$\frac{5}{6}$ — 0,073
36	1$\frac{4}{5}$				Gomor	0—0—5$\frac{1}{10}$ — 1,211
120	6	3$\frac{1}{3}$			Seah	1—0—1 — 4,036
360	18	10	3		Epha	3—0—3 —12,107
1800	90	50	15	5	Leteeh	16—0—0 —26,500
3600	180	100	30	10	2 Chomer, Coron	32—0—1 —18,969

16. ENGLISH

16.

ENGLISH TROY WEIGHT.

Grains			
	24		Penny-weight
	480	20	Ounce
5760	240	12	Pound

17.

The *Moſt Antient* GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to TROY WEIGHT.

	Pounds.	Oun.	Pwt.	Grains.
Drachma	00	00	06	$2\frac{22}{25}$
Mna	01	01	00	$4\frac{14}{25}$
Talanton	65	00	12	$5\frac{13}{25}$

18.

The *Leſs Antient* GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh* TROY WEIGHT.

										Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
Lentes										0	0	00	$0\frac{85}{112}$
	4	Siliquæ								0	0	00	$3\frac{1}{35}$
	12		3	Obolus						0	0	00	$9\frac{3}{28}$
	24		6		2	Scriptulum				0	0	00	$18\frac{3}{14}$
	72		18		6		3	Drachma		0	0	02	$6\frac{9}{14}$
	96		24		8		4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Sextula	0	0	03	$0\frac{6}{7}$
	144		36		12		6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Sicilicus	0	0	04	$13\frac{2}{7}$
	192		48		16		8	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2 $1\frac{1}{3}$ Duella	0	0	06	$1\frac{5}{7}$
	576		144		48		24	8	6 4 3 Uncia	0	0	18	$5\frac{1}{7}$
6912		1728		576		288		96	72 48 36 12 Libra	0	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$

The Roman Ounce *is the* Engliſh Avoirdupois Ounce, *which they divided into ſeven* Denarii, *as well as eight* Drachms; *and ſince they reckoned their* Denarius *equal to the* Attick Drachm, *this will make the* Attick *Weights* $\frac{1}{8}$ *heavier than the correſpondent* Roman Weights.

Note. *The* Grecians *divided their* Obolus *into* Chalci *and* Lepta. *Some, as* Diodorus *and* Suidas, *divided the* Obolus *into ſix* Chalci, *and every* Chalcus *into ſeven* Lepta: *Others divided the* Obolus *into eight* Chalci, *and every* Chalcus *into eight* Lepta *or* Minuta.

19.

The GREATER WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh* TROY WEIGHT.

			Pounds.	Ounces.	Pennywt.	Grains.
Libra			0	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$
	$1\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{3}}$	Mina Attica communis	0	11	07	$16\frac{2}{7}$
	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{7}{25}$ Mina Attica Medica	1	02	11	$10\frac{2}{7}$
	$62\frac{1}{2}$	60 $46\frac{7}{8}$ Talentum Atticum comm.	56	11	00	$17\frac{1}{7}$

Note. *There was another* Attick Talent, *by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of* 80, *by others of* 100 Minæ.

Note. *Every* Mina *contains* 100 Drachmæ, *and every* Talent 60 Minæ: *but the* Talents *differ in Weight, according to the different* Standard *of the* Drachmæ *and* Minæ, *of which they are compoſed. The Value of ſome different* Minæ, *and* Talents *in* Attick Drachmæ, Minæ, *and* Engliſh Troy Weight, *is exhibited in the following Table.*

20.

		Pounds.	Ounces.	Penwt.	Graias.
MINA Ægyptiaca — — —		133⅓	01	05	06 22 26/49
MINA Antiochica — — —		133⅓	01	05	06 22 26/49
MINA Cleopatræ Ptolemaica —	eſt Drachm. Atticar	144	01	06	14 16 32/49
MINA Alexandrina Dioſcoridis		160	01	08	16 07 41/49

TALENTUM Ægyptiacum — — —	80	86	08	16	08
TALENTUM Antiochicum — — —	80	86	08	16	08
TALENTUM Ptolemaicum Cleop. —	86⅔	93	11	11	00
TALENTUM Alexandriæ — — —	96	104	00	19	14
TALENTUM Inſulanum — — — —	120	130	01	04	12
TALENTUM Antiochiæ — — — —	360	390	03	13	11

(eſt Minarum Atticar)

21.

JEWISH WEIGHTS reduced to *Engliſh* TROY WEIGHT.

	Pounds.	Oun.	Penwt.	Grains.
Shekel — — — — — —	00	00	09	02 4/7
60 Maneh — — — — —	02	03	06	10 2/7
3000 50 Talent — — — — —	113	10	01	10 2/7

Note. *In reckoning* Money, 50 Shekels *made a* Maneh; *but in Weight*, 160 Shekels.

22.

The Value and Proportion of the GRECIAN COINS.

										l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Lepton — — — — — — — —										0	0	0	0 3 11/16
7	Chalcos — — — — — — —									0	0	0	0 11/16
14	2	Dichalcos — — — — — — —								0	0	0	1 7/8
28	4	2	Hemiobolion — — — — — —							0	0	0	2 7/8
56	8	4	2	Obolos — — — — — —						0	0	1	1 1/2
112	16	8	4	2	Diobolon — — — — —					0	0	2	2 1/2
224	32	16	8	4	2	Tetrobolon — — — — —				0	0	5	0 2/3
336	48	24	12	6	3	1½	Drachme — — — — —			0	0	7	3
662	96	48	24	12	6	3	2	Didrachmon [Stater		0	1	3	2
1324	112	96	48	24	12	6	4	2	Tetradrachmon — — —	0	2	7	0
1660	384	120	60	30	15	7½	5	2½	1¼ Pentadrachm. — —	0	3	2	3

Note 1. *Of theſe the* Drachma, Didrachm, *&c. were of* Silver, *the reſt, for the moſt part, of* Braſs; *the other Parts, as* Tridrachm, Triobolus, *&c. were ſometimes* Coined.

Note 2. I *have ſuppoſed, with the Generality of Authors, that the* Drachma *and* Denarius *were equal, tho' there is Reaſon to believe the* Drachma *was ſomewhat the weightier.*

* * *

23. The

23.

The GRECIAN Gold Coin was

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Stater Aureus, *weighing two* Attick Drachms, *or half of the* Stater Argenteus, *and exchanging uſually for* 25 Attick Drachms *of* Silver,	00	16	1¾
in our Money.	01	00	9
According to our Proportion of Gold *to* Silver	00	18	1
There were likewiſe the Stater Cyzicenus, *exchanging for* 28 Attick Drachms, *or*			
Stater Philippicus, *and* Stater Alexandrinus, *of the ſame Value*			
Stater Daricus, *according to* Joſephus, *worth* 50 Attick Drachms, *or*	01	12	3½
Stater Cræſius, *of the ſame Value*			

24.

The GRECIAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money was by

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
DRACHMÆ.	1 — — —	0	00	07¾
	10 — — —	0	06	05½
	100 equal to a Mina —	3	04	07
	— — —	3	04	07
MINÆ.	1 — — —	32	05	00
	10 — — —	193	15	00
	60 equal to a Talentum —	193	15	00
	— — —	1937	10	00
TALENTA.	1 — — —	1937	10	00
	10 — — —	19375	00	00
	100 — — —	19375	00	00

25.

I have given the Value of the different Talents, *and* Minæ, *conſidered as Weights; but when they denote Sums of Money, they vary after the following Manner:*

MINA Syra	eſt Drachm. Atticar	25
Ptolemaica		33⅓
Antiochica		100
Eubœa		100
Babylonica		116
Attica major		133⅓
Tyria		133⅓
Æginæa		166⅔
Rhodia		166⅔
TALENTUM Syrum	Minarum Atticarum	15
Ptolemaicum		20
Antiochicum		60
Eubœum		60
Babylonicum		70
Atticum majus		80
Tyrium		80
Æginæum		100
Rhodium		100
Ægyptium		80

26. The

26.

The Value and Proportion of the ROMAN Coins.

						l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
	Teruncius	—	—	—	—	o	o	o	o$\frac{7.7.5}{1.0.0.0}$
2	Sembella	—	—	—	—	o	o	o	I$\frac{5.5}{1.0.0}$
4	2	Libella, As	—	—	—	o	o	o	3$\frac{1}{10}$
10	5	2$\frac{1}{2}$	Seſtertius	—	—	o	o	I	3$\frac{3}{4}$
20	10	5	2	Quinarius, Victoriatus	—	o	o	3	3$\frac{1}{2}$
40	20	10	4	2	Denarius	o	o	7	3

Note. *Of theſe the* Denarius, Victoriatus, Seſtertius, *and ſometimes the* As, *were of* Silver, *the reſt of* Braſs.

There were ſometimes alſo coined of Braſs, *the* Triens, Sextans, Uncia, Sextula, *and* Dupondius.

27.

The ROMAN Gold Coin was the Aureus, which weighed generally double the Denarius;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Aureus, *according to the firſt Proportion of* Coinage, *mentioned by* Pliny, Lib. XXXIII. Cap. III. *was worth*	II	04	3$\frac{3}{4}$
According to the Proportion that obtains now amongſt us, worth	I	00	9
According to the Decuple Proportion, mentioned by Livy *and* Julius Pollux, *worth*	o	12	11
According to the Proportion mentioned by Tacitus, *and which afterwards obtained, whereby the* Aureus *exchanged for* 25 Denarii, *its Value*	o	16	1$\frac{3}{4}$

28.

Some Alterations *of the Value of the* ROMAN Coin, *mentioned by* Pliny.

In the Reign of *Servius* A. Urb. 490 - - A. Urb. 537 - A. Urb. 586 - -	*the* As *weighed of* Braſs	1 Pound 2 Ounces 1 Ounce ½ Ounce
A. Urb. 485 - - A. Urb. 537 - -	Denarius *exchanged for*	10 Aſſes 16 Aſſes
A. Urb. 547 Scruple *of* Gold *worth*	- -	20 Seſtertii
Coined *afterwards of the* Pound *of* Gold	- -	20 Denarii
In Nero's *Time of the* Pound *of* Gold	- -	45 Denarii

} Aurei

29. The

29.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money reduced to the ENGLISH STANDARD.

SESTERTII NUMMI.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Seſtertius	0	00	01	3¾
Decem	0	01	07	1½
Centum	0	16	01	3
Mille *equal to a* Seſtertium.	8	01	05	2
SESTERTIA.				
Seſtertium	8	01	05½	
Decem	80	14	07	
Centum. *This Sum the* Romans *expreſs'd thus,* Debet mihi centum, debet mihi centum Seſtertia; *vel* debet centum millia Seſtertium.	807	05	10	
Mille	8072	18	04	
DECIES SESTERTIUM, &c. *The Adverb* Centies *being underſtood.*				
Decies Seſtertium, *vel* Decies centena millia nummum	8072	18	04	
Centies, *vel* Centies H. S.	80729	03	04	
Millies H. S.	807291	13	04	
Millies Centies H. S.	888020	16	08	

30.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning INTEREST MONEY.

Aſſes uſuræ *vel* Centeſimæ uſuræ	1	per Cent a Month.	12 per Cent a Year
Semiſſes uſuræ	½		6
Trientes uſuræ	⅓		4
Quadrantes uſuræ	¼		3
Sextantes uſuræ	⅙		2
Unciæ uſuræ	1/12		1
Quincunces uſuræ	5/12		5
Septunces uſuræ	7/12		7
Beſſes uſuræ	⅔		8
Dodrantes uſuræ	¾		9
Dextantes uſuræ	⅚		10
Deunces uſuræ	11/12		11

31.

JEWISH MONEY reduced to the *Engliſh* Standard.

					l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Gerah					0	00	1	5/16
10	Bekah				0	01	1	11/16
20	2	Shekel			0	02	3	⅜
1200	120	50	Maneh, Mina Hebraica		5	14	0	¾
60000	6000	3000	60	Talent	342	03	9	
Solidus Aureus, *or* Sextula, *worth*					0	12	0	½
Siclus Aureus, *worth*					1	16	6	
A Talent *of* Gold, *worth*					5475	00	0	

Note. *In all the* Tables of Money, *I reckon Silver at* 5 *Shillings, and* Gold *at* 4 *Pounds the Ounce.*

Now to ſay ſomething of the different Computations of Time; *Beroſus* wrote his Chronology by the Computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Soſi*; which being antient Meaſures of Time, and well known when the original Records were written, could not then have wanted Explanation. But *Beroſus*, or ſome

ſome later Writer, has, either out of Ignorance or Deſign, magnified theſe Meaſures beyond all imagination, and tells us, that the *Sarus* contained the Interval of three thouſand ſix hundred Years; the *Nerus* of ſix hundred, and the *Soſus* of ſixty. But other Authors have taken thoſe Years for Days only [u]; and indeed with a great deal of Reaſon; for not to inſiſt on the incredible Length of the Reigns of the *Chaldean* Princes in the firſt Hypotheſis, which no Writer of common Senſe could offer to impoſe on the World, it plainly appears, that they were no more than Days, from the Reign of the ſixth King of *Chaldea*, which is expreſſed in the firſt Table of thoſe Kings exhibited *p.* 90. to be ninety nine Years, but in the others by the round Number of ten *Sari*, or 100 Years. The Word *Sarus*, throwing away the Termination, is no other than the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac Sar*, *ben*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thouſand ſix hundred Days, or juſt ten old *Chaldean* Years, of three hundred and ſixty Days each; and that before the Deluge, not only the Civil, but alſo the Tropical, Solar, and Lunar Year conſiſted of twelve Months, of thirty Days a piece, or three hundred and ſixty Days in the whole, has been fully proved by a modern Writer. [w].

THE *Egyptians*, who addicted themſelves to the Study of Aſtronomy in the earlieſt Ages, and were well acquainted with the Motions, Periods, and Stations of the Planets, were the firſt that adjuſted the Length of the Year to the annual Revolution of the Sun, by adding to their twelve Months of 30 Days a piece five additional Days and ſix Hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* uſed the more rude and inconvenient Form of Lunar Years, intercalating a Month every third Year. However, the five additional Days, as *Syncellus* [x] informs us, were not introduced till a thouſand Years after the Deluge, and never were looked upon as proper Parts either of the Year, or of any of its Months, but as Days belonging to the Nativity of five ſeveral *Egyptian* Deities, who, as it is obſerved in a famous Tradition related by *Plutarch* [y], were *to be born neither in any Year, nor in any Month.*

THE *Jewiſh* Year, as is plain from the Calculations which *Moſes* gives us of the Days of the Flood and elſewhere, conſiſted of 365 Days, and conſequently of 12 Solar Months, the laſt of which had 35 Days. As *Moſes* had been brought up in *Egypt*, it is very likely he learned that way of reckoning there; and beſides, it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy Method to the *Jews*, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long Abode in *Egypt*. *Scaliger* [z], and others after him, have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalar Month, once every 120 Years; but it is plain, that the Scripture hints nothing like ſuch an Intercalation, or Year of 13 Months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs how they diſpoſed of the ſix additional Hours of the *Egyptians*, without ſome ſuch Suppoſition. However, *Moſes*, by expreſs Command of God, did afterwards compute the Years by Moons.

THE antient Year of *Greece*, *Lydia*, and the *Grecian* Colonies in *Aſia*, as well as the firſt *Roman* Year, before the Correction of *Numa Pompilius*, conſiſted likewiſe of 360 Days, as the learned Writer, we have quoted above, fully proves [a]

BESIDES the Computation of Months and Years, the *Greeks* reckoned their Time by *Olympiads*, each *Olympiad* containing the ſpace of four Years. This Method of Computation had its Riſe from the *Olympic* Games, which were celebrated every 4th Year, and became ſo conſiderable, that the *Greeks* made them their Epoch. They commenced, according to ſome, the Year

[u] Syncellus, p. 17. [w] Allin's Diſc. on the antient Year, in Mr. *Whiſton*'s Theory, Book II. p. 144. [x] Syncell. p. 123. [y] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. [z] Scaliger, de emend. temp. l. 2. [a] Mr. Allin, ubi ſupra.

of

of the World 3208, 776 Years before *Chriſt*, and 22 before the Founding of *Rome*; according to others, in the Year of the World 3251.

THE *Romans* computed by *Luſtrums*, or purifying Sacrifices, which were inſtituted by *Servius Tullus*, about the Year 180 of *Rome*, and were to be renewed every five Years, immediately after the *Cenſus*; whence the *Luſtrum* contained the ſpace of five Years. But they muſt have been for ſome time diſuſed, as appears from the *Faſti Capitolini*, where the 50th *Luſtrum* is ſaid to have been made in the 574th Year of *Rome*.

As to the Chronology of the Antients, there is no depending upon it. That of the Eaſtern Nations has been ſtrangely depraved, by Contentions ariſing among them about their Antiquity, each claiming the Preference in that Point. Thus *Herodotus* tells us [b], that the Prieſts of *Egypt* reckoned from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon*, who put *Sennacherib* to Flight, 341 Generations, as many Prieſts of *Vulcan*, and an equal Number of Kings of *Egypt*. He adds, that three Generations make an hundred Years; ſo that, according to this Computation, the whole Time from the Reign of *Menes* to that of *Sethon* was eleven thouſand three hundred and forty Years. The *Chaldeans* alſo piqued themſelves on their Antiquity, and pretended to have obſerved the Stars 473,000 Years; and *Calliſthenes*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtotle*, ſent Aſtronomical Obſervations from *Babylon* to *Greece*, ſaid to be of 1903 Years ſtanding. The Chronology of the antient *Greek* Authors is no leſs uncertain. Thoſe who wrote of Antiquities, as *Pherecydes*, *Epimenides*, *Hellanicus*, *Hippias* the *Elean*, *Ephorus*, &c. digeſted their Works by Genealogies, or the Ages, and Succeſſions of the Prieſteſſes of *Juno Argiva*, of the *Ephors*, of the Kings of *Sparta*, and the *Archons* of *Athens*, &c. nor did they begin to ſet down the Generations, Reigns, and Succeſſions in Numbers of Years, till ſome time after the Death of *Alexander*, which makes their Chronology very uncertain. And ſuch it was reputed by the *Greeks* themſelves, as is manifeſt from ſeveral Paſſages in *Plutarch* [c]. The Chronology of the *Latins* is ſtill more uncertain. *Plutarch*, and *Servius* repreſent great Uncertainties in the Original of *Rome*. The old Records of the Latins were burnt by the *Gauls* about 64 Years before the Death of *Alexander*; and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the moſt antient *Latin* Hiſtorian, lived 200 Years after that King, and copied the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory from *Diocles Peparethius* a *Greek*. Not one of the *European* Nations had any Chronology at all before the Time of the *Perſian* Empire, and whatever Chronology they now have of antient Times has been formed ſince by Reaſoning and Conjecture: So that, on a ſtrict View and due Examination of the Antiquities of Nations, and the Records which have been left us, thoſe of the *Jews*, excluſive of their Divine Authority, will evidently appear to be the moſt certain and authentic, and conſequently the ſureſt Foundation to build our Chronology upon.

HOWEVER, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is no certain Uniformity in the *Jewiſh* Computation, and that the ſeveral Copies of their Records, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, *Pentateuch*, and *Septuagint*, differ very much from one another. Which Diſagreement hath ariſen from two Things; 1. Corruption, or Errors of frequent tranſcribing; and 2. The Want of computing from ſome fixed Æra, and digeſting the Hiſtory as it was written, into a chronological Method: For beſides the great Diſagreement among the various Copies, with regard particularly to the Ages of the Patriarchs, there is a ſeeming Difference at leaſt betwixt the whole Numbers of ſeveral Intervals. Thus, for inſtance, the Interval from the *Exodus* to the founding of *Solomon*'s Temple, is expreſly mentioned [d] to be four hundred and eighty Years;

[b] Herod l. 2. [c] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. & Solon. [d] 1 Kings vi. 1.

whereas

whereas the Sum of all the Patriarchs given in the Book of *Judges, &c.* amount to about five hundred and ninety two Years. Which Particulars not being adjuſted by the Years of ſome certain Æra, we are at a loſs for the true Diſtance of Time, not knowing by what Standard the Meaſure of the Intervals is to be taken.

THIS Variety of Computations hath left room for Chronologers to enlarge, or contract the Space of Time, betwixt the Flood and the Birth of *Chriſt*, by adhering to one Copy rather than another; or by rejecting, or retaining the whole Numbers, or the Particulars, juſt as it ſuited their Humour of making the Sacred Hiſtory agree with the Prophane; or otherwiſe of reducing the Prophane to the Sacred. And as the Diſagreement among the heathen Writers is great alſo, and every Author hath followed the Hiſtorian he liked beſt, hence a wide Difference hath ariſen amongſt modern Chronologers, as appears by the various Computations, ſeveral of them have made of the Years of the World to the Birth of *Chriſt*, which we here give, as collected by *Strauchius*[e], *Chevreau*[f], and others.

A TABLE of the Years of the World to the Birth of CHRIST, *according to the Computation of ſeveral Chronologers.*

	Years.	Mon.
Alphonſus King of *Caſtile* (in *Muller*'s Tables)	6984	
The ſame (in *Strauchius*)	6484	9
Onuphrius Panvinius	6310	
Suidas	6000	
Lactantius, Philaſtrius	5801	
Nicephorus	5700	
Clemens Alexandrinus	5624	
The Author of the *Faſti Siculi*	5608	9
Iſaac Voſſius, and the *Greeks*	5598	
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	5590	
Theophilus Antiochenus	5515	
The *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Grabe*'s Septuagint	5508	3
Cedrenus (in *Chevreau*)	5506	
Julius Africanus, Theophanes, Eutychius, &c.	5500	
The *Ethiopians*	5499	9
Cedrenus (in *Strauchius*)	5493	9
Panodorus	5493	
Maximus Monachus	5491	9
Sulpitius Severus	5469	
Victor Giſelius, in his Remarks on *Sulpitius*	5419	
St. *Auſtin* (in *Genebrard*)	5351	
Iſidorus Peluſiota	5336	
Abunazar	5328	
Rabanus Maurus	5296	
Iſidor. Hiſpalenſis (in *Strauchius*)	5210	
Paulus de Foſſembrona	5201	
Euſebius	5200	5
Beda (in *Strauchius*)	5199	
Philippus Bergamenſis, Oroſius, &c.	5198	
Philo the *Jew, Sigebert*	5096	
Epiphanius	5049	
Metrodorus	5000	
Ado, Archbiſhop of *Vienna*	4832	
Joſephus corrected	4698	

	Years.	Mon.
Odiato, or *Ebwico*	4320	
Marianus Scotus	4192	9
Laurentius Codomannus	4141	8
The ſame (*L. Godomeau* in *Chevreau*)	4140	
Ribera	4095	
Genebrard	4090	
Arnold de Pontac	4088	
Michael Mæſtlinus	4079	3
J. Baptiſt Ricciolus	4062	3
R. Moſes Maimonides	4058	
Jacobus Salianus (in *Strauchius*)	4053	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	4052	
Henr. Spondanus	4051	9
Torniellus	4051	
Gul. Langius (in *Strauchius*)	4041	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*)	4040	
Eraſmus Reinhold	4021	3
Jacobus Cappellus	4005	9
John Wickman	4004	9
Thomas Lydiat, and *Laurence Eichſtadt*	4004	
Edward Simpſon, and Archbiſhop *Uſher*	4003	9
M. Ant. Cappellus, and Archbiſhop *Uſher* (in *Chevreau*)	4000	
Dionyſius, Petavius, Decker, Kepler, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3984	
Petavius (in *Strauchius*)	3983	3
Krentzheim	3971	9
Abraham Bucholtzer (in *Strauchius*)	3970	9
The ſame, *J. Cluverius* (in *Chevreau*) *Pantaleon, Boxhornius, Janſenius, M. Dreſſer*	3970	
Chriſt. Matthias, and *J. Cluverius* (in *Strauchius*)	3968	
Henry Bunting (in *Strauchius*)	3967	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*) and *Andrew Soelmattter*	3967	
Chriſt. Longomontanus	3966	3

[e] Breviarium Chronologicum, lib. 4. cap. 1. [f] Hiſt. du Monde, l. 1. c. 1.

Peter

	Years.	Mon.
Peter Opeemer	3966	
Chriſt. Longomontanus, in his *Hypotheſis in Aſtronomiam Danicam*, *Toſtatus*, *Philip. Melanæthon*, *Funccius*, *and others* (in *Strauchius*)	3964	
Melanæthon, *Funccius*, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3963	
Jacobus Haynlinus	3963	3
Sixtus Senenſis	3962	
Joh. Lucidus, *Sculter*, *John Lightfoot*, and ſeveral others	3960	
Alph. Salmeron (in *Chevreau*) *John Picus* Count of *Mirandola*, and others	3959	
Lamberg, and *Salmeron* (in *Strauchius*)	3958	
J. G. Herwart ab Hohenburg	3955	
Beda, *Hermannus Contractus*, *George Herwart* (in *Chevreau*)	3952	
Cornelius a Lapide	3951	
Scaliger, *Calviſius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Behmius*, and *Helvicus* (in *Strauchius*)	3949	3
Origen, *Argoli*, *John Scybor*	3949	
Chriſtianus Schotanus.	3948	3
Johannes Micrælius	3948	
Scaliger, *Calviſius*, *Helvicus*, (in *Chevreau*) *Alſted*, &c.	3947	
Hermannus Contractus (in *Strauchius*)	3945	9
John Carrion	3944	
St. Jerom in his *Hebraic* Queſtions	3941	
Gerard Mercator	3928	
Matthæus Beroaldus	3927	3
B. Arias Montanus	3849	
Andreas Helvigius	3836	
Some *Talmudiſts*	3784	
R. *David Ganz* (in *Chevreau*)	3761	
The *Jewiſh* vulgar Computation	3760	3
R. *David Ganz* (in *Strauchius*)	3760	
Hieron. à Sancta Fide, *Paulus de S. Maria*, *Galatinus*, *Georgius Venetus*	3760	
R. *Habſon*, in his Treatiſe of the Cycles of Paſſover	3740	
R. *Jaſon Noſen*	3734	
R. *Abraham Zaccuth*	3671	
The leſſer Chronicon of the *Jews*	3670	
R. *Lipponan*	3616	

It would be endleſs, as well as unneceſſary, here to examine into the particular Cauſes of this great Difference among Authors, every one ſtill pretending to ground his Syſtem on the Authority of the Scripture: It will be ſufficient, after we have ſtated the Times from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, according to the Computation obſerved in the three ſeveral Copies of the Scripture before-mentioned, to ſubjoin one or two Schemes of the ſame Intervals, according to the different Supputations of the beſt modern Chronologers, which, beſides illuſtrating our ſubject, will be of Uſe to the Reader in peruſing the Hiſtorians, who make Uſe of one or other of thoſe Computations.

Table I. formed out of the whole Numbers of the Intervals.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.* According to Eusebius and the present Copies.				*Septuagint.* Common Copies.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		3944		0		4305		0		5270	
2. The Deluge	1656		2288	1656	1307		2998	1307	2242		3028	2242
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2023	367	1921	307	2384	1077	1921	1017	3389	1147	1881	1147
4. The Exodus	2453	797	1491	430	2814	1507	1491	430	3819	1577	1451	430
5. The founding of the Temple	2933	1277	1011	480	3294	1987	1011	480	4259	2017	1011	440
Captivity												
6. The burning of the Temple	3357	1701	587	424¾	3718	2411	587½	424½	4683	2441	587½	424¾
the first of *Cyrus*	3409	1753	535		[3770	2463	535		[4735	2493	535	
the second of *Darius Hyst.*	3427	1771	517	[70	[3788	2481	517	[70	[4753	2511	517	70
7. The Birth of *Christ*	3944	2288	0	587	4305	2998	0	587½	5270	3028	0	587½

Table II. formed out of the Particulars.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.*				*Septuagint.* According to Dr. *Grabe's* Edition, and the *Constantinopolitans.*			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4111		0		4424		0		5508	
2. The Deluge	1656		2455	1656	1307		3117	1307	2262		3246	2262
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	2040	427	2384	1077	2040	1077	3469	1207	2039	1207
4. The Exodus	2513	857	1610	430	2814	1507	1610	430	3894	1629	1614	425
5 The founding of the Temple	3093	1437	1018	592	3406	2099	1018	592	4495	2230	1013	601
Captivity			607				607					
6. The burning of the Temple	3523	1867	588	430	3836	2409	588	430	4919	2654	589	424
the first of *Cyrus*	[3575	1919							[4995			
the second of *Darius Hyst.*	[3583	1937										
7. The Birth of *Christ*	4111	2455	0	588	4424	3117	0	588	5508	3246	0	589

Table III. according to the Supputation of certain Authors.

	Hebrew. Usher.				Josephus.				*Septuagint.* Pezron.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4004		0		4658		1		5872	
2. The Deluge	1656		2348	1656	1556		3102	1556	2256		3617	2256
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	1921	427	2523	967	2135	967	2513	1257	2360	1257
4. The Exodus	2513	857	1491	430	2953	1397	1705	430	3946	1687	1930	430
Moses's Death	[2553				[2993							
5. The founding of the Temple	2992	1336	1012	479	3545	1989	1113	592	4816	2560	1057	873
Captivity	3397	1741	607						[5268	3012	605	452
6. The burning of the Temple	3416	1760	588	424	4015	2459	643	470	[5287	3031	586	[19
the first of *Cyrus*	3468				4085			[70	[5337	3081	536	69
the second of *Darius Hyst.*	3486			[70					[5351	3095	520	
7. The Birth of *Christ.*	4004	2348	0	588	4658	3102	0	643	5873	3617	1	

* * *

The

THE Reader may perceive at one View of the preceding Tables, what Room the ſeveral Copies of the Scriptures we now have, give for varying the Chronology of the whole, and how many different Syſtems may be grounded on them. By the Calculation made uſe of in the firſt Table, which conſiſts of the Intervals, inſerted in the fourth, or right-hand Column of each Diviſion, from the Creation to the Birth of CHRIST, according to the whole Numbers mentioned in the Text of the reſpective Copies, the *Samaritan* Account exceeds the *Hebrew* by three hundred and ſixty one Years, while the *Septuagint* exceeds the *Samaritan* by nine hundred and ſixty five Years. Which Difference ſtill becomes greater in the ſecond Table, made out of the particular Numbers, which compoſe the Intervals, by an Addition of one hundred and nineteen Years to the *Samaritan*, and two hundred and thirty eight to the *Septuagint* Computation; which therefore exceeds the *Hebrew* Computation in the firſt Table, by no leſs than one thouſand five hundred and ſixty four Years.

THE third Table exhibits three other Forms, the firſt of which, being that of the great Primate *Uſher*, is grounded on the *Hebrew* whole Numbers, and differs from that in the firſt Table but ſixty Years, which are added to the Interval from the Deluge to the Call of *Abraham*. The ſecond is compoſed from the Chronology of *Joſephus* as cleared up by Dr. *Wills*[g], and Mr. *Whiſton*[h]; who, reckoning according to the Particulars, obſerves ſomewhat of a Mean between the *Samaritan* and the *Septuagint*, and is thought, in moſt reſpects, to have given us the true *Hebrew* Numbers, which, it is to be feared, the *Jews*, ſince his Time, have corrupted. And the third is that of *P. Pezron*, being an Enlargement of the *Septuagint* and *Greek* Computation, in order to accommodate the Sacred to the Prophane Hiſtory.

OF theſe three different Copies of Scripture, the *Samaritan* Computation ſeems not only beſt to ſuit the Nature, and Circumſtances of the Hiſtory of antient Times recorded in the Old Teſtament, as well as to be confirmed by the Concurrence of genuine Prophane Hiſtory, which by no means ought to be thrown out of the Queſtion; but alſo appears to be the old and authentic *Hebrew* Computation, preſerved by the *Samaritans* in their Character, while the *Hebrew* Copy has evidently been corrupted, in all Probability, to obviate the Prophecies concerning the *Meſſiah*, and on other Accounts; as *Pezron*[i], Dr. *Wills*[k], Mr. *Whiſton*[l], and others have ſufficiently proved.

FOR theſe Reaſons therefore, and many others, which will frequently occur in the Courſe of this Work, we have found ourſelves obliged to depart from the Example of the Generality of our modern Chronologers, who follow the *Hebrew* Chronology, and to adhere to that of the *Samaritan*, which preſerves a Mean between the Defect of the *Hebrew* on the one hand, and the Exceſs of the *Septuagint* on the other. In adjuſting our Periods, we have ſtrained nothing to favour any Hypotheſis of our own, or to force the Sacred Hiſtory to agree with any Part of the Prophane, as too many unreaſonably have done; of which our conſtant confining ourſelves to the whole Numbers, which are always the ſhorteſt, is a Demonſtration.

THE Reader may obſerve, that the whole Difference betwixt the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan* Computation (for we have no more than the Pentateuch in that Character) lies in the Interval between the Creation and the Calling of

[g] Pref. to L'Eſtrange's Edition of Joſephus. and his Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c.
[h] Chronol. of the Old and New Teſt.
[i] Vid. l'Antiquité des tems retablié & defendué.
[k] In his Preface to L'Eſtrange's Engliſh Joſephus.
[l] Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c. Prop. 12. p. 220.

Abraham

Abraham, and ariſes from the different Ages aſſigned the Patriarchs, at the Birth of their Sons mentioned in *Geneſis*. The *Septuagint* Copy carries this Difference down to the Founding of the Temple, which, according to that Text[m], happened in the four hundred and fortieth Year of the *Exodus*, forty Years ſhort of the *Hebrew*; but we have choſen to follow the whole Number, as it ſtands in the *Hebrew*[n], (for we have no *Samaritan* Copy here to guide us) thinking the Text too expreſs to admit of any Alteration. The Length of the Interval from the Founding to the Burning of the Temple, is limited within the four hundred and thirty Years[o] of God's Patience towards the *Jews*; and is collected out of the Years of the Reigns of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, as they have been collated and adjuſted by judicious Chronologers[p]: So that there is no room for allowing more than forty Years to the Reign of *Solomon*, as aſſigned him in all the Copies extant, the Scripture affording Means for reconciling the ſeeming Inconſiſtencies, with Regard to the Ages of him and his Son *Rehoboam*, at their reſpective Acceſſions to the Throne. But here we ſhould be at a great Loſs (the *Babyloniſh* Captivity interrupting the Courſe of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory), if it was not for the Opportunity we have of connecting this Period with the *Nabonnaſſarian* or *Babylonian* Æra, by means of the famous Aſtronomical Canon of *Ptolemy*; whereby we are enabled with Certainty to carry the Account of Time down to the Birth of *Chriſt*, which, according to our Supputation, falls in the Year of the World Four thouſand three hundred and five, and of the Flood two Thouſand nine hundred and ninety eight, according to the *Samaritan* Computation in the firſt Table.

We have alſo taken the Liberty to depart from the general Method, obſerved hitherto by Chronologers in another Point, and inſtead of carrying down our Computation from the Creation, through the ſeveral Ages, to the Birth of *Chriſt*, to diſcontinue it at the Flood, and begin a new Reckoning from thence; and this we have been induced to do for ſeveral Reaſons.

1. Because the Period between the Creation and the Flood contains little memorable, beſides the Age and Death of each Patriarch. 2. Becauſe it is a particular Period, cut off, as it were, from the reſt of Time, and hath little or no Connection with the Ages ſucceeding the Deluge. 3. Becauſe at the Deluge the old World was deſtroyed, and from thence a new Origination of Mankind began, whoſe Affairs have little or no Dependence on thoſe of the Antediluvians. 4. Becauſe it will help to give the Reader a more diſtinct Notion of the Diſtance of Time, as derived from a Period with which we are more immediately concerned, and beyond which no genuine Hiſtory of any Nation reaches. 5. Becauſe it will bring the ſeveral Scriptural Computations nearer to an Agreement among themſelves, the great Diſproportion among them ariſing chiefly from the Difference this Period creates. Thus in the whole Space of Time, from the Creation to the Birth of *Chriſt*, the *Septuagint*, according to the firſt Table, differs from the *Hebrew*, one thouſand three hundred and twenty ſix Years, and but ſeven hundred and forty, reckoning from the Flood. The Difference alſo between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan*, reckoning from the Creation, is no leſs than nine hundred and ſixty five Years; and no more than thirty, if you compute from the Flood. The *Septuagint* Chronology exceeds that of *Joſephus* ſix hundred and twelve Years, taking in the Times preceding the Deluge; but in the Space betwixt the Deluge and *Chriſt*, it is exceeded by that of *Joſephus* by ſeventy four Years, as will appear more clearly by the following Table.

[m] Vid. Septuag. 1 Kings vi. 1. [n] 1 Kings vi, 1. [o] Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6. [p] See Uſher's Chronologia Sacra, Pars poſterior; and Whiſton's Short View of the Chronol. of the Old Teſt. p. 83, and in the Tables at the End.

According to the First TABLE.				According to the Second TABLE.			
Years from the Creation to Christ.		*Years from the Flood to Christ.*		*Years from the Creation to Christ.*		*Years from the Flood to Christ.*	
Sam.	4305		2998		4424		3117
Heb.	3944		2288		4111		2456
	361		710		311		662
Sept.	5270		3028		5508		3246
Heb.	3944		2288		4111		2455
	1326		740		1397		791
Sept.	5270		3028		5508		3246
Sam.	4305		2998		4424		3117
	965		30		1084		129
Jos.	4658		3102		4658		3102
Heb.	3944		2288		4111		2455
	714		814		547		647
Jos.	4658		3102	*Jos.*	4658	*Sam.*	3117
Sam.	4305		2998	*Sam.*	4424	*Jos.*	3102
	353		104		294		15
Sept.	5270	*Jos.*	3102	*Sept.*	5508		3246
Jos.	4658	*Sept.*	3028	*Jos.*	4658		3102
	612		74		850		144

Indeed, if we compare the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, the Caſe is otherwiſe; for the Difference betwixt thoſe two Computations is greater in the Interval from the Flood to *Chriſt* than from the Creation, the *Samaritan* falling ſhort of the *Hebrew* in the Interval between the Creation and the Flood, at the ſame Time that it exceeds it in that betwixt the Flood and the Vocation of *Abraham*.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, we have thought fit, throughout the Courſe of our Hiſtory, to make uſe of the Year of the Flood, inſtead of that of the World, in our marginal Synchroniſms, and hope the Reader will conſider it rather as an Improvement, than an Innovation in Chronology. However, in our Tables at the End of each Volume, we ſhall add the Year of the World, to ſerve inſtead of a *Julian* Period; a Contrivance, which how uſeful ſoever it may be in the Technical Chronology, is, as we conceive, of no manner of uſe at all in the Hiſtorical.

To the Year of the Flood we have always added that before *Chriſt*, which, conſidering the Variety of Syſtems that are abroad, (every Author almoſt having one of his own) is the more neceſſary, as it always carries the Chronology of the Author along with it; for the two Sums, being added together, ſhew the Year before the *Chriſtian* Æra, according to that Computation, whether *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, or *Septuagint*, which the Author follows. For Inſtance, according to the *Samaritan* Account in the firſt Table, which we follow, *Solomon* began to build the Temple in the Year of the Flood 1987, and before *Chriſt* 1011; theſe two Sums added make two thouſand nine

hundred ninety eight; which is the Year before the *Chriſtian* Æra by that Reckoning; and two thouſand nine hundred ninety eight being added to one thouſand three hundred and ſeven, the Number of Years betwixt the Creation and the Flood, the Sum, four thouſand three hundred and five, gives the Year of the World in which the Birth of *Chriſt* happened, according to the vulgar Computation. Indeed, was our Chronology upon as fixed a Footing as it is among the *Greeks*, the *Ruſſians*, and ſome other Nations, who begin their Computation from the Creation, and never change their Opinions; to diſcover the Diſtance of any Tranſaction backwards from the preſent Time, there would be no need of knowing more than the Year of the World in which it fell out. For Inſtance, the Temple was begun, according to the *Ruſſians*, who follow the *Greek* and *Septuagint* Computation in the ſecond Table, in the Year of the World 4495. Now the preſent Year of our *Lord* 1730, being the ſeven thouſand two hundred and thirty eighth according to their Account, it is only deducting four thouſand four hundred ninety five, from ſeven thouſand two hundred thirty eight, and you have two thouſand ſeven hundred forty three, which is the Number of Years ſince the Founding of *Solomon*'s Temple to this Time, differing but two Years in Exceſs from our Reckoning: Whereas, before we could be able to diſcover it by that ſingle Character, we ſhould be obliged, perhaps, to ſearch a good while to find out the Syſtem which the Author goes upon; and when we had met with it, ſhould be at the Trouble of uſing Subſtraction, as well as Addition. So that the joining the Year before *Chriſt* to that of the World, or of the Flood, is one of the greateſt Improvements in Chronology; and as neceſſary for aſcertaining the true Time of every Event, as the Longitude and Latitude are in Geography, to determine the exact Situation of a Place. In a Word, theſe two Sorts of Reckonings ought to be made inſeparable; and whoever gives only one of them without the other, can afford his Reader no ſatisfactory Idea of Things; and indeed muſt write in Confuſion himſelf.

HAVING given the Reader this general Account of our Chronology, and ſtated the ſeveral Periods of it from the Creation, and the Flood, to the Birth of *Chriſt*; we ſhall hereafter give the Analyſis of each Period, as we proceed, to ſhew the Authority upon which our Syſtem is grounded.

IN the Hiſtory itſelf we have endeavoured to execute our Propoſals in the beſt Manner we could; and hope, we have made no Slips therein, but ſuch as are excuſable. Some, no doubt, there are; for we have not the Vanity to think ourſelves able to write a perfectly complete Hiſtory, which, as a modern Author [p] expreſſes it, is not to appear, but in that Year which diſcovers the perpetual Motion, and the Philoſopher's Stone.

IN compoſing the following Work, we have all along taken the Liberty (to uſe the Words of an ingenious Gentleman, whom we have followed in this reſpect) "To tranſlate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce any "Parts of the Authors, from whom we have made our Collections, if we "found them really conducing to the Uſe or Ornament of the Deſign, not "being able to diſcover any Merit, or Cunning, in varying the Stile and Senſe "of an Author, for no other Purpoſe, than to conceal the Ignorance of the "Tranſcriber, or to deſtroy an Obligation of Gratitude, which ought to be "confeſſed to all Mankind."[q]

We have added to this, as we ſhall do to each Volume, a complete and copious *Index*, giving the Reader a View of the whole Work in Epitome, and referring him to all the Parts of it with great Exactneſs.

[p] Le Moyne. [q] Mr. Lewis in his Preface to his Origines Hebræ.

AN

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

The Coſmogony, or Creation of the World.

The deſign of the work, and the difficulties which attend it

OUR deſign is to write a General Hiſtory of mankind, from their original to our own time. An undertaking of vaſt extent, and which would, perhaps, be ſcarce practicable, were the hiſtories of all nations now extant, and their ſeries complete. But as many nations entirely neglected their hiſtory, at leaſt for ſeveral ages; ſo the hiſtories of many others, who kept ſome records of paſt actions, have been either totally, or in part, deſtroyed by wars, time, miſguided zeal, and other caſualties. Beſides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities; the firſt memory of perſons, and facts, having been preſerved by the inſtitution of feſtivals, the building
a of cities, erecting of ſtones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true ſeries of hiſtory could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from the oral tradition which accompanied them.

BUT if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced hiſtory into a cloſer compaſs, it has, on the other, occaſioned great confuſion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions, and defects, which occur in the antiquities of nations, drive the hiſtorian ſo often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourſe to ſo many ſhifts, to connect and ſupply them, that his labour ſeems to be encreaſed by the ſcarcity of materials; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader ſatisfaction.

b MANY other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, eſpecially as to the hiſtory of antient times: ſuch as the numbers of forged and ſpurious books; the fictions of poets, who were the firſt hiſtorians; the contradictions and partiality of authors; the different computations of time in uſe among the ſame, as well as different nations; the want of æra's to compute from in ſome nations, and the multiplicity of them in others; the variety of proper names of the ſame perſon and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or deſign. What adds to the misfortune is, that if we except the *Jews*, not one of the hiſtories of thoſe antient nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, have come to our
c hands; nothing remaining of them, beſides ſome few fragments, preſerved here

and there in other writers, which ſerve only to make us lament their loſs, and to ſhew the inaccuracy of the *Greek* hiſtorians, with regard to foreign nations.

WE have thought proper briefly to premiſe thus much, with regard to the ſtate of antient hiſtory, in order to entitle ourſelves to the reader's candour, in paſſing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with. But before we enter upon the hiſtory itſelf, we ſhall give ſome account of the coſmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; which ſeems to demand our firſt attention, as being the place from whence mankind derive their original, and the theatre whereon the ſcenes of the enſuing hiſtory are to be acted.

God the author of the world, both as to matter and form.

THAT the univerſe was created or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely powerful, wiſe, and good GOD, who being ſelf-exiſtent is the original cauſe of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved, from reaſon[a]. And tho' all atheiſts, both antient and modern, have conſtantly denied, that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been thought to be embaraſſed with ſeveral conſiderable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exiſt, and the ſeeming contradiction in ſuppoſing the world to be created in time, becauſe then it would be ſeparated from eternity only by an indiviſible point, which cannot ſufficiently diſtinguiſh an eternal Being from a temporary production[b]; yet theſe are rather difficulties ariſing from our own imperfect, and finite reaſon and conception, whereby we are not able to form a diſtinct idea of creation, or eternity, than any real impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for it is no contradiction to affirm, that ſomething, which once was not, may ſince have begun to exiſt; the true notion of creation being not a forming of ſomething out of nothing, as out of a material cauſe, but only a bringing ſomething into being, which before had no being at all, and which, without ſome cauſe, would not have exiſted; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing, into a ſhape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction[c]. And they who deny GOD's power to create matter, muſt fly to one of theſe ſuppoſitions, either that matter exiſted from eternity, as a paſſive ſubject of all the operations of GOD, and as a collateral principle, or elſe that matter is the only ſelf-exiſtent being; either of which involves us in the moſt impious abſurdities. The firſt ſuppoſition neceſſarily implies two ſelf-exiſtent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impoſſible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any reſpect otherwiſe than it now is, without a contradiction; than which nothing is more eaſy. For whether we conſider the form of the world, with the diſpoſition and motion of its parts, or whether we conſider the matter of it, as ſuch, without reſpect to its preſent form; every thing in it, both the whole, and every one of its parts, their ſituation and motion, the form, and alſo the matter, are the moſt arbitrary and dependent things, and the fartheſt removed from neceſſity, that can poſſibly be imagined[d].

The arguments uſed to prove the non-exiſtence of matter of ſmall force.

AS for thoſe who deny the actual exiſtence of matter and motion, (if there be any who do ſo in earneſt) it might be ſufficient to ſay, that there is in effect no difference in reſpect to us, whether they be actually exiſtent, or no more than appearances; for if GOD immediately communicate all ſenſible perceptions to our mind, as he muſt do if there be no ſuch thing as ſenſible ſubſtance, he is ſtill the author of thoſe appearances, which have the ſame conſequences and effects, to our conception, as if they were real: not to urge the indecency of ſuſpecting GOD to have made the world a mere ſcene of deluſion. The impoſſibility of extenſion is attempted to be proved from the inextricable difficulties which follow, if matter be infinitely diviſible, as it neceſſarily muſt, and is eaſily demonſtrated[e]. And if there be no extenſion, the unavoidable conſequence is, that there can be no motion; which is alſo argued from the perplexing objections raiſed on the ſuppoſition of a vacuum; and yet a vacuum muſt be admitted, or elſe no motion can be conceived[f]. But theſe difficulties, though unanſwerable, as great maſters of reaſon have confeſſed, evince no more, than that human underſtanding is finite and imperfect; and being only raiſed from our want of having an adequate idea either of extenſion or ſpace[g], ought not therefore to be eſteemed real difficulties[h].

[a] Dr. CLARKE, in his Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of GOD. [b] Mr. BAYLE, dans les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Letters, Tom. IV. p. 1301. [c] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 83, 84. See alſo Dr. NICHOLLS's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part 1, p. 26. [d] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 23, &c. [e] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zenon, Remarq. G. and LOCKE on Human Underſtanding, B. 2. c. 13. [f] Vid. ibid. Rem. F. I. [g] Vid. ibid. Rem. I. [h] Vid. CLARKE's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of GOD, p. 11, 12.

THE

THE ſeveral opinions, which have been held by the antients, or moderns, as to the origin of the univerſe, may be comprehended under one, or other, of the following three; *viz.* *The ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of the world.*

I. THAT the world is eternal, both as to matter and form, and had neither any origin, nor will be ſubject to any corruption[i].
II. THAT the matter of the world is eternal, but not the form. Or,
III. THAT the world had a beginning, and will ſuffer a diſſolution, being of its own nature periſhable.

a AND to begin with the firſt of theſe opinions: None of the antients openly maintained it, except ſome Pſeudo-Pythagoreans, and *Ariſtotle*[k]; to whom we may add ſeveral of *Plato*'s followers. But few, if any, of them intended thereby to aſſert, as ſome moderns have done, that the material world was GOD, or the original, ſelf-exiſting, and independent Being, in oppoſition to the belief of a ſupreme all-governing Mind; but either barely that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, which is all *Ocellus Lucanus* proves; or elſe that the world is an eternal, and neceſſary effect, flowing from the immutable energy of the divine nature, which ſeems to have been *Ariſtotle*'s opinion; or elſe that the world is an eternal voluntary emanation from the all-wiſe and ſupreme Cauſe, which was the opinion of many Platoniſts[l]. *The opinion of thoſe who held it eternal, both in matter and form.*

b OCELLUS LUCANUS, whoſe antiquity and authority have been oppoſed to thoſe of *Moſes*[m], though he lived not long before *Plato*, was one of the moſt antient aſſerters of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his maſter *Pythagoras*. We have a ſhort treatiſe under his name, concerning the nature of the univerſe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end[n]; that it is of itſelf eternal, and perfect, and permanent for ever[o]; and that the frame and parts of the world muſt needs be eternal, as well as the ſubſtance and matter of the whole[p], and mankind alſo[q]. But his arguments for this opinion are either very abſurd and ridiculous; as when he attempts to prove that the world muſt needs be eternal, without beginning, or end, becauſe both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning, or ending[r]; or elſe they
c are ſuch arguments as tend to prove that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, becauſe it is impoſſible for every thing to ariſe out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he ſays, that the world muſt have been eternal, becauſe it is a contradiction for the univerſe to have had a beginning; ſince, if it had a beginning, it muſt have been cauſed by ſome other thing, and then it is not the univerſe[s]: to which one argument all he ſays in his whole book is plainly reducible. And to ſay the truth, he himſelf ſeems perſuaded, that however eternal and neceſſary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that neceſſity muſt flow from an eternal and intelligent Mind, the neceſſary perfections of whoſe nature are the cauſe of that harmony which keeps the univerſe together, and prevent its falling into diſorder[t]. He
d allows GOD to have given men faculties, organs of ſenſe, and appetites, not for the ſake of pleaſure, but fitted for final cauſes[u]; and expreſly aſſerts, that the ever active Being governs, and the ever paſſive is governed; that the one is firſt in power, the other poſterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change[x]. *The opinion of* Ocellus Lucanus.

ARISTOTLE alſo held this opinion, as is ſufficiently known; and, if he be to be believed, was the firſt, at leaſt of the *Greeks*, who aſſerted it; for he ſays, that before his time the temporary production of the world was univerſally entertained, though it was a queſtion whether it ſhould ever periſh or not[y]. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth were ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind, and all the ſpecies of animals, male and female, have ſubſiſted from everlaſting
e by a perpetual courſe of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as we now ſee it to be[z]. But how this is reconcileable with what he elſewhere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, ſeems hard to ſhew: for if thoſe elements were ever in their natural places and diſpoſitions, *Of* Ariſtotle.

[i] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 6. [k] BURNET's Archæol. l. 2. cap. 1. [l] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 32. [m] Vid. Oracles of Reaſon, p. 215. [n] OCELL. LUCAN. de Univ. p. 506. Inter opuſc. Mythol. edit. per T. Gale, 1688. [o] Ib. 510. [p] Ib. 528. [q] Ib. 530. [r] Ib. 514. Vid. alſo Oracles of Reaſon, ubi ſup. [s] OCELL. ibid. 506, 508. [t] OCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ibid. p. 537. [u] Idem de Univ. 531. Vid. Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtration, &c. p. 33, &c. [x] OCELL. de Legibus Fragm. ubi ſup. p. 538. [y] ARISTOT. de Cœlo. lib. 1. cap. 10. [z] Ibid. cap. 12. Vid. PHILON. JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 940. BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 180. CUDWORTH's Intellectual Syſtem, p. 250.

according

according to their reſpective gravity, which nothing but ſome external violence could have hindred; it follows neceſſarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from what it now is, and could not poſſibly be inhabited from eternity[a]. The great reaſon, which induced *Ariſtotle* to aſſert the world to be eternal[b], was, becauſe he thought ſuch an effect muſt needs eternally proceed from ſuch an eternal cauſe as the divine Mind, which, being all act and energy, could not reſt in a ſtate of inactivity. He acknowledges, that the firſt principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual ſubſtance is the cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we ſo much admire in it[c]. And he expreſly deſcribes GOD to be an intelligent Being[d], incorporeal, the firſt mover of all things, himſelf immoveable[e], eternal, indiviſible, and void of all quantity[f]; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cauſe, but an infinite progreſſion of cauſes[g]; which is abſurd[h]. So that the true notion of this great philoſopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one ſupreme Deity, after ſome other manner[i].

THESE ſentiments of *Ariſtotle*, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and among the reſt by ſeveral learned *Mohammedans*, who were thence named *Dahrians*, or *Eternaliſts*. Of this opinion *al Farábi*, *al Kendi*, *Ebn Roſhd*, and *Ebn Sina* (which two laſt we uſually call *Averroes* and *Avicenna*) were ſuſpected; and therefore their philoſophy was publickly, and even in the pulpit, inveighed againſt by the more orthodox, and themſelves branded with the invidious appellations of atheiſts and infidels[k].

Of Plato's *followers.*

THOUGH *Plato*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, did himſelf plainly acknowledge the world to be made by GOD, yet having uſed ſome expreſſions, as if he thought the time of its formation to be indefinite; as when he ſays, that the world muſt needs be an eternal reſemblance of the eternal idea[l], his followers, or the greateſt part of them, who adhered to *Ariſtotle*'s opinion in this matter, took advantage of theſe expreſſions, and explained them ſo, as if by the creation of the world was not to be underſtood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, cauſality, and dependance[m]: that is, that the will of GOD, and his power of acting, being neceſſarily as eternal as his eſſence, the effects of that will and power muſt be ſuppoſed coeval to the will and power themſelves; in the ſame manner as light would eternally proceed from the ſun[n], or a ſhadow from the interpoſed body, or an impreſſion from an impoſed ſeal, if the reſpective cauſes of theſe effects were ſuppoſed eternal[o]. Exiſtence from eternity, and being cauſed or produced by another, were not therefore by theſe philoſophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconſiſtent. And as they were led into this opinion, no otherwiſe than from the ſole conſideration of the deity; *viz.* its benevolent will, and generative power[p]; ſo they allowed, that the world, notwithſtanding its being from eternity, might in ſome ſenſe be ſaid to be made, as being produced from another cauſe, and not ſelf-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods, and the world, in this ſenſe, *Proclus* himſelf, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowledges, when he ſays, that they called it the generations of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable proceſſion from a ſuperior firſt cauſe[q].

THE latter Platoniſts were ſo fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other deſirous to ſave appearances, they endeavoured, by forced conſtructions, to wreſt their maſter's words, eſpecially his *Timæus*, to their purpoſe; and, as has been long ſince obſerved, turned themſelves every way, uſing all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought, by all poſſible means, to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its ſoul, as if it were ſome horrid thing, and not to be ſpoken of[r]. It is well known, that Platoniſm was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogm favourably received by ſome, and *Origen* in particular[s], and as zealouſly oppoſed by others. It

[a] Vid. BURNET's Archæol. l. 1. p. 181, and his Theory of the Earth, V. I. p. 51. [b] Several other Reaſons were given by his Followers, nearly agreeing with thoſe of OCELLUS, which may be read in PHILO JUD. ubi ſup. p. 943, &c. [c] ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. cap. 2, 3. [d] Νοῦς. [e] DIOGENES LAERT. in vita ARISTOT. p. 286. Ed. Amſt. 1692. [f] In Phyſ. l. 7. c. 1. &c. [g] In Metaph. [h] Vid. CLARKE's Demonſtration, &c. p. 35, and alſo CUDWORTH, p. 253. [i] SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. Phyſ. l. 8. & l. 1. c. 1. [k] Vid. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orientale, p. 303. & ELENCH, Scriptorum præfix. Epiſt. Hai Ebn Yokdhan. [l] PLATO in Timæo, & apud Cicer. de Univ. [m] PLOTINUS En. 3. l. 2. c. 1. & En. 2. l. 9. c. 3, [n] Idem, En. 5. l. 8. c. 12. SALLUST. de. Diis & Mundo, cap. 7. PROCLUS in Timæum. l. 2. p. 111. [o] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtration, &c. p. 37. See alſo the authors there cited, & PHILO JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi. [p] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. [q] PROCL. in Tim. p. 85. Vid. etiam SALLUST. c. 13. CUDWORTH, p. 253. [r] PLUTARCH. de Pſychog. Plat. p. 1013. [s] Vid. METHODIUM de creatis, apud Photium, p. 932.

may

may however be worth obſerving, that this doctrine of the world's co-eternity with GOD was, in the ſixth century, ſuffered to be publickly taught in *Alexandria* by *Ammonius*, the ſcholar of *Proclus* [t], and not without ſucceſs.

An Anſwer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity conſidered.

TO the argument made uſe of by the Platoniſts for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of GOD, it has been anſwered; that though GOD be eſſentially and neceſſarily good, yet the communications of his goodneſs are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For GOD, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwiſe; and therefore thoſe who make the expreſſions of the divine bounty neceſſary, in order to ſettle the
a world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exerciſe his goodneſs, take as much from his ſelf-ſufficiency, as they would ſeem to flatter his goodneſs. For GOD cannot be himſelf without his goodneſs; and therefore, if his goodneſs cannot be without ſome creature to ſhew and diſplay itſelf upon, GOD cannot be perfect, or happy without his creatures; becauſe theſe are the neceſſary iſſues of his goodneſs, and conſequently the being of the creature becomes neceſſary to the being of GOD, which is the higheſt derogation imaginable from the abſolute perfection of the divine nature [u]. All which is very true, and we do not ſee what reply a Platoniſt could make, if it were the real doctrine of the ſect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwiſe, and expreſly declared, that one of the reaſons,
b why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production, was, the conſideration of his *beneficent will* [x], as well as his productive power; both which being ſuppoſed, the effect may neceſſarily follow, without any derogation from GOD's abſolute perfections. It is not therefore without due conſideration, that very able diſputants have acknowledged, that the time when the world was created, or whether its creation was, properly ſpeaking, in time, is not ſo eaſy to demonſtrate ſtrictly by bare reaſon, but the proof of it can be taken only from revelation; and therefore they, who, wanting that light, have denied the world to have had a beginning, are ſomewhat excuſable [y].

This controverſy ſet in a clearer light.

BUT, on a nicer diſcuſſion, this controverſy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great meaſure, a diſpute about words only. All chriſtians in general (ex-
c cept thoſe who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deſerve not that name) agree, that GOD alone hath always exiſted; but ſeveral maintain, that he might have actually created the world, as ſoon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have exiſted eternally, ſince there is no doubt, but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand ſeveral maintain, that it is impoſſible for a creature to be eternal [z]. But when they come to argue, the ſtrength of each party lies rather in making objections, than ſolving them. This diſpute, which is rendred ſo tedious and perplexing, would end preſently, if they would but explain themſelves clearly on each ſide, and forego the equivocal acceptation of *eternity*; and then the queſtion ſhould be thus ſtated: *Is it poſſible, that* GOD *and his creatures may have always exiſted*
d *together?* The negative would not ſo readily be taken; for the expreſſion of the eternity of the world, that expreſſion, I ſay, which ſhocks ſo many people, would not ſtrike the mind. To remove this ſtumbling-block ſtill more effectually, it ſhould be declared, that a creature which ſhould have always co-exiſted with GOD would not be eternal, for this reaſon; becauſe the duration of creatures is ſucceſſive, and that eternity is a ſimple duration, which eſſentially excludes both paſt and future. By this eſſential diſtinction between the duration of GOD and that of creatures, the whole conteſt almoſt would ceaſe, and each ſide find their account. It would be granted to thoſe who deny the poſſibility of the creature's being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be poſſible, that GOD and his creature might
e have always exiſted together; ſince it is certain, that the cauſe includes not in its idea a priority of time, with reſpect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cauſe, which needs only will to produce actually whatever it pleaſes. Again, they who ſay, that the creatures have not always co-exiſted with GOD, muſt grant, that GOD exiſted before they did. There was then a *before*, when GOD exiſted alone; therefore it is not true, that GOD's duration is an indiviſible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the exiſtence of creatures: which conſequences drive thoſe who argue in this manner to contradict themſelves; for if the duration of GOD be indiviſible, without paſt, or future, time and creatures muſt have began together; and

[t] ZACHARIAS MITYLENENSIS, in Biblioth. patrum, Vol. II. p. 331. Ed. Paris, 1644. [u] Vid. Biſhop STILLINGFLEET's Origines Sacræ, p. 275, &c. [x] Ἀγαθὸς δὲ ὢν ἐβούλησε. PROCL. in Timæum, p. 116. which Words Dr. CUDWORTH has tranſlated, ſomewhat freely, *Eſſential Goodneſs*. Intell. Syſtem. p. 253. [y] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 39. & POIRET, Cogitationes rationales de Deo anima & mundo, lib. 3. c. 16. num. 9. p. 439. Ed. 1685. [z] Vid. JOH. PHILOPON. contra Proclum, p. 4. & CUDWORTH, p. 887.

and if ſo, how can it be ſaid, that GOD exiſted before the exiſtence of his creatures [a]?

THE two ſeemingly inſuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world are drawn from the eternity of GOD's decree for its creation, and the indiviſibility of the real duration of GOD: which yet have been anſwered in this manner; It is ſuppoſed, that among the poſſible beings which GOD knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was a ſucceſſive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whoſe parts are as diſtinct from one another, as thoſe of poſſible extenſion, which GOD likewiſe knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimenſions. He has left in the ſtate of poſſible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the exiſtence of the other. He choſe ſuch moment as he pleaſed, in this ideal duration, for the firſt which ſhould exiſt, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world: ſo that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world; nor does the indiviſibility of GOD's real duration prove the world had no beginning [b]. a

BUT after all, the diſtinction of the ſchoolmen between the manner of the duration of GOD, and that of his creatures, whereon the preceding argumentation is built, though it has been generally received by the beſt pagan, as well as chriſtian philoſophers, and is at leaſt as old as *Parmenides* [c], has yet been rejected, and oppoſed by many men of great learning and judgment, as inconſiſtent and unintelligible; it being very hard to conceive eternity to be an inſtant, or how that can be together, or at once, which muſt neceſſarily be imagined to be co-exiſtent to ſucceſſions [d]. And whatever force the above-mentioned arguments may be ſuppoſed to carry for the eternity of the world, underſtanding thereby the univerſe, with its ſeveral changes and viciſſitudes; they are far from proving, that the diſpoſition of the ſolar ſyſtem, much leſs the form of the earth, has been for ever the ſame as we now ſee it: the imagining of which ſeems to have been the great error of the old Eternaliſts, and has been ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral arguments, as well from reaſon, as human teſtimony, ſeparate from the evidence of divine revelation, as will be ſeen hereafter. b

The opinion of thoſe who held the univerſe to be God.

SOME modern aſſerters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from theſe ancients, and ventured to affirm the material univerſe to be ſelf-exiſtent, and the ſupream Deity itſelf. This is the doctrine of *Spinoza*, the firſt, as is ſuppoſed, who reduced atheiſm into a ſyſtem, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But as the fundamental opinion, whereon he erected that ſyſtem, was not new, it may be proper, before we ſpeak of him, to ſay ſomething of thoſe who led him the way, though he has departed from them in ſome reſpects. c

The opinion of Xenophanes, *and his followers;*

THAT the univerſe is but one ſubſtance, and that GOD and the world are but one and the ſame thing, hath been an opinion of ſome ſtanding, and is ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught by *Xenophanes*, the founder of the ſect afterwards called the *Eleatic*. He is ſaid to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world [e], but alſo, that whatever exiſted was one being; that there was neither any generation nor corruption; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the ſame [f], and was the true GOD [g]; which doctrine was not only defended by his ſucceſſors, *Parmenides*, *Meliſſus*, and *Zeno* of *Elea*, but by *Stilpo*, and the *Megaric* philoſophers alſo. And to obviate the objection, which might be brought againſt the unchangeable nature of the univerſe, from the continual alterations made therein, by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it ſeemed to ſuffer, were no more than illuſions of our ſenſes, and mere appearances. Which laſt retreat they are eaſily beaten from: for ſince they cannot deny, but there are changes in the world in appearance at leaſt, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but muſt neceſſarily be changed in the ſubject which produces, or receives our ſenſations; and thoſe ſenſations, being paſſions, imply both an efficient cauſe, and a paſſive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things [h]. d e

NEVERTHELESS this opinion of *Zenophanes* and his followers, that all things are one, which ſeems ſo impious and abſurd, has been ſo explained by ſeveral learned men [i], and themſelves defended, as if by the univerſe or *all*, they meant not the material principle of which all things are compoſed, but that one ſimple principle, from whence all things had their

[a] BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zabarella, Jaques, Rem. H. See alſo Epiſt. Abi Jaafar Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Yokdhân Edit. à POCOCK. p. 105, 106. and Mr. OCKLEY's Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 83. [b] BAYLE, ubi ſupra. [c] See CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem, p. 388. [d] GASSEND. Phyſic. l. 1. Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, Vol. 7. Serm. 13. See alſo Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 45. and CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſtem, p. 644. [e] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. de Præparat. Evang. l. 1. cap. 8. & l. 15. cap. 35. [f] ARISTOCLES de Philoſoph. apud Eund. l. 14. cap. 17. Vid. etiam ARISTOT. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio, & CICER. in Lucullo. [g] CICER. Quæſt. Acad. lib. 2. Vid. etiam SEXTUM EMPIRIC. in Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. l. 1. [h] Vid. ARISTOCLEM. ubi ſupra. [i] LESCALOPIER, in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 44. Art de penſer, part III. cap. 18. & CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 377. & 383, &c.

their original, that is, the true GOD, whom they expreſly affirm to be incorporeal [k], and therefore could not poſſibly be in their opinion the material world. But the writings of theſe philoſophers being not without obſcurity, ſome of the ancients, who were leſs acquainted with metaphyſical ſpeculations, underſtood them phyſically; as if they had aſſerted the whole corporeal world to be all but one thing, and that immoveable; thereby deſtroying, together with the diverſity of things, all motion, mutation, and action; which was plainly to make them not to have been philoſophers, but madmen. *Simplicius* [l], a man well acquainted with the opinions of ancient philoſophers, aſſures us, that *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides* herein wrote not as naturaliſts, but as metaphyſicians,
a not concerning a phyſical element, or principle, but concerning the true Being, or the divine tranſcendency; adding, that though ſome of thoſe ancient philoſophers did not diſtinguiſh natural things from ſupernatural, yet the *Pythagoreans*, and *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all handle theſe two diſtinctly, however, by reaſon of their obſcurity, it were not perceived by many; for which cauſe they have been moſt of them miſrepreſented, not only by pagans, but alſo by chriſtians [m]. And in fact, when theſe *Eleatics* come to treat of natural things, they plainly acknowledge them to be compounded of different principles. *Xenophanes* ſuppoſed, that the earth conſiſted of air and fire [n], and that all things were produced out of the earth, and the ſun and ſtars out of clouds [o]: he alſo held, that there were four
b elements [p]. *Parmenides* made a profeſſed diſtinction between the doctrine concerning theological and metaphyſical things, called by him *truth*, and that concerning phyſical and corporeal things, which he called *opinion*. In the former of which doctrines he aſſerted one immoveable principle, but in the latter two moveable ones, fire and earth, or heat and cold, the firſt being the workman, and the other the matter [q]; he taught, that the earth was formed of a denſer air, which ſubſided [r], and that mankind was firſt produced out of mud [s]. Which notions concerning the origin of things he ſeems to have received from *Archelaus* the *Ionic*, whoſe auditor he is ſaid to have been. And with them *Zeno* alſo agreed, holding, that the nature of all things aroſe from a mixture of heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture; and that man was generated of the earth,
c being equally compounded of the aforeſaid principles, ſo that neither predominated [t].

Of Strato Lampſacenus.

WHETHER *Strato* of *Lampſacus* held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowledged no GOD but nature [u], yet it is not certain, that he taught the univerſe, or nature, to be one ſimple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of *Democritus* [x], it has been thought reaſonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the univerſe; but this is allowed to be no neceſſary conſequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to *Spinoziſm*, than the corpuſcular ſyſtem. There is likewiſe ſome room to believe, that he did not teach, as the Atomiſts did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the *Spinoziſts* do, that nature
d produced it neceſſarily, and from all eternity [y]. *Plutarch* indeed tells us [z], that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous, as if he allowed ſomething to chance, at firſt motion, or impreſſion at leaſt, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plaſtic life, ſuppoſed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane ſyſtem to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plaſtic or orderly nature, both together [a]. But as his opinion is repreſented by *Lactantius* [b], he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the *Epicureans*, and affirmed, that nature had in itſelf a generative and vital power, but had neither ſenſe nor figure; ſo that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the aſſiſtance of any Former, or author.

Of Alexander *the* Epicurean, *and ſome heretical chriſtians.*

e BUT whatever was the real notion of this greateſt of the peripatetic philoſophers [c], it is certain, that *Alexander* the *Epicurean*, who is ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with *Plutarch* [d], maintained, that GOD is matter, or not diſtinct from it; that all things are eſſentially GOD, and that forms are imaginary accidents, which have no real exiſtence;

[k] CUDWORTH, p. 378, 383, &c. [l] SIMPLIC. in Phyſ. ARISTOT. p. 5, 6, &c. [m] CUDWORTH, p. 383. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Xenophanes, Remarq. L. [n] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 55. [o] Idem, in Strom. apud Eund. l. 1. cap. 8. [p] DIOGEN. LAERT. in Vita Xenoph. p. 558. [q] SIMPLIC. ubi ſupra, & DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Parmenidis, p. 560. [r] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. l. 1. cap. 8. [s] DIOG. LAERT. loco citato. CICERO, in Lucullo. SIMPLIC. & THEMIST. in lib. 1. Phyſic. Ariſt. [t] DIOG. LAERT. in vita Zenon. p. 566. [u] CICERO, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & Quæſt. Acad. l. 2. LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, cap. 10. [x] CICERO, Quæſt. Acad. ubi ſupra. [y] BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [z] PLUTARCH. Adv. Colotem, p. 1115. [a] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſtem, p. 108. and BAYLE's Dict. loco citato. [b] LACTANTIUS, de Ira Dei, loco citato. [c] So PLUTARCH calls him in the paſſage above quoted. [d] THOMASIUS, Diſſertat. xiv. ad Philoſoph. Stoic. p. 199.

exiſtence; and therefore he held all things to be ſubſtantially the ſame [e]. Some heretical chriſtians have alſo embraced this extravagant opinion; as one *Amalric* in particular, whoſe dead body was taken up, and burnt in the beginning of the thirteenth century [f], for having in his life-time taught that all things were GOD, and GOD was all things, and the eſſence of all creatures; ſo that the creator and the creature were the ſame; and that GOD was therefore called the end of all things, becauſe all returned into him [g]. Which ſentiments of his were followed by his ſcholar *David* of *Dinant*, and ſeveral others [h]; the learned *Peter Abelard* having alſo been accuſed of holding the ſame opinion [i].

Of certain ſects among the Japaneſe, *and* Mohammedans.

NOR has this notion been confined to *Europe* only, it having alſo made no ſmall progreſs in the eaſt. A conſiderable ſect among the *Japaneſe* teach, that there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is ſimple, clear, luminous, incapable of encreaſe or diminution, without figure, perfect in the higheſt degree, wiſe, but void of reaſon or underſtanding, leading a life of perfect inaction, eaſe, and tranquillity, like a man, whoſe attention is ſtrongly fixed on one thing, regardleſs of all other. They hold, that this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates his eſſence to them, in ſuch a manner, that they are the ſame thing with him, and are reſolved into him when they are deſtroyed [k]. The ſect called by the *Mohammedans al Zenâdika* (the ſingular of which is *Zendîk*) do alſo maintain, that whatſoever we ſee, or is in the world, is GOD [l]. And the famous *Abu Moſlem*, by whoſe conduct and ſucceſs the Khalifat was tranſlated, from the family of *Omeya* to that of *Abbâs*, is ſaid to have held the ſame opinion, and that all things returned at laſt into one common principle, or GOD; which opinion, ſome have ſuppoſed to be what the *Arabian* authors call the Metempſycoſis of reſolution [m], and differs little, if any thing, from that of a later ſect, who ſprang up among the *Mohammedans* about 300 years ago, and call themſelves *Ahl al tahkîk*, or *people of certainty*: they believe, that there is no other God than the four elements, which, together with the world, and all its changes and viciſſitudes, they aſſert to be eternal; and that mankind, as well as other beings, are a compound of thoſe elements, of which they are formed, and into which they return, and are diſſipated. Of this ſect there are great numbers in the province of *Lar* in *Perſia* [n].

The dogm of the ſoul of the world.

THE dogm of the ſoul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the eaſt, but was ſo among the ancients, and made the chief part of the *Stoic* ſyſtem, is at the bottom the ſame with that of *Spinoza* [o]: but as he differed from the *Stoics*, not only in contracting GOD's knowledge, which they allowed to be univerſal, and in denying his providence; but alſo in aſſerting the preſent diſpoſition of the world to have been neceſſary and eternal, and conſequently ſubject to no decay, contrary to their expreſs doctrine, it will be more proper to conſider that opinion under the next head. We ſhall only obſerve here, that ſome heterodox *Stoics*, as *Boëthus* in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being [p], ſubſtituting in the room of its mind or ſoul a plaſtic nature; but alſo aſſerted the world's eternity and incorruptibility, or one conſtant and invariable courſe or tenor of things [q]. The elder *Pliny* ſeems alſo to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whoſe circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immenſe deity, ſuch as was neither made, nor ſhall ever be deſtroyed [r].

The opinion of Spinoza.

SPINOZA taught, that there is no difference of ſubſtances, but that the whole, and every part of the material world, is a neceſſarily exiſtent being, and conſequently infinite [s]; that there is no other GOD but the univerſe [t], and that extenſion is one of his attributes [u]: that ſince it is abſolutely impoſſible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and alſo abſolutely impoſſible for GOD to have cauſed any thing to be, in any reſpect, different from what it now is [x]; every thing that exiſts muſt needs be ſo a part of the divine ſubſtance, not as a modification cauſed in it by any will, or good pleaſure, or wiſdom in the whole (for he expreſly denies GOD to act by any freedom of

[e] ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in 1 Phyſic. Tract. 3. c. 13. [f] V. PRATEOLUM, in Elencho Hæreſ. Voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to ſome authors, this heretic, and his adherents were burnt alive. [g] THOMASIUS, loco citato, ex GERSON. Tractat. de Concordia Metaphyſ. cum Logic. [h] See the authors juſt cited, and BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [i] BAYLE, ibid. [k] POSSEVIN. Biblioth. Select. Tom. I. lib. x. cap. 11. p. 411, &c. See alſo BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Japon, Rem. D. [l] Viaggi di PIETRO DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 324. [m] للأشاعرة الحلولي IBN AL AMID, in vita Khalifæ al Mansûr. See a more preciſe account of this opinion in Mr. Sale's preliminary diſcourſe to his tranſlation of the Korân, p. 176, and 182. [n] DELLA VALLE, Tom. III. p. 392. [o] V. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [p] DIOG. LAERT. in Vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455. [q] PHILO JUD. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 947. Poſidonius and Panætius alſo maintained the world to be eternal. Ibid. [r] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 1. [s] SPINOZA, in Ethic. Part I. Prop. 6, 7, and 8. [t] Ibid. Prop. 14. [u] Ibid. in Schol. ad Prop. 15, & Part II. Prop. 2. [x] Ibid. Part I. Prop. 6, & 33.

of will [y]; or for the ſake of final cauſes [z]) but as of abſolute neceſſity in itſelf, with reſpect to the matter of the exiſtence of each part, no leſs than with reſpect to the ſelf-exiſtence of the whole. So that the opinion of *Spinoza* evidently comes to this; that the univerſe, or material world is GOD, or the ſelf-exiſtent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extenſion, the ſun, moon, plants, animals, men, their motions, ideas, imaginations, and appetites, are all neceſſary modifications of him [a].

Confuted.

THIS monſtrous ſyſtem, tho' it has met with ſome patrons, has yet been ſufficiently expoſed, and confuted by even the weakeſt of its adverſaries [b], and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For *Spinoza*, to avoid the abovementioned inſuperable objection made to the *Eleatics*, who held the univerſe to be immutable, falls into a worſe extremity, and attributes a continual change, and corruption to the divine nature, in reſpect of its various modifications: which doctrine ſhocks common ſenſe, it being horrible to ſuppoſe the Deity both the cauſe, and ſubject of all the moral, and phyſical evils, which are ſo frequent in the world; and what can be more abſurd, than to imagine matter, the vileſt of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary cauſes, to be that ſupreme, perfect being, *with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning* [c]? The very foundations of this hypotheſis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the diviſibility of matter, the one deſtroying the infinity, and the other the unity of GOD [d]; and therefore the *Spinoziſts* conſtantly deny both, ridiculouſly pretending, that there can be no diviſion of matter, unleſs one part be ſeparated from the other by empty ſpace. It ſeems alſo impoſſible, according to this ſyſtem, that the Deity can be an intelligent being: for perception and intelligence being really a diſtinct quality, or perfection, and not a mere effect, or compoſition of unintelligent figure and motion, as has been well proved [e]; it follows, that GOD could not poſſibly be poſſeſſed even of that imperfect underſtanding, allowed him by *Spinoza*, which however being wholly ſeparate from any power of will or choice, is, in any reſpect of any excellency, or indeed to any common ſenſe, the very ſame thing as no underſtanding at all [f]. Mr. *Hobbes*, who alſo held, that there was no ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, being preſſed in his own mind with the difficulty ariſing from the impoſſibility of ſenſe, or conſciouſneſs being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiouſly abſurd ſuppoſition of the antient *Hylozoics*, that all matter, as matter, is indued not only with figure, and a capacity of motion, but alſo with an actual ſenſe or perception; and wants only the organs, and memory of animals, to expreſs its ſenſation [g].

The opinion of thoſe who held the matter of the world to be eternal, but not the form.

THE ſecond opinion, that the ſubſtance of the univerſe is eternal, tho' the form be not, was generally embraced by the ancients, who from that eſtabliſhed axiom, *That nothing can be produced from nothing* [h], concluded the creation of matter to be an abſolute impoſſibility; but at the ſame time thought, they had good reaſon to believe, the world had not always been in its preſent ſtate and diſpoſition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two claſſes. The firſt endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the preſent form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind, as the architect and diſpoſer of all things. But before we produce their ſeveral ſyſtems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles they proceed upon more nearly.

The abſurdity of ſuppoſing matter to be uncreated.

THERE is no doubt, but that the creation of matter, on due weighing the arguments for and againſt it, will appear to be ſo far from impoſſible [i], that it muſt neceſſarily be admitted [k]. For if it be abſurd to imagine matter to be the only ſubſtance, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn, it is much more ſo to ſuppoſe two, or more, eternal beings; which yet was not by the antients thought to be contradictory. But this impious poſition, that GOD is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, thoſe philoſophers who made GOD the Former, preſerver, and director of the world, notwithſtanding their ſeeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconſiſtently, than thoſe who denied him to have any concern with it. For if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and diſtinct from GOD, it owed its exiſtence to its own nature only, depending on no other cauſe, either in reſpect of its eſſence, or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reaſon, that another being ſhould exerciſe ſo great a power over matter as entirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been ſelf-exiſtent

[y] Ibid. Prop. 32. Coroll. 1. [z] Ibid. in Append. ad Prop. 36. [a] See Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 28, &c. & BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. DD. [b] Vid. BAYLE, ibid. Rem. M. & P. [c] Jam. i. 17. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. ubi ſup. Rem. N. [d] Tho' Spinoza allows GOD to be one, yet he aſſerts, that GOD cannot be ſaid to be one, or a ſimple Being, in Propriety of Speech. Opera Poſthuma, Ep. 50. p. 557. [e] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtr. &c. p. 61, &c. [f] Ibid. 55. [g] HOBBES Phyſic. cap. 25. Sect. 5. See Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſupra, p. 63. [h] Ex nihilo nihil. [i] See before, p. 2. [k] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. G. p. 212. & Art. Hierocles Philoſophe, Rem. A.

exiſtent from all eternity without being a world. If God's right to act in this manner be founded on this ſuperior power, the ſame title would authorize all uſurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be ſaid, that God dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodneſs, on a ſuppoſition of its inſenſibility, and precedent imperfection; the anſwer which has been given is, that ſuch a work would not be ſo much an inſtance of God's goodneſs, as an effect of ſuperfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally ſubſiſted of itſelf; for all acceſſions to ſuch a being muſt be foreign to its nature, and conſequently a defect. God therefore muſt in ſuch a caſe have began his work by an ill action, in going about to a
deveſt of its natural ſtate a ſubſtance, uncreated as well as himſelf, and his own ſiſter [l].

On the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the univerſe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, tho' they avoid the abovementioned abſurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by ſuppoſing the eternal motion of matter; which they are obliged to do, if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at leaſt to be produced out of nothing. But if motion be eternal, it was either eternally cauſed by ſome eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce the Deity whom they had excluded: or it muſt be of itſelf neceſſary and ſelf-exiſtent; whence it would follow, that it muſt be a contradiction in terms to ſuppoſe any matter to be at reſt, or to ſuppoſe that there might poſſibly have been originally more or leſs motion in the univerſe, than there actually was; both which are conſequences too abſurd and ridiculous for any to admit: or elſe, without any neceſſity in its own nature, and without any external neceſſary cauſe, it muſt have exiſted from eternity by an endleſs ſucceſſive communication; which is alſo a plain contradiction: for an infinite ſucceſſion of merely dependent beings, without any original cauſe, is a ſeries of beings, which has neither neceſſity nor cauſe, nor any reaſon at all of its exiſtence, neither within itſelf, nor from without; that is, 'tis an expreſs impoſſibility. A late author [m] indeed has ventured to aſſert, and pretended to prove, that motion, that is the *conatus*, or endeavour to move, is eſſential to all matter: but how philoſophically, may appear from this one conſideration. The *conatus* to motion in any one particle c
of matter muſt be either a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way cannot be eſſential to any particle of matter, but muſt ariſe from ſome external cauſe; becauſe there is nothing in the pretended neceſſary nature of any particle to determine its motion, neceſſarily and eſſentially one way, rather than another: and a *conatus* equally to move every way at once, is either an abſolute contradiction, or at leaſt can produce nothing in matter, but an eternal reſt of all, and every one of its parts [n].

Objections to the ſtate of matter before the formation of the world, according to this opinion.

The ſtate, wherein theſe philoſophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is alſo liable to ſeveral objections. They generally ſuppoſed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark, confuſed, fluid d
maſs, without diſtinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts [o], but without order, or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, ariſing from the action and reaction of the firſt four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and their air and fire upwards. This motion they abſurdly enough imagined to have been irregular, and diſorderly [p], till it was ſtopped or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance, or divine power. But *Ariſtotle* has long ago obſerved, that the ſuppoſition of ſuch an irregular motion deſtroys itſelf; for it is impoſſible, that what is infinite and eternal ſhould be moved in a diſorderly manner, but muſt neceſſarily have a regular and natural motion; whence it follows, that the production of the world would rather have e
been an overturning, than introducing the true natural ſtate: for which reaſon he ſays, *Anaxagoras* ſeemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter entirely at reſt [q]. So that if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their ſeveral qualities and properties, the very poſſibility of matter's having continued in that ſtate from eternity is deſtroyed, becauſe we then introduce a principle, which will neceſſarily ſeparate the ſeveral

[l] Hierocles, apud Photium in Biblioth. Cod. cccli. p. 1380. See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. S. &. Art. Hierocles, ubi ſupra. [m] Mr. Toland, Lett. 3. [n] See Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr. p. 66, 14, and 25. [o] Mr. Bayle ſuppoſes Ovid took the chaos to have been entirely homogeneous, becauſe in his fine deſcription of it, in the firſt book of his Metamorphoſis, he ſays, that there was then but one face of nature in the world: which is inconſiſtent with what he preſently adds of the diſagreeing principles of which the chaos conſiſted. But that expreſſion may rather be underſtood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiſcuous compound of all the elements. Vid. Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G. [p] Plato in Timæo, apud Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. III. cap. 2. p. 370. Ovid. Metam. l. 1. [q] Aristot. de Cœlo, loco citato.

ſeveral kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited ſpace of time. This principle alſo renders the aſſiſtance of a Deity unneceſſary; for if the chaos be acknowledged to have in itſelf all the internal power that is requiſite for the ſeparation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper ſituation, there can be no occaſion for the intervention of any external cauſe.

TO reaſon well therefore concerning the production of the world, we muſt conſider GOD as the author of matter, and as the firſt and ſole principle of motion. If we cannot raiſe our minds ſo high as to conceive a creation properly ſo called, which way ever we turn, we ſhall find ourſelves driven to aſſertions and ſuppoſitions directly contrary to reaſon, and be involved in an endleſs labyrinth of abſurdities and contradictions [r].

Theſe philoſophers right in ſuppoſing the world had a beginning.

a BUT however, they who held this opinion were miſtaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reaſon to aſſert that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confuſed chaos. For though the preciſe time of this formation could not have been exactly known, without revelation; yet even at this day, there are remaining many conſiderable, and very ſtrong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this preſent frame and conſtitution of the earth, at leaſt, has been of no very ancient date. The changes which muſt neceſſarily fall out naturally in the earth in a vaſt length of time, by petrification, the ſinking and waſhing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the ſea, the conſumption of water b by plants, and innumerable other accidents; the univerſal tradition of the moſt ancient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at preſent inhabited; the late original and invention of all uſeful arts and ſciences; the ſhortneſs of the hiſtory of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifeſt abſurdities and contradictions of thoſe few accounts, which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impoſſibility that univerſal deluges, or other accidents, ſhould at certain long periods have oftentimes deſtroyed far the greateſt part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to deſtroy them all; theſe, and many more arguments drawn from nature, reaſon, and obſervation, make it exceeding probable, that the formation of the earth was no- c vel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of thoſe ancient poets and philoſophers, who taught, that the world had a beginning, was founded on ſtill more ancient traditions, which were ſo many authorities to them, as their teſtimonies are at this day to us [s].

HAVING obſerved thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheſes, which may be ranged under this head; and we ſhall begin with thoſe, who, excluding all divine interpoſition, accounted for the formation of the univerſe, from the properties and action of matter only.

AND with this doctrine the moſt ancient profane accounts we have now remaining of the original of the world, *viz.* the *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, and *Babylonian*, have d been charged; but whether juſtly or no, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, after we ſhall have laid before him, firſt the accounts themſelves, and then the obſervations which have been made on them.

The Phœnician *coſmogony.*

THE firſt of them is that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been tranſmitted to us by *Sanchoniatho*, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he aſſures us, from the coſmogony of *Taautus*, who was the ſame with the *Egyptian Thoyth*, or *Hermes* [t]. He wrote, that the firſt principle of the univerſe was a dark and ſpiritual (or windy) air, or a ſpirit of dark air, and a turbid obſcure chaos; and that theſe things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds. But when the ſpirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was e called *deſire*. This was the beginning of the formation of all things: but the ſpirit did not know (or acknowledge) its own production. From this conjunction of the ſpirit was begotten *Môt*, [u], which ſome call mud, others a corruption of a watry mixture; and of this came the ſeed of all creatures, and the generation of the univerſe. That there were certain animals which had no ſenſe, from which proceeded intelligent

[r] See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G. [s] See Dr. NICHOLL's Conf. with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part I. p. 26, &c. Dr. BURNET's Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 49. Dr. CLARKE's Diſcourſe concerning the evidences of natural and revealed Religion, p. 252. [t] SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. [u] *Mot*, BOCHART derives this word from the Arabic مادة *Madah*, which ſignifies, as he ſays, the firſt Matter of Things. But as SANCHONIATHO makes the Chaos, and not *Mót*, to be the firſt material principle, Biſhop CUMBERLAND thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic Word, which needs no ſuch changes, as he is forced to preſume: and that is مثة *Matha*, which ſignifies to ſteep, or macerate in Water; ممثوث *Mamuth*, the Noun, denotes ſuch a Confuſion, or Solution, as is thereby made; a Mucilage, as Phyſicians ſpeak. CUMBERL. Remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchon. p. 4. By what is afterwards ſaid of *Mot*'s ſhining forth with the Sun, Moon, and Stars, it ſeems THOYTH conſidered the Earth as a Planet. Vid. ib. p. 18.

intelligent animals called *Zophaſemin* [x], that is, the contemplators of heaven, being formed alike in the ſhape of an egg: immediately *Môt*, with the ſun, moon, ſtars, and larger conſtellations, ſhone forth. That the air being intenſely enlightned by the violent degree of heat communicated to the ſea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great deſcents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were ſeparated, and drawn from their proper place by the heat of the ſun, and then met all again in the air, and daſhed the one againſt the other, thunders and lightnings were engendered; and at the noiſe of the thunders the before-mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the ſound, and male and female moved in the earth and in the ſea [y]. a

Remarks thereon.

EUSEBIUS of *Cæſarea*, to whom we are obliged for preſerving this fragment, obſerves, that this coſmogony of the *Phœnicians* directly brings in atheiſm [z], *Sanchoniatho* having therein delivered no divinity or theology concerning the ſupreme GOD, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven [a], or angels. Which animadverſion has been approved, and purſued by a late very learned man [b], who, with great reaſon, looked on this account of the origin of things as a profeſſed apology for the idolatrous worſhip paid to dead men, and the ſeveral parts of the univerſe; *Thoyth* having led his tranſcriber into the fouleſt ſink of heatheniſm, which is neglect of the ſovereign and only true GOD, in the making, and conſequently of the governing of the world; endeavoured to eſtabliſh the vain and fooliſh religion of the *Phœnicians* and b
Egyptians, who worſhipped the creature more than the creator [c], by pretending to give a generation of the world, without any help from GOD, and ſuppoſing, that the heathen deities, the *Zophaſemin*, which were the planets and fixed ſtars, paſſed gradually from the life of planets, which have no ſenſe (and yet ſome of them were worſhipped) through the ſtate of ſenſible animals, which were more ſolemnly ſerved, till at length they came to be perfect intelligences [d], and ſo worthy to challenge the higheſt worſhip which they gave to them, in which their ſtate-religion reſted.

ON the other hand it has been remarked, that it is well known, *Euſebius* took all advantages poſſible to repreſent the pagans to the worſt, and render their theology c
ridiculous and abſurd [e]; and that if the beſt interpretation be put on the words of *Sanchoniatho*, it is not improbable, that the *Phœnicians* ſuppoſed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a ſpirit [f], or an underſtanding prolifical goodneſs, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection [g], the eternity of which ſpirit ſeems alſo to be aſſerted by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this *Phœnician* coſmogony being confeſſedly taken from that of *Thoyth*, and conſequently agreeing in ſubſtance with the *Egyptian*, which is therefore under the ſame imputation of atheiſm, judgment may be ſuſpended, till that be conſidered alſo.

The Egyptian coſmogony.

THE account of the origin of the univerſe, given us by *Diodorus Siculus*, is gd
nerally ſuppoſed to be the coſmogony of the *Egyptians* [h], though *Diodorus* himſelf does not ſay ſo much; and is as follows: When the univerſe firſt coaleſced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies ſeparated, the world took on it the entire diſpoſition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a conſtant motion; upon which its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upwards by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the ſun and other ſtars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, ſubſided in one place by its own weight, and being agitated with continual internal volutations, of the watry parts the ſea became formed, and of the more ſolid the earth, which was e
ſlimy and very ſoft at firſt, but ſtiffening by the rays of the ſun, the ſurface began to ferment, by reaſon of the heat; and ſome of the humid parts ſwelled, and roſe by degrees into putrid puſtules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter, being thus fœcundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the miſt falling from the ambient air, and by day grew more and more ſolid by the ſun's warmth, till

[x] ZOPHASEMIN. צופי שמים *Sophe Shamaim* in Hebrew, or Phœnician, ſignifies the Spies, or Obſervers of Heaven. Theſe Animals were not the Angels, as BOCHART imagines, but the Celeſtial Bodies, which SANCHON. ſuppoſes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as Gods. Vid. ib. p. 21. [y] SANCHON. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra. [z] EUSEB. ibid. p. 33. [a] Idem. l. 1. cap. 9. p. 31. [b] Biſhop CUMBERLAND, in his Remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchoniatho. [c] Vid. Rom. i. 19, &c. [d] Νοερὰ. [e] CUDWORTH's Intellect. Syſtem, p. 319. [f] Πνεῦμα; which Biſhop CUMBERLAND tranſlates *Wind*. [g] CUDWORTH, p. 21. [h] EUSEBIUS ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion, though he entitles the Chapter, wherein he tranſcribes this Paſſage from Diodorus, (being the 7th of his 1ſt Book de Præp. Ev.) *Of the Coſmogony according to the* Greeks, in regard of their Agreement in general with it, the Grecian Philoſophers having, as is notorious, received their Phyſiology from the Egyptians.

till at length the incloſed brood being arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burſt, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which thoſe which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; thoſe in which the earthy concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terreſtrial animals; and the creatures which chiefly conſiſted of a watry nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fiſh. At length the earth, continually hardening more and more by the heat of the ſun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their ſeveral ſpecies by generation. And, to obviate any objection againſt the poſſibility of the earth's
a producing living creatures, our author inſtances in the vaſt number of mice, which are ſaid to be bred in the upper *Egypt* out of the putrified mud, after the overflowing of the *Nile* [i].

THIS coſmogony, as has been obſerved [k], agrees in ſubſtance with the former, but is more large (as later commentaries uſe to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world, without any help from GOD [l]: which conſent is an argument that they took their notions from the ſame fountain, *Thoyth*. And *Euſebius* makes the ſame animadverſion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of GOD is not ſo much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and ſpontaneous formation of the univerſe introduced [m]. To confirm
b which judgment, he in another place recites a paſſage of *Porphyry*, who, in his epiſtle to *Anebo*, an *Egyptian* prieſt, writes, that *Chæremon*, and others thought, there was nothing prior to the viſible worlds, and began their diſcourſes with the *Egyptian* gods, which were no other than the planets, and ſtars which fill the zodiac, or thoſe which riſe with them; foraſmuch as they who made the ſun the Demiurgus, or architect of the world, interpreted their ſtories of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and the reſt of their ſacred fables, altogether into the ſtars and planets, and the river *Nile*; and explained all things univerſally into natural or inannimate, and nothing into incorporeal and living ſubſtances. From whence *Euſebius* infers, that even the ſecret theology of the *Egyptians* deified no other than the ſtars and planets, and acknowledged no incorporeal principle of the
c univerſe, nor any demiurgic reaſon, GOD, or gods, or intelligent and inviſible powers, but the viſible ſun only, referring the production of all things to the material, ſenſeleſs, and periſhable elements [n]. Herewith agrees alſo that conciſe account of the *Egyptian* philoſophy given us by *Diogenes Laertius* [o] from *Manetho* and *Hecatæus*; that matter was the firſt principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards ſeparated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed; and that the ſun and moon were their gods, the one being called *Oſiris*, and the other *Iſis*.

Remarks thereon.

FROM this imputation of acknowledging no Deity beſides ſtupid matter, the *Egyptians* have been ſtrenuouſly defended by a very able man [p], who thinks what *Euſebius* urges againſt them to be of the leſs weight, becauſe he plainly contradicts it elſewhere,
d by declaring, that that nation profeſſed the belief of a demiurgic reaſon, and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us, from the ſame *Porphyry*, they called *Cneph*, and ſymbolically repreſented in the ſhape of a man of a dark blue complexion, holding a girdle and a ſceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thruſting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named *Phtha*, and the *Greeks Vulcan*. The reaſon of which hieroglyphic is thus given: becauſe this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden, and inviſible, and becauſe he is the giver of life, and king of all things, and becauſe he is moved in an intellectual or ſpiritual manner, which is ſignified by the feathers on his head. The egg, which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world [q]. The firſt moſt divine
e Being was alſo ſometimes deſcribed as a ſerpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who, if he opens his eyes, fills the univerſe with light in his firſt born region; but if he winks, darkneſs is made [r]. And as for that paſſage in *Porphyry*'s epiſtle concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo*, as deſiring further information from him concerning them, *Iamblichus* has given an anſwer to it, under the perſon of *Abammo*, another *Egyptian* prieſt, who ſays, that *Chæremon*, and thoſe others who pretend to write of the firſt cauſes of the world, declare only the laſt, and loweſt principles, as likewiſe thoſe who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other aſtronomical matters: for the *Egyptians* did not reſolve all things into nature, but diſtinguiſhed both the life of the ſoul,

[i] DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 7, 8. The account of the coſmogony given in a ſpurious book, attributed to *Hermes*, entitled *Divine Sermons*, is purpoſely omitted, as of no authority or credit. [k] Vid. GROTIUM de veritate Rel. Chriſt. l. 1. ſect. 16. in notis. [l] CUMBREL. on Sanchon. p. 9. [m] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 7. p. 21. [n] Idem, ibid. l. 3. c. 4. [o] In Procemio, p. 8. [p] Dr. CUDWORTH, in his Intell. Syſtem, p. 317, &c. [q] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 11. p. 115. [r] Idem, ibid. l. 3. cap. 10. p. 41.

ſoul, and the intellectual life, from that of nature, not in the univerſe only, but in man alſo; acknowledging an intellectual mind and reaſon firſt to have exiſted of themſelves, and ſo this whole world to have been made [s]. From which teſtimony of *Iamblichus*, who was but little junior to *Porphyry*, and contemporary with *Euſebius*, and who had made it his buſineſs to inform himſelf thoroughly of the *Egyptian* theology, it plainly appears, that the *Egyptians* did not generally ſuppoſe (as *Chæremon* pretended concerning ſome of them) a ſenſeleſs inanimate nature to be the firſt original of all things, but that as well in the world, as in ourſelves, they acknowledged ſoul ſuperior to nature, and mind or intellect ſuperior to ſoul, this being the maker of the world [t]. And many paſſages to the ſame purpoſe might be produced from the ſame writer, and from the *Hermaic* books now extant, among which tho' much is forged and ſpurious, yet it ſeems very probable, that they contain ſome remains and tincture of the old *Egyptian*, and *Hermetic* doctrine. But we cannot omit obſerving, that it was thought to be ſo notorious and confeſſed a thing, that the *Egyptians* held the world not only to have had a beginning, but alſo to have been made by GOD; that *Simplicius*, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms the *Moſaic* hiſtory of the creation of the world by GOD, to have been nothing elſe but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from *Egyptian* fables [u]. a

BUT theſe different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by diſtinguiſhing between the religion of the *Lower Egypt*, whoſe inhabitants were groſs idolaters, and that of *Thebais*, where the worſhip of *Cneph*, the immortal and ſupreme GOD, ſo much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the ſacred animals worſhipped by the others [x]. b

BEFORE we diſmiſs the *Egyptians*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that their prieſts alſo taught, that the earth had certain periods or revolutions, being deſtroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again [y].

The Babylonian *coſmogony.*

As to the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, *Diodorus* ſays, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is ſubject to any future corruption; yet that the order and beautiful diſpoſition of all things were cauſed by a divine providence, and that whatever are now in the heavens were not caſual, or ſpontaneous, but perfected by the determinate and eſtabliſhed decree of the gods [z]. c But *Beroſus*, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in reſpect to his antiquity, and his being himſelf of that nation, has left us the following account of their coſmogony, taken from what *Oannes* (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, ſays he, a time when the univerſe was darkneſs and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated. That ſome men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces: ſome having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female. That of other men, ſome had the legs and horns of goats, ſome horſes feet, others the hinder parts of horſes, and the fore parts of men, d being in the form of *Hippocentaurs*. That bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fiſhes; and horſes with dogs heads: that there were alſo men, and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horſes, but the tails of fiſhes; and other living creatures having the ſhapes of all kinds of beaſts. Beſides theſe, there were alſo generated fiſhes, and creeping things, and ſerpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed ſhapes of one another; whoſe pictures are alſo kept in the temple of *Belus*. The governeſs of all theſe was a woman, named *Omorôca* [a], which in the *Chaldee* tongue is *Thalatth* [b], but in *Greek* ſignifies the ſea, and with equal propriety the moon. This being the conſtitution of the univerſe, *Belus* came and divided the woman in the midſt, and e the one half of her made the earth, and the other half the heaven, and the animals which were in her periſhed. But he ſays, that theſe things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforeſaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body, which fell down with the earth, and formed men, for which reaſon

[s] IAMBLICHUS apud CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem. p. 318, &c. [t] CUDWORTH, ibid. [u] SIMPLIC. in Ariſtot. Phyſ. l. 8. p. 268. [x] PLUT. de Iſide & Oſirid. p. 359. See alſo CUMBERL. on the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 12, &c. [y] PLATO, in Tim. ORIGEN. contra Celſum, l. 5. [z] DIOD. SIC. l. 2. p. 116. [a] In Scaliger's edition *Omorca*. Our author having tranſlated this name into Chaldee, it muſt be derived from ſome other language; but as he does not tell us what that language is, we ſhall not offer at an etymology of it. [b] This word is ſo near in ſound to the *Greek* word *Thalaſſa*, the ſea, that one would ſuſpect it to be forged, at leaſt much corrupted. Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee, or Syriac ܬܠܝܠܘܬܐ *Thalilûtho*, which ſignifies moiſture, or humectation, and anſwers to the explication afterwards given. The ſea and the moon were reckoned the two ſources of moiſture.

reaſon they are intelligent, and partake of divine wiſdom. That *Belus*, whom they interpret *Jupiter*, cutting the darkneſs in the miſt, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct. But *Belus* ſeeing the country deſert, tho' fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which iſſued thence, and to form men and beaſts that could endure the air: and that *Belus* perfected the ſtars, and the ſun, and the moon, and the five planets[c].

Remarks thereon.

FROM this paſſage we learn, that the old *Babylonians* expreſly attributed the or-
a derly diſpoſition of the world, the perfecting of the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals to their ſupreme god, *Bel*; tho' they ſeem to have held the preexiſtence of matter. It muſt therefore be ſome theology of the later *Babylonians*, which could with juſtice be charged, as it has been, with paſſing over in the ſilence the one principle of the univerſe[d]; wherein they muſt have departed from the tradition of their anceſtors, the antient *Chaldeans*, who were celebrated for their acknowledging one ſovereign deity, or maker of the world, as appears from that oracle of *Apollo*, cited by *Euſebius*[e] from *Porphyry*, where the *Chaldeans*, and *Hebrews* are alone declared to be poſſeſſed of true wiſdom, as worſhipping GOD, the ſelf-begotten king, in a holy manner.

The account of the coſmogony in the Chaldaic *oracles.*

b WE have indeed another account of the coſmogony in the *Chaldaic*, or *Magic* oracles of *Zoroaſtres*; but they have ſo little pretence to genuineneſs, or antiquity, are ſo confuſed a medley of ill-digeſted notions, taken chiefly from the *Platonics* and *Gnoſtics*, very unſatisfactory as to the origin of the univerſe, and talk ſo much of unknown matter, the orders of inviſible things, myſtical numbers, iynges[f], and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excuſed taking any notice of them; but as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the ſubſtance of what is moſt intelligible in them[g], we ſhall ſubjoin it in his own words: The *Chaldeans*, ſays he, believe, that the firſt of all things is eternal, the ſupreme GOD. That GOD, who is an intellectual light, or fire, did not ſhut up his fire within his intellectual power, but
c communicated it to all creatures: firſt, and immediately, to the firſt Mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are comprehended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the ſouls of men. The next emanation is the ſupramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous ſpace, in which the intellectual beings reſide. The ſupramundane light kindles the firſt corporeal world, the empyreum, or fiery heaven, which, being immediately beneath the corporeal light, is the higheſt, brighteſt, and rareſt of bodies. The empyreum diffuſes itſelf thro' the æther, which is the next body below it, and the fire leſs refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condenſed parts thereof, the ſun and ſtars, ſufficiently evince. From the æther this fire is tranſmitted to the material and ſublunary
d world; for tho' the matter whereof it conſiſts be not light but darkneſs, (as are alſo the material or bad dæmons) yet this vivificative fire actuates, and gives life to all its parts, inſinuating, diffuſing itſelf, and penetrating even to the very center, paſſing from above to the oppoſite part, thro' the center of the earth.

The opinion of the ancient pagan poets,

THE old pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, without the influence of GOD. For tho' they make *love* to preſide, as it were, at the ranging of the confuſed matter, by which ſome would have us underſtand the Deity, or the active principle of the univerſe diſtinct from matter[h], yet it is moſt probable, they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony,
c which enſued on the ceſſation of that inteſtine war of the elements: their *love* having his original from the chaos, as well as all the reſt of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, perſonated, and deified. For which reaſon the coſmogony of the poets was the ſame with their theogony, or generation of gods[i].

And of Orpheus *in particular.*

ORPHEUS, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worſhip among the *Greeks*, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring their generations, and their ſeveral actions, wherein he was for the moſt part followed by *Homer*[k], is yet ſaid to have been perfectly ſilent in his theology, as to any

[c] ALEXANDER POLYHIST. ex Beroſo, apud SYNCELL. Chronogr. p. 29, & EUSEB. Chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6. [d] DAMASCIUS in fragment. MS. περὶ ἀρχῶν. apud CUMBERL. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280. [e] EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. cap. 10. [f] See BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 21, 21. [g] Mr. STANLEY, in his Hiſt. of the Chald. Philoſ. Book I. Sect. 1. c. 2. p. 8. [h] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem, p. 212. [i] Vid. eund. p. 334, &c. [k] ATHENAGOR. & JUSTIN. MARTYR, apud eundem, p. 298.

any thing intellectual, as unſpeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and in the midſt, the face of a god, with golden wings on his ſhoulders[l]. But notwithſtanding the extravagancy of *Orpheus*'s fancy, the generality of the *Greek* pagans, looking on the man, not as a mere poet, but a holy and profound philoſopher, ſuppoſed all his fables of the gods to be deep myſteries and allegories, which had ſome hidden and ſecret ſenſe under them, and therefore had a high veneration for him, as one divinely inſpired; inſomuch, that *Celſus* would have had the *Chriſtians* rather take *Orpheus* for a god than CHRIST, as being a man unqueſtionably endued with a holy ſpirit, and one who alſo died a violent death[m]. And tho' he were the great propagator of polytheiſm, a yet it has been thought, that he acknowledged one ſupreme unmade Deity as the original of all things, not only from the great eſteem he was in, with thoſe two moſt religious philoſophic ſects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, he being commonly called by them the *Theologer*, but alſo becauſe they were ſuppoſed, in great meaſure, to have owed their theology, and philoſophy to him, as deriving the ſame from his principles and traditions[n].

THIS favourable opinion of *Orpheus* will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the *Orphic* coſmogony, made long ago by *Timotheus* the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: for he writes, that *Orpheus* gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, b profeſſing, that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on enquiry, by *Phœbus*, *Titan*, or the ſun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther, or heaven, was formed by GOD, and that on each ſide of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatſoever was under the æther, thereby ſignifying that night was prior. He declared alſo, that there was a certain incomprehenſible Being, which was the higheſt and moſt antient of all things and the maker of the univerſe, both of the æther itſelf, and of things under the æther. That the earth was inviſible, by reaſon of the darkneſs which was upon it; but the light, breaking forth thro' the æther, illuminated the whole creation; this light, which ſo brake forth, being ſaid by him to be that higheſt of all things, before mentioned, c whoſe name as revealed by the oracle, was *counſel*, *light*, and *the giver of life*. That theſe three names manifeſt one and the ſame power and might of that inviſible, and incomprehenſible GOD, who is the maker of all things, and who bringeth that which is not, into a ſtate of exiſtence. By which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, the earth, and the ſea, and all things therein, both viſible and inviſible. He likewiſe declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the ſame Deity, and received from him a rational ſoul, agreeably to what *Moſes* has recorded. *Timotheus* adds, that the ſame *Orpheus* alſo wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this GOD is all things[o].

IF this teſtimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the *Orphic* verſes, which are d very full as to the aſſertion of the ſupreme Deity. It is true, many of thoſe verſes are ſuppoſititious, and manifeſtly forged either by *Chriſtians*, or *Jews*; but all of them cannot be proved to be ſo; ſeveral being cited by pagan authors, as written, if not by *Orpheus* himſelf, yet by perſons of great antiquity, and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgment, thought genuine, and worthy of ſome regard[p]. However *Orpheus*'s theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the chriſtian fathers[q]; and a late ingenious writer has ſurmized, that his eſtabliſhing of polytheiſm was owing rather to the neceſſity, he was under of complying with the ſtupidity of the barbarous people, whom he firſt civilized, than his own approbation; being obliged to give them, not the religion which e himſelf beſt approved, but ſuch a one as they were capable of receiving[r].

BUT to return to the *Orphic* coſmogony, *Syrianus* ſays, that *Orpheus* held two principles, æther and chaos[s]; to which *Simplicius* adds a third, as prior to the other two, *viz.* time, the meaſure of the fabulous generation of the gods; after which, according to *Orpheus*, the æther and chaos were produced[t]. By which it ſhould ſeem he thought the æther and chaos were co-eval: but it has been obſerved, that the ancients, or the later authors, who have handed their opinions down to us, do frequently confound the univerſe with this ſublunary world, and apply what relates diſtinctly to one of

[l] DAMASCIUS περὶ ἀρχῶν, MS. apud CUMBERL. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280, & CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra. [m] CORN. CELS. l. 7. p. 367. apud CUDWORTH, ibid. [n] CUDWORTH, ibid. [o] TIMOTH. Chronogr. apud EUSEB. Chron. Græc. p. 4. & CEDREN. p. 57. Vid. etiam SUIDAM, in voce, Orpheus, & PROCL. in Tim. l. 2. p. 117. [p] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 125. [q] BURNET, ibid. p. 127. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 120, &c. [s] SYRIAN. in ARIST. Metaph. c. 2. [t] SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de Auſcult. Phyſic. l. 4.

of the two, to the other, or both promiſcuouſly; and that of the æther here mentioned, the celeſtial, or firſt fabric of things was made; and of the chaos, the ſublunary world, or our earth, and others like it, at ſeveral diſtant intervals. Which things ought to have been ſeparately treated, as well with regard to the matter, as to the time; though unſkilful authors have often neglected that neceſſary diſtinction [u].

IT is proper here to obſerve, that *Orpheus*, among other eaſtern learning, ſeems to have firſt introduced among the *Greeks* the doctrine of the mundane egg, which, in all probability, he learned from the *Egyptians*, who repreſented the world by that ſymbol [x], as many other antient nations did. The *Phœnicians*, as we have ſeen, made their *Zophaſemin*, which were the celeſtial bodies, oviform; and worſhipped an egg, in the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*, as an image of the world [y]. And the ſame compariſon or reſemblance was made uſe of by the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, as will be obſerved hereafter: and this not only for its external figure, but alſo for the inward compoſition of it; the ſhell repreſenting the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth [z]; tho' others make out this reſemblance in a different manner [a]. Hence *Plutarch* [b] obſerves, that the queſtion, which was the elder, the egg or the hen, was not a trivial enquiry; but, according to the *Orphic* doctrine, comprehended the ancient generation of all things: and the author of the hymns attributed to *Orpheus* makes the firſt-born god, named by the *Greeks Phanes*, to be produced from an egg [c]. This was the firſt-begotten god, mentioned by *Athenagoras* to have been hatched from the egg, as the followers of *Orpheus* taught [d].

Remarks thereon.

a

b

ANOTHER opinion of the *Orphic* theologers, which muſt not be forgotten, was, that GOD was all things; but this is not to be underſtood in a groſs ſenſe, ſo as to take away all diſtinction between GOD and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: Firſt, Becauſe all things coming from GOD, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and conſequently were, in a certain ſenſe, himſelf. The ſecond is, Becauſe the world produced by GOD, and really exiſting without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor ſubſiſts alone by itſelf as a dead thing, but is ſtill livingly united to him, eſſentially dependent on him, always ſupported, quickened, and pervaded by him. In the latter of which ſenſes, ſome chriſtian divines alſo have made GOD to be *all*; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing elſe but GOD expanded, and when they call the creatures, as St. *Jerom*, and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But tho' the ſcripture itſelf may ſeem to give ſome countenance to theſe expreſſions, yet they ought to be uſed with great caution, being eaſily liable to miſtake and abuſe; and the miſtake and abuſe of this one thing might poſſibly have been a chief ground of the both ſeeming and real polytheiſm, not only of the *Greek* and *European*, but alſo of the *Egyptian* and other pagans: they concluding, that becauſe GOD was all things, and conſequently all things GOD, therefore GOD ought to be worſhipped in all things, that is, in the ſeveral parts of nature [e].

c

d

WHETHER the preceding opinions, as to the original of the world, be acquitted of the charge of atheiſm, or not, it is certain, that the philoſophy which derives all things from ſenſeleſs matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the aſſiſtance of a GOD, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the *Greeks*; the ancient phyſiologers generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reaſon the oath of the gods is ſaid to be by water, called by the poets *Styx*, which, being moſt ancient, deſerved the greateſt reverence, and was conſequently moſt proper to ſwear by [f]. And hence the ocean is by *Homer* called the progenitor of the gods, and ſource of all things [g]: and *Thales*, the prince of the *Ionic* philoſophers, held water to be the firſt principle, whereof all things conſiſted [h]; and they alſo ſuppoſed, that at laſt all things ſhould be diſſolved, and return into water again [i]. But it ſeems, that thoſe ancients, when they made water to have been the firſt principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which was

e

[u] BURNET, ubi ſup. p. 130. [x] See before, p. 13. d. [y] PLUT. in Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. Vid. MACROB. Stat. l. 7. c. 16. [z] VARRO, apud Prob. Gram. in Ecl. 6. Virgil. [a] Vid. ACHILLEM TATIUM in Arati. Phænom. cap. 4. & BURNET. Theor. Sacr. Tellur. l. 2. c. 10. and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 5. p. 86. [b] In Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. [c] Hymn. Πρωτογόνου. Vid. LACTANT. de falſa Rel. l. 1. cap. 5. [d] ATHENAG. Legat. pro Chriſt. [e] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 307. [f] Vid. ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. c. 3. [g] HOMER. apud Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. [h] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. lib. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in vita Thaletis, p. 17. CICER. in Lucullo, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. This alſo agrees with a paſſage in ſcripture, the genuine ſenſe of which (according to the judgment of the beſt interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water. 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 21. & BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 138, and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 63, &c. [i] HOMER. Il. H. PLUT. in Stromat. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8.

was fluid ſubſtance, as the *Greek* word ſignifies. For which reaſon *Zeno* and *Plutarch* took the chaos of *Heſiod* to have been water[k].

The coſmogony of Heſiod.

THE theogony of this laſt mentioned poet, which, as has been obſerved, is alſo his coſmogony, is ſomewhat confuſed, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather in a poetical, than philoſophical, order. The ſubſtance of what he delivers is; That in the beginning the chaos firſt exiſted, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the faireſt of the immortal gods; that the chaos produced *Erebus* and night, from the conjunction of which two proceeded *Æther* and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the ſeparation of the heaven and ſtars from the earth, the raiſing of mountains, and ſinking of caves; and of the production of the ſea, a from the heaven and earth together[l].

and Ariſtophanes.

BUT there is a much more methodical, and compleat deſcription of this antient coſmogony given by *Ariſtophanes*[m], whenceſoever he had it: He writes, that firſt were chaos, black *Erebus*, and wide *Tartarus*, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with ſable wings, laid the firſt egg of wind in the vaſt boſom of *Erebus*; from whence, in proceſs of time, iſſued amiable love, ſhining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirl-winds; that love, coupling with the obſcure chaos, engendred animals and men; but that there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another, the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods.

b

THIS paſſage, notwithſtanding it is ludicrouſly introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reaſon, to have been really a piece of the old atheiſtic ſyſtem, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter, confuſedly moved, being the original of all, things did from thence riſe up gradually from leſſer to greater perfection; firſt inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth, and ſeas, then brute animals, afterwards men, and laſt of all gods. As if not only the ſubſtance of matter and thoſe inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, were firſt in order of nature before GOD, as being themſelves alſo gods[n], but alſo irrational animals at leaſt, if not men too. And this is the atheiſtic creation of the world, gods, and all, out of ſenſeleſs and ſtupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity[o].

c

The opinion of Thales.

WHETHER *Thales*, who was a *Phœnician* by extraction, acknowledged any divine or intelligent being, as aſſiſting in the formation of the world, is a great queſtion. *Cicero* indeed tells us, that he was the firſt who ſearched after ſuch things, and affirmed GOD to be that Mind, which created all things out of water[p]. And *Laertius* reports, that he uſed to ſay, GOD was the oldeſt of all things, and that the world was the workmanſhip of GOD[q]. But on the other ſide, there are a cloud of witneſſes[r], among whom are *Cicero* and *Laertius* themſelves[s], who with joint conſent give *Anaxagoras*, one of his ſucceſſors, the honour of having firſt rejected all chance in the diſpoſition of the univerſe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to ſeparate, and compoſe the ſeveral parts of it. So that all the philoſophers of the *Ionic* ſect, who d preceded *Anaxagoras*, being mere materialiſts, or *Hylopathian* atheiſts, *Ariſtotle* ſeems juſtly to have called *Thales* the prince or leader of that philoſophy[t]. The occaſion of his being thus differently repreſented may poſſibly have been, becauſe he left no philoſophic writings, or monuments of his own behind him (*Anaxagoras* being the firſt of all the philoſophic writers[u]); whence probably it came to paſs, that in after-times ſome interpreted his opinions one way, and ſome another, and that he is ſometimes repreſented as a theiſt, and ſometimes as an atheiſt[x].

Of Anaximander.

BUT if *Thales* be acquitted, yet his next ſucceſſor, *Anaximander*, can by no means be excuſed from this imputation; for he ſuppoſed a certain infinite firſt matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the ſole principle of e the univerſe[y]; that the celeſtial bodies, and infinite worlds, were made of it by ſecretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together

[k] ZENO, apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. 4. & PLUT. in Tract. Aquane an ignis ſit utilior, p. 955. [l] HESIOD. Theog. verſ. 116. [m] In avib. [n] Vid. ARIST. de gener. & corrupt. l. 2. c. 6. [o] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 121. [p] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 36. [q] DIOG. LAERT. in Thalet. p. 21. [r] PLATO in Phæd. p. 72. PLUT. in Pericle, p. 154. ARIST. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3. TERTULLIAN. de Anima. CLEMENS ALEX. Stromat. lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 14. p. 750. THEMIST. Orat. XV. AUGUSTIN. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. PROCLUS in Timæum. SIMPLIC. in ARIST. de Phyſic. auſcult. THEODORET. de Græc. affect. Serm. II. p. 489. [s] CICER. de Natura Deor. l. 1. p. 38, 39. LAERT. in Anaxagorâ, p. 82. [t] More concerning this Queſtion may be read in BAYLE's Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagor. Rem. D. Art. Thales, Rem. A. Dr. CURWORTH's Intell. Syſtem. p. 21, 124. [u] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxagor. p. 86. THEMESTIUS (Orat. XX.) ſays Anaximander was the firſt who publiſhed a Book of Natural Philoſophy. But THEOPOMPUS (apud Laert. in Pherecyd. p. 74.) aſſerts Pherecydes Syrus to have firſt written of Nature and the Gods to the Greeks, whoſe Treatiſe of the Beginning of Things was extant in the Time of Laertius, ib. 76. [x] CUDWORTH, ibid. 124. [y] PLUT. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximandro, p. 78. SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. Phyſ. l. 1. c. 6.

together from eternity. He alſo aſſerted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being ſeparated, when this world was made, a certain ſphere of the fire firſt aroſe, and encompaſſed the air which ſurrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree; this being afterwards broken, and divided into ſmaller ſpherical bodies, formed the ſun, moon, and ſtars [z]. He held alſo, that the firſt animals were generated in moiſture, and encompaſſed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they iſſued forth, but lived only a ſhort time [a]. That men were at firſt generated in the bellies of fiſhes, and being there nouriſhed till they grew ſtrong, and were able to ſupport themſelves, they were afterwards caſt out upon dry land. And the reaſon of this ſtrange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, becauſe other animals ſoon after their birth betake themſelves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nurſed up for a conſiderable time, and therefore could not be preſerved at firſt in any other manner [b].

FROM *Anaximander*'s making this univerſal principle of his infinite, ſome late writers, and even *Clemens Alexandrinus* [c] among the ancients, have groundleſly inferred, that he thereby meant GOD, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and not ſtupid matter [d]. But it is plain, that the gods he acknowledged owed their original alſo to that infinite matter, from which he ſuppoſed all things to be ſecreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, riſing, and vaniſhing again in long periods of time, and that theſe gods were innumerable worlds [e].

Of Anaximenes.

THE phyſiology of *Anaximenes* differed but little from that of his maſter *Anaximander*; for he held air to be the firſt principle, and infinite [f], but that the things which aroſe there-out were finite, and ſhould at laſt be reſolved into it again. He ſuppoſed, that all things were generated by a ſucceſſive condenſation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, and fire being firſt produced there-out, and then the other parts of the univerſe: he held alſo, that motion was from all eternity; that the ſun gained its heat from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; and that air held the world together in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which he took to be air alſo, did the humane frame [g]. He did not, it ſeems, deny there were any gods, but was ſo far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewiſe to have their riſe from the air [h]. *Plutarch*, after delivering the opinions of theſe two philoſophers, obſerves, that they were both of them in the wrong, in ſuppoſing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cauſe; matter of itſelf being able to produce nothing, no more than a veſſel can be made out of a maſs of ſilver, without the help of an artificer [i].

amended by Anaxagoras, and Diogenes of Apollonia.

ANAXAGORAS and *Diogenes* of *Apolloniа*, two ſcholars of *Anaximenes*, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the *Ionic* philoſophy, by amending their maſter's hypotheſis. The firſt, by admitting an intelligent being diſtinct from matter, as has been, and will be more fully obſerved; and the other, by ſuppoſing the air, the firſt principle of the univerſe, to be endued with a divine reaſon, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it [k]. So that this opinion differed very little from *Spinoziſm*.

THE manner in which this latter philoſophizes, as to the production of the world, has ſo near a conformity with the *Carteſian* hypotheſis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, ſays he, being in motion, ſome became condenſed, and others rarified; in thoſe places where condenſation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex was formed, which by its revolution drew in the reſt, and the lighter parts flying upwards, formed the ſun [l].

The atomic ſyſtem, by whom invented.

THE next atheiſtic ſyſtem of philoſophy is the atomic, which is generally ſuppoſed to have been invented by *Democritus*, who was elder than *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*; but *Laertius* attributes it to *Leucippus* [m], who was ſomewhat ſenior to *Democritus*, though he wrote not ſo much concerning it as *Democritus* did. Others make this phyſiology much more ancient: *Poſidonius* [n] avouched it for an old tradition, that the firſt inventor of it was *Moſchus*, a *Phœnician*, who lived before the *Trojan* war [o], and is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with *Mochus*, the *Phœnician* phyſiologer mentioned by *Iamblichus* [p], with whoſe ſucceſſors, prieſts, and prophets, he affirms, that *Pythagoras*, while

[z] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [a] Idem de placitis Phil. l. 5. c. 19. [b] Idem, apud EUSEB. ubi ſup. & in Sympoſ. l. 8. Quæſt. 8. [c] In protrept. p. 43. [d] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 124. [e] CICER. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. [f] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximen. p. 80. ARISTOT. de Auſcult. Phyſ. CICER. Quæſt. Acad. l. 2. [g] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. & de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. [h] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. cap. 2. [i] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſoph. loco citato. [k] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. Vid. etiam CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & ARISTOT. l. 1. de anima, c. 2. [l] PLUT. in Strom. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [m] DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. [n] Apud SEXT. EMPIRIC. adv. Mathem. p. 367. & STRABON. lib. 16. p. 512. [o] STRABO, ibid. [p] De vita Pythag. c. 3.

while he was at *Sidon*, had converſed. But as *Cicero*, though *Poſidonius*'s ſcholar, ſcruples not to queſtion his veracity in ſome things, and expreſly affirms *Leucippus*, or *Democritus*, to have been the author of this philoſophy [q], we think his authority of little weight; much leſs can we approve, as Mr. *Selden* does [r], of the conjecture of *Arcerius*, the editor of *Iamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than *Moſes*, the celebrated prophet of the *Jews*. However, it is probable from ſome other conſiderations, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the atomical phyſiology; for *Democritus* himſelf was of the *Italic*, or *Pythagoric*, ſucceſſion, and is reported to have taken all his philoſophy from them [s]: and the famous monads of *Pythagoras* are by ſome ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe but corporeal atoms [t]. That *Empedocles*, who a
was alſo a *Pythagorean*, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expreſly aſſerted [u], and will appear more plainly, when we come to give an account of his phyſiology: and the natural principles of *Ecphantus* the *Syracuſian*, another of that ſect, were indiviſible bodies, and vacuum. Nor were they the only ancient philoſophers who went that way; *Xenocrates*, *Heraclides*, *Aſclepiades*, *Diodorus*, *Metrodorus Chius*, and the generality of the old phyſiologers, having alſo ſuppoſed indiviſible particles to be the firſt principles of bodies. Notwithſtanding which, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* are reputed the firſt inventors of the atomic philoſophy, either becauſe they brought it to greater perfection, or elſe, becauſe they firſt made it a compleat and entire ſyſtem by itſelf, ſo as to derive the original of all things in the whole univerſe b
from ſenſeleſs atoms, which had figure and motion only, and ſpace; from whence it would follow, that there could be no GOD, not ſo much as a corporeal one: for before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an entire philoſophy by itſelf, but was looked upon as a part, or member of the whole philoſophic ſyſtem, and that the meaneſt and loweſt part too; it being only uſed to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; beſides which they acknowledged ſomething elſe, which was not mere bulk and mechaniſm, but life and ſelf-activity, that is, immaterial ſubſtance; the head whereof is a Deity diſtinct from the world. So that there have been two ſorts of atomiſts; the firſt, holding incorporeal ſubſtance, uſed that phyſiology in a way of ſubordination to theology: the other, allowing no other ſubſtance but body, made c
ſenſeleſs atoms, without any mind or underſtanding, that is, without any GOD, to be the original of all things: which latter ſyſtem is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philoſophy, which was founded by *Leucippus* and *Democritus* [x], and afterwards, with ſome alteration, taught by *Epicurus*, though he would not acknowledge that he had borrowed his hypotheſis from any [y].

Occaſioned a ſtricter method of philoſophizing.

BUT whoever firſt introduced it, this hypotheſis occaſioned a more and ſtrict, and accurate method of philoſophizing, than had formerly been uſed. For the atomiſts, neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themſelves, and their phyſical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, ſituation of parts, ſize, and the like; d
from whence they very rationally aſcertained their ſeveral powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indiviſibility of their atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reaſon [z].

The doctrine of Leucippus *and* Democritus;

THE doctrine of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, as to the origin of the world, was, that the firſt principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indiviſible particles of different ſizes and figures, which moving fortuitouſly, or without deſign, from all eternity in infinite ſpace, and encountring one another, became variouſly implicated and entangled, and produced firſt a confuſed chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards by continual agitation, ſtriking and repelling each other, diſpoſed themſelves e
into a vortex, or vortices, where, after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and eſſays, in which all imaginable ſhapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to ſettle into this preſent form and ſyſtem of things [a].

Of Epicurus.

THIS hypotheſis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of *Epicurus*, as it is repreſented by *Lucretius* [b], excepting, that no mention is made of thoſe vortices, which yet were an eſſential part of the former. To the two properties, attributed to atoms by *Democritus*, magnitude and figure, *Epicurus* added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all [c].

And

[q] CICER. de fato, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [r] SELDEN. de jure nat. & gent. juxta diſcipl. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. 2. See alſo La Vie de Pythagore, par Mr. DACIER, p. xxi. [s] DIOG. LAERT. in Democr. p. 570. [t] Vid. CUDWORTH's Intel. Syſtem, p. 13. [u] PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 24. [x] CUDWORTH, p. 16, &c. [y] CIC. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [z] BURNET, Archæol. l. 1. p. 167. [a] Vid. DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. and in Democrit. p. 573. PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. & PLAT. de legibus, l. 10. [b] Vid. LUCRET. de Rer. Nat. l. 5. VIRGIL. Eclog. 6. PLUT. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. and STANLEY's Hiſtory of Philoſophy, part 13, p. 572, &c. [c] PLUT. ubi ſup. c. 3.

And one of the inevitable conſequences of the *Democritic* ſyſtem being abſolute fatal neceſſity, (for when they maintained, that the world was made by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been neceſſarily made, according to the eternal laws of motion of thoſe atoms, but only to to exclude the direction of an intelligent cauſe) and ſuch neceſſity, in the opinion of *Epicurus*, overturning all morality, and reducing the human ſoul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, beſides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by thoſe before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; ſuppoſing, that the atoms could of themſelves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in
a void ſpace, and without any colliſion at all[d]; from which, as he ſtrangely inferred, proceeded natural liberty. And this declination ſerved alſo another purpoſe, that is, to explain the meeting of the atoms; which, if they all moved one way, would have been impoſſible[e]. But the moſt material difference between the two hypotheſes, though not often taken notice of, was, that *Epicurus* admitted no principle at all but the atoms themſelves; whereas *Democritus* believed them to be animated[f]; a ſuppoſition not a whit more abſurd than that of their exiſtence and ſpontaneous motion, and which would yet be of great uſe in obviating ſeveral objections to the atomic ſyſtem, otherwiſe unanſwerable[g].

As to the production of animals and mankind, the *Epicurean* philoſophy accounted
b for it in this manner: It was ſuppoſed, that the new formed earth containing in it the ſeeds of all things, the ſun, acting by its heat on the moiſter parts, raiſed ſmall bladders, like little wombs, in which the embryo's, at firſt imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way, when arrived at maturity; and that for their nouriſhment nature provided bags, like ſmall breaſts furniſhed with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fœcundity cannot ſeem ſtrange, in that juvenile vigour of nature, if we conſider, what numbers of ſmaller creatures and inſects are, at this day, bred in the ſame way. But at length, the ſeeds of the earth being exhauſted, ſhe, like a woman paſt child-bearing, of courſe left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is, that every ſpecies is now propagated by copulation[h].

c THIS atomic ſyſtem, which had been ſuperſeded by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who brought in ideas, form and qualities, inſtead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raiſed by *Epicurus* to a high degree of reputation, and continued to flouriſh after his death, beyond any other philoſophy[i]; though it was juſtly decried by the other ſects, on account of the atheiſm which naturally flowed from its principles. Had *Democritus* only ſuppoſed GOD to be a mind, or intelligence, placed in a ſphere of fire, and the ſoul of the world[k], he would have been much more excuſable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every ſide preſent themſeves to us, and the nature which ſcatters round, or emits ſuch images, and even our own knowledge and underſtanding, were to be reckoned among the gods[l]. So that what *Democritus*
d called GOD, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes, which are eſſential to the divine nature: and yet an opinion very like his was not long ago advanced[m], on the ſuppoſition that our ideas are in GOD, and that they cannot be a modification of a created mind; from which it ſeems to follow, that our ideas are GOD himſelf[n]. As to *Epicurus*, he acknowleged indeed, that there were gods, and that they deſerved to be worſhiped on account of the excellence of their nature, tho' no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared[o]: for he allowed them to be neither the makers, nor the governors of the world. And yet a very learned man has lately undertaken the defence of *Epicurus*, as to this latter point, and maintained, that he did not deny a divine providence[p]. He ſuppoſed the
e gods were immortal, and ſupremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquillity; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but ſomething analogous to them[q]; and leaſt he ſhould at once deſtroy their immortality, and ſubject them to deſtruction, he taught, that they were not compoſed of atoms, like other beings[r], though ſome have, by miſtake, affirmed the contrary[s]. It is well known,

Reflections on this ſyſtem.

[d] Vid. LUCRET. l. 2. v. 216, &c. [e] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. U. [f] AUGUST. Epiſt. 66. [g] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Leucippe, Rem. E. & Art. Epicure, Rem. F. As to the other Differences between the Doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, conſult CICER. de Finib. l. 1. [h] Vid. LUCRET. ubi ſupra. [i] LACTANT. Divin. Inſtit. l. III. cap. 17. [k] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. l. 3. cap. 7. [l] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [m] F. MALLEBRANCHE's Notion of ſeeing all things in GOD. [n] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Democrite, Rem. P. [o] Vid. CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. SENEC. de beneficiis, l. 5. c. 19. & GASSEND. de vita & moribus Epicuri, l. 4. c. 3. [p] Monſ. du RONDEL, de vita & moribus Epicuri. Amſt. 1693. in 12°. [q] CICER. ubi ſupra. DIOG. LAERT. in Epicuro, p. 634, 655, 661. PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 7. SEXT. EMPIRIC. contra Math. p. 312. [r] CICER. ubi ſupra. LACTANT. de ira Dei, cap. 10. [s] TERTULLIAN. adv. Gentes, cap. xlvii. AUGUST. Epiſt. lvi.

known, that this corpuſcular philoſophy has been revived by ſome moderns, who, rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their fortuitous motion, but following, in almoſt all other reſpects, the old hypotheſis of *Leucippus*, have made a very fine ſyſtem of it. This is what *Gaſſendi* has done, who differs from *Des Cartes*, as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The ſcholaſtic divines among the *Mohammedans*, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by GOD, do alſo admit both atoms and a vacuum: but their atoms are different from thoſe of *Leucippus*, for they have no magnitude, and are all like one another; and they ſuppoſe, as that philoſopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a ſenſitive body is endued with ſenſe, and that the underſtanding reſides in an atom; though they differ as to the ſoul, and knowledge, whether they conſiſt in a ſingle atom, or a collection of ſeveral [t]. a

The opinion of thoſe who, holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof; and 1. *Of thoſe who ſuppoſed matter to be the only ſubſtance, and endued with underſtanding.*

THOSE, who, allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof into the form the world now bears, may be again ſubdivided into two claſſes: one, who, allowing no ſubſtance but matter, ſuppoſed it to be endued with underſtanding and life, and conſequently to be GOD; and another, who held GOD and matter to be two diſtinct, and independent beings.

The firſt opinion, which, as has been ſaid, differs but little from *Spinoziſm*, ſeems to have been that of *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* [u], and was certainly maintained by *Hippaſus* of *Metapontus*, *Heraclitus*, and the *Stoics*. b

The opinion of Hippaſus, Heraclitus,

HIPPASUS, and *Heraclitus* held fire to be the firſt principle, of which all things were made, and into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again reſolved, and that this fire was GOD [x]; whom *Heraclitus* deſcribed to be that moſt ſubtile and moſt ſwift ſubſtance, which permeates, or paſſes through the whole univerſe [y].

The notions of *Heraclitus* ſeem to have been very confuſed, at leaſt as they are now repreſented to us, which is no wonder at all, ſince he ſo much affected obſcurity in what he wrote concerning natural philoſophy, that he was thence ſurnamed *the obſcure* [z]. He is ſaid to have denied the world to have been made either by gods, or men [a]; by which it is ſuppoſed he meant, that the world was not made by any whatſoever, after ſuch a manner as an artificer makes an houſe, by machines and engines, c acting from without upon the matter; but by a certain inward plaſtic nature of its own [b]. He aſſerted the fatal neceſſity of all things, but taught, that they were in a perpetual flux, nothing remaining at a ſtand. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguiſhed, the groſſeſt parts of it coaleſcing, made the earth, which, being looſened by the fire, produced water, and from the exhalation of water, the air was generated [c]. As the opinions of *Heraclitus* concerning the origin of things were adopted by the *Stoics*, (of whom immediately) we ſhall not enlarge here, but only obſerve, that the great phyſician *Hippocrates* had the ſame notion of the deity with *Heraclitus*, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniſcient, and that it ſaw, heard, and knew all things, both preſent and d future [d].

and Hippocrates.

The opinion of the Stoics.

THE *Stoics* held two firſt principles, GOD, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other paſſive, and that they were both corporeal [e]; for they did not acknowledge any ſuch thing as incorporeal ſubſtance [f]: by which means they ſtrangely confounded themſelves, and reduced their two principles, in effect, to one and the ſame. They affirmed GOD to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conſcious of his own happineſs, ſubject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the univerſe [g]. But they more uſually deſcribed him to be a fiery ſpirit, void of all figure, yet changing himſelf into all things; or an artificial fire, methodically proceeding to the generation of the c world, and containing within himſelf all ſeminal reaſons or models, according to which every thing is formed purſuant to fate [h]; which is alſo their deſcription of nature [i]. This ſpirit, they ſay, quickens, ſuſtains, and pervades the whole world, and every part of it, as the ſoul does the human body, being called by ſeveral names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates. For which reaſon they hold the world itſelf

[t] Vid. MAIMONID. in More Nevochim, cap. 73. [u] See before, p. 19. [x] PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. CLEM. ALEXANDR. in protrept. Vid. etiam CICERON. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. & de Nat. Deor. l. 3. [y] PLAT. in Cratylo. p. 413. [z] Σκοτεινὸς. Vid. Cicer. de finib. l. 2. CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. 5. [a] PLUT. de Animæ Procr. p. 1014. [b] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 152, &c. [c] PLUT. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. Vid. etiam DIOG. LAERT. in Heraclit. p. 551, &c. [d] HIPPOCRAT. de princip. aut carnib. Sect. 1. [e] ARISTOCLES, de Philoſ. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 14. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. Cittieo, p. 449. SENEC. Ep. 65. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. [f] Vid. LIPSIUM de Phyſiol. Stoic. l. 2. cap. 4, & 5. [g] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra, p. 458. [h] PLUT. de plac. Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 6, & 7. [i] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 465. Cic. ubi ſup.

itſelf to be GOD, and every part of it a member of him [k]. So that this ſect, in appearance, have confounded GOD and nature together, tho' their genuine doctrine ſeems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conſcious ſoul preſiding over the whole world, yet lodged more immediately in the fiery matter of it; but alſo a certain plaſtic, or ſpermatic nature, contained under, or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things [l]. And the admitting of ſuch a ſubordinate plaſtic nature or life, which acts in order to certain ends, tho' without any ſenſe or conſciouſneſs, has been thought very reaſonable by ſome, tho' exploded by others, and that for the avoiding of theſe two conſequences; either that, in the formation and or-
a ganization of natural and animal bodies, every thing comes to paſs fortuitouſly, for the ſake of no final cauſes, and without the guidance and direction of any mind or underſtanding; to aſſert which ſeems irrational, and atheiſtical: or elſe, that GOD himſelf doth immediately form every the minuteſt thing, as it were with his own hands, which is very indecent to ſuppoſe [m]. There were ſome *Stoics*, it is true, who, rejecting all animality or conſciouſneſs in the world, made it to be governed by a vegetable or plaſtic nature only, as *Boethus*, whom we have already mentioned, in particular did; but their opinion ought by no means to be imputed to the whole ſect.

AS to the conſtitution of the world, the peculiar dogm of the *Stoics*, which *Zeno*, their maſter, ſeems to have borrowed from *Heraclitus*, was, that in certain periods, or
b alternate viciſſitudes of time, the univerſe is diſſolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; GOD withdrawing, or abſorbing all things into himſelf, by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himſelf again [n]. In which ſucceſſive conflagrations, they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods alſo are melted down into their ſupreme Deity, the intellectual fiery ſoul, or principle of the univerſe [o]; who, during that interval, reſts in himſelf, conſidering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himſelf [p], till he again emits, and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation *Zeno* thus deſcribes: GOD, being alone, changes all ſubſtance from fire, firſt into air, and then into water; and as the ſeed is contained in the plant, ſo GOD, being the ſeminal reaſon of the world, left
c ſuch a ſeed in the moiſture, as might afford proper matter for the generation of thoſe things which were to be produced; that the groſſer parts of this watry matter ſubſiding made the earth, the finer the air, and thoſe ſtill more ſubtilized the fire. The four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants, and animals, and all other ſpecies [q].

Of the Pendets *in* India.

WITH theſe notions of the *Stoics* agrees the doctrine, which is ſaid to be almoſt univerſal among the *Pendets* [r], (who are *Indian* gentiles) and ſecretly entertained by the *Sûfis*, and learned men of *Perſia*, being the ſame in ſubſtance with the philoſophy of *Flud*, which *Gaſſendi* has taken the pains to refute. Theſe Cabaliſts pretend, that GOD, or the ſupreme, immoveable, unchangeable Being, has not only produced the ſouls of
d creatures out of his own ſubſtance, but whatever is material, or corporeal in the univerſe alſo; and that this production is not made ſimply in the way of efficient cauſes, but by an actual extraction, or extenſion of his own ſubſtance, which is creation, as deſtruction is nothing elſe but the reſuming of that divine ſubſtance into himſelf; which they illuſtrate by the following ſymbol. They feign, that a certain immenſe ſpider was the firſt cauſe of all things; which, drawing the matter from its own bowels, wove the webb of this univerſe, and diſpoſed it with wonderful art: ſhe, in the mean time, ſitting in the center of her work, feels, and directs the motion of every part; till at length, when ſhe has pleaſed herſelf ſufficiently in ordering, and contemplating this web, ſhe draws all the threads ſhe has ſpun out, again into herſelf, and
e having abſorbed them, the univerſal nature of all creatures vaniſhes into nothing [s]. Another compariſon made uſe of by them is, that GOD is like an immenſe ocean, wherein ſeveral phials full of water are ſwimming; that theſe phials, whitherſoever they go, are always in the ſame ocean, and in the ſame water, and when they break, the water contained in them will be united to their whole, that is, to the ocean, of which they are portions [t]. But this laſt is by no means a ſtrict parallel; for the matter of the phials

[k] Vid. eoſd. & PLUT. ubi ſupr. c. 7. SENEC. Quæſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 45. & Epiſt. 92. LUCAN. Pharſal. l. 9. v. 578. DIDYMUM, apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. c. 15, &c. VIRGIL. Georg. l. 4. verſ. 221. & Æneid. l. 6. ver. 724. [l] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 133, &c. 423, &c. [m] Vid. eund. p. 148, &c. [n] DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 451. NUMENIUS, apud EUSEB. Præp. de Ev. l. 15. c. 18, 19. [o] Vid. PLUT. adv. Stoicos, p. 1075. & de defectu Oracul. p. 420. [p] Idem, adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. SENEC. Epiſt. 6. ARRIAN. in Epictet. lib. III. cap. 13. [q] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 450, 454. Vid. STOBÆI Ecl. Phyſ. c. 20. [r] We take this word to be the *Malayan* پندیت *Pandit*, which ſignifies a man of letters. [s] BERNIER, ſuite des Memoires ſur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, p. 202, &c. BURNET. in Append. ad Archæol. p. 354. KIRCHER, China illuſtr. p. 155. [t] BERNIER, ibid.

phials is a ſecond ſubſtance, which, by its interpoſition, ſeparates the water, incloſed in thoſe phials, from the ocean: but if there was ſuch a thing as a ſoul of the world, it would be expanded through all parts of the univerſe, nothing could hinder the union of every particular ſoul with its whole, nor would death be a means of their re-union.

Of certain ſects among the Chineſe.

THERE is alſo a ſect among the *Chineſe*, who acknowledge nature to be the ſole deity, thereby underſtanding that natural power, or operation, which, being the efficient cauſe of motion and reſt, produces, maintains, and preſerves all things. They take her to be the ſoul which univerſally informs matter, and call her a principle, independent of all others; but as they ſeparate this principle from all corporeal and ſenſible matter, its imperfections and definitions, they do in this particular differ a ſomething from the *Stoics*; tho' they who incline to this ſect do believe, as they did, that the world hath had a beginning, and ſhall have an end, but ſhall afterwards begin, and end again as before, and ſo perpetually be renewed, and periſh. And according to this opinion, numerous worlds have already exiſted, and others, to an infinite number, will hereafter ſucceſſively make room for one another [u].

BUT the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the *Chineſe*, and wherein the atheiſm, which has ſo generally infected them, conſiſts, comes rather nearer to the Stoic doctrine, tho' not without ſome conſiderable differences; and it is this: That GOD is the material ſoul of the whole world, or rather only of its moſt excellent part, the heaven; and that his providence and power are finite and limited, tho' much ex- b
celling the prudence and power of man. That there are diſtinct ſpirits in the four parts of the world, the ſun, ſtars, mountains, rivers, plants, cities, houſes, and, in a word, in all things: ſome of which ſpirits they ſuppoſe to be evil, making them the immediate cauſe of all the miſchiefs and diſaſters, to which humane life is ſubject. By this diſtribution of ſouls throughout all nature, they are not at a loſs to account for its whole œconomy, and to ſupply the want of an almighty power, and infinite providence, which they allow to no one ſpirit, not ſo much as to that of the heaven. They ſuppoſe, indeed, that the ſoul of the heaven acts on nature with a power and prudence, incomparably greater than what man is endued with; but, at the ſame time, acknowledge in the ſoul of every other thing an inward power, naturally independent on that of the c
heaven, and which ſometimes acts even in contradiction to the deſigns of heaven. So that, according to them, the heaven governs nature as a mighty king, the other ſouls owe him obedience, which he almoſt always forces them to pay; yet there are ſome, which now and then diſpenſe with their duty in that reſpect, and refuſe to obey [x].

THIS laſt opinion differs widely from another entertained by a ſect of the ſame nation, and eſtabliſhed by royal authority in the year of Chriſt 65. Its founder was ſon of the king *In fan vang*, who was firſt named *She*, or *She Kia* [y], and afterwards, when he arrived at the age of thirty, *Foe*, that is, *not a man* [z]. The ſecret doctrine of this ſect, which is never diſcovered to the ſimple, or vulgar, is; that a void, or emptineſs [a] is the principle and end of all things; that our firſt parents ſprang from thence, d
and on their death returned into it; and that all men are likewiſe reſolved into that principle by death; that mankind, and the elements, and all creatures make a part of this void: ſo that there is but one ſubſtance in the univerſe, which is diverſified in particular beings only by figures and qualities, or interior configurations; in a manner as water, which is always eſſentially water, though it be in the ſhape of ſnow, hail, rain, or ice [b]. They deſcribe this original being, as a pure, limpid, ſubtil, infinite ſubſtance, which can neither be generated, nor corrupted, but is both perfect itſelf, and the perfection of all things, remaining in perpetual repoſe, but without heart, virtue, underſtanding, or power, the great property of its eſſence being neither to act, underſtand, nor will any thing [c]. This opinion is the fountain, from whence that, which we have men- e
tioned to obtain among the *Japoneſe* [d], is derived; and differs from *Spinoziſm*, in allowing an emerſion of the world from a very different ſtate poſſible, if not actually to have been; as it does both from that and the *Stoic* doctrine, in deveſting their firſt principle of activity and underſtanding. A follower of *Confucius* has refuted the extravagancies of this ſect, by that eſtabliſhed maxim, *that nothing can be produced from nothing*; by which he muſt have ſuppoſed, that they taught the firſt principle of all things

[u] Deſcript. of China, at the end of IDES's Travels, p. 171, 172. [x] LA LOUBERE, Deſcript. de Siam, Tom. I. p. 396, &c. [y] So we chuſe to expreſs what other authors, following the Portugueſe ſpelling and pronunciation, write Xe, or Xe Kia, intending throughout this work, to reduce the orthography of the Chineſe, and Japoneſe words, as near as poſſible, to the Engliſh pronunciation; of which the reader will be more particularly informed in the preface. [z] See the Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, pag. 257, in the Extract of the Philoſ. of Confucius, printed at Paris, 1687. [a] The Chineſe words are *Cung hiu*, the Latin tranſlation, *Vacuum & inane*. [b] Biblioth. Univ. Tom. VII. pag. 406. [c] Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, pag. 258. [d] See before, p. 8. a.

things to be *nothing* [e], and, conſequently, that the world had a beginning, without either an efficient cauſe, or matter. But it is more probable, that by the words, *void* and *emptineſs*, they intended only to expreſs that which has not the properties of ſenſible matter, and underſtand thereby what the moderns underſtand by *ſpace*, which is conceived to be diſtinct from body, and whoſe indiviſible, impalpable, penetrable, immoveable, and infinite extenſion is ſomething real. It is eaſy to perceive, that ſuch a being could not be the firſt principle, if it were inactive, as theſe *Chineſe* philoſophers pretend: *Spinoza* has not been ſo abſurd; the abſtract idea which he gives of the firſt principle is no more, properly ſpeaking, than the idea of *ſpace*; but then he endues it with
a motion, from whence all the varieties of matter may proceed [f].

Of the Siameſe;

THE *Siameſe* have alſo ſome agreement with the *Stoics*, in their notion of the alternate deſtruction and renovation of the univerſe. Their *Talapoins* teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the viſible world is not; for whatever we ſee in it, lives, in their opinion, and muſt die; and there will at the ſame time be re-produced other beings of the ſame kind, another heaven, another earth, and other ſtars; and in this manner, they ſay, nature has periſhed, and been renewed ſeveral times [g].

and the latter Jews.

NOR was this doctrine unknown to the latter *Jews*, whoſe cabaliſts are ſuppoſed to account for the origin of things, by making them emanations from a firſt cauſe, and
b therefore pre-exiſtent, though perhaps under another form. They ſpeak alſo of the reſuming or withdrawing of things into the firſt being, by a revolution and reſtitution of them to their firſt ſtate; as if they believed their *En Soph* [h], or firſt infinite Being, to contain all things, and that there is always the ſame quantity of *being* in the univerſe, whether in the created, or uncreated ſtate. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane ſtate, GOD is ſimply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not encreaſed, but GOD expands and unfolds himſelf by emanations and effluxes, from the ſuperior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are conſtituted. For which reaſon they often ſpeak of greater and ſmaller veſſels, as it were to receive thoſe effluxes; and of effluent
c rays; and of canals, through which they flow and are propagated; in a word, when GOD retracts thoſe rays, the external world periſhes, and all things again become GOD [i]: *he ſendeth forth his ſpirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth he hideth his face, and they are troubled, he taketh away their breath, they die, and return to their duſt* [k].

2. The opinion of thoſe who held two diſtinct, co-eternal principles, GOD *and matter.*

WE come now to ſpeak of thoſe who held two diſtinct, and independent principles, co-exiſtent from eternity, GOD and matter; which is ſuppoſed to have been the opinion of *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*; and was certainly that of *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, and ſeveral others.

The opinion of Pherecydes, Pythagoras.

WHAT was the opinion of *Pythagoras*'s maſter, *Pherecydes* of *Syros*, as to the
d origin of the world, is ſomewhat uncertain; from the firſt words of a treatiſe of his, extant in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, which are indeed ſomewhat corrupted and obſcure, it ſeems, he believed three eternal beings, *Jupiter*, or GOD, time, and the earth [l]. But *Pythagoras* himſelf is ſaid to have aſſerted two ſubſtantial ſelf-exiſtent principles, a *Monad*, or unity, and a *Dyad*, or duality; by the former of which GOD, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though ſome imagine the *Pythagoric* monads were atoms [m]); but what the latter ſignified is uncertain, it being ſometimes interpreted to be a dæmon, or evil principle informing matter, or the viſible world [n], and at other times to be a paſſive principle, or matter itſelf [o]; the number *two* being uſed as a type, to ſhew the variety, inequality, diviſibility, and continual
e changes of matter, as *one* was to expreſs the unity, identity, indiviſibility, and unchangeableneſs of the divine nature [p]. Yet it may be queſtioned, whether *Pythagoras* by his *Dyad* meant matter or no: for *Porphyry* thus interprets the two *Pythagoric* principles. The cauſe, ſays he, of that ſympathy, harmony, and agreement which is in things, and of the conſervation of the whole, which is always the ſame, and like itſelf, was by *Pythagoras* called *Unity*, that unity which is in the things themſelves being but a participation of the firſt cauſe; but the reaſon of difference, inequality, and conſtant irregularity in things was by him called a *Dyad* [q]. Thus, according to *Porphyry*, by the Pythagoric dyad, is not ſo much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature, and

[e] Acta Erudit. Lipſiæ, ubi ſupra. [f] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. B. [g] La LOUBERE, Deſcrip. de Siam Tom. I. p 361. [h] אין סוף [i] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 63, &c. [k] Pſalm civ. 29, 30. [l] DIOG. LAERT. in pherecyde, p. 76. [m] See before p. 20. a. [n] PLUTARCH de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 7. [o] Idem, ibid. cap. 3. Vid. NUMEN. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. & CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſtem, p. 371, &c. [p] Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [q] PORPHYR. in Vita Pythag. p. 203.

and paſſive capability of things. So that the monad, and dyad of *Pythagoras* ſeem to have been the ſame with *Plato*'s *finite*, and *infinite* [r]; the former of which two only is ſubſtantial, that firſt moſt ſimple being, the cauſe of all unity, and the meaſure of all things [s].

HOWEVER, if *Pythagoras*'s dyad be to be underſtood of a ſubſtantial matter, there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſuppoſe matter to be ſelf-exiſtent and independent upon the Deity; ſince, according to the beſt and moſt antient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a ſecondary being only, and derived from his monad, the ſole original of all things, as matter for the monad, or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon [t]. For whatever *Ocellus Lucanus*, *Philolaus* [u], and a
ſome other *Pythagoreans* imagined of the world's eternity, *Pythagoras* himſelf really believed it to have had a beginning, and to have been made by GOD [x]: which is confirmed by its being given as one reaſon of his ſuperſtitious abſtinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrified together in the earth, the generation and ſecretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants ſhooting forth; at which time, from the ſame putrified matter, ſprang up both men and beans [y]. But his acknowledging the creation of the world by GOD is ſtill more expreſs, in thoſe verſes cited for his by *Juſtin* [z]. We ſhall content ourſelves to add here the teſtimony of St. *Cyril*, who aſſures us, that he held one GOD of the whole univerſe, the principle and cauſe of all things, illumina- b
ting and quickning the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-exiſtence into being.

BUT *Pythagoras*, it ſeems, did not only call the ſupreme Deity, a monad, but alſo a tetrad, or tetractys, the explication of which has tortured the wits of ſeveral ages [b]. It is, in the golden verſes, ſaid to be the fountain of the eternal nature [c]; and, by *Hierocles*, the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cauſe of the heavenly and ſenſible god, that is, of the animated world, or heaven [d]. The latter *Pythagoreans* endeavour to give reaſons why GOD ſhould be called *Tetractys*, from certain myſteries in the number four [e]; but the late conjecture of ſome learned men [f] ſeems to be much more probable, that this name was really nothing elſe but the Tetragrammaton, or that e
proper name of the ſupreme GOD amongſt the *Hebrews*, conſiſting of four letters [g]; nor is it ſtrange, *Pythagoras* ſhould be ſo well acquainted with the name JEHOVAH, ſince, beſides his travelling into other parts of the eaſt, he is affirmed by *Joſephus*, *Porphyry*, and others, to have converſed with the *Hebrews* alſo. The worſt of *Pythagoras*'s theology was, that, repreſenting GOD as the mover of the univerſe, and the ſoul of the world, he taught, that our ſouls were portions of the divine ſubſtance [h].

THAT *Pythagoras* held numbers to be the principles of all things, is teſtified by all antiquity, and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner. He ſuppoſed, that the monad and dyad were the two ſources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points lines; from lines plane figures; from planes d
ſolids; from ſolids ſenſible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth, and air; and theſe are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and ſpherical, containing in the midſt the earth, a globoſe body, and inhabited [i]. He taught, that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of ſolid bodies, called mathematical, or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water of the icoſahedron; and the ſphere of the univerſe of the dodecahedron [k].

Reflections thereon.

THIS method of philoſophizing, which was alſo adopted by *Plato*, if underſtood in the literal acceptation, has no manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more e
certain, than that numbers, if ever ſo variouſly combined, can generate nothing but numbers [l]. It is therefore more probable, that *Pythagoras* made uſe of them no otherwiſe than as emblems, or ſymbols: for ſuppoſing mathematical ſciences to poſſeſs a middle

[r] Or rather determinate, and indeterminate, πέρας, καὶ ἄπειρον. PLAT. in Philebo. [s] CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. 372. [t] ALEXAND. de Succeſs. Philoſ. apud DIOG. LAERT. in Pythagora, p. 507. HERMIAS, in Irriſione Philoſoph. gent. THEODORET. Therap. II. THEARIDAS Pythagoreus, apud Clement. ALEX. Strom. 5. p. 611, & in admonit. ad Gentes, p. 47. SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. [u] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. 393. [x] PLUT. de placitis Philoſ. l. 2. cap. 4. [y] PORPHYR. de Vita Pythag. [z] De Monarchia, p. 167. [a] CYRILL. cont. Julian. lib. 1. [b] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 154, 157. [c] Verſ. 47, 48. [d] HIEROCLES, in Aur. Carm. [e] See CUDWORTH, p. 376. [f] PICUS MIRAND. SELDEN & GOTEF. WENDELIN. See alſo PHILO in Vita Moſis, p. 519. [g] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. & DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lvii. [h] CICER. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. MINUT. FELIX, p. 151. LACTANT. l. 1. c. 5: [i] SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. p. 508. [k] PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 2. c. 6. But the fifth figure, according to CLAVIUS and others, was added by ſome of Plato's followers. [l] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 158.

middle diſtance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them; thereby to wean the mind gradually from ſenſible things, and raiſe it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reaſon why he had recourſe chiefly to numbers; for not being able ſufficiently to explain by words the firſt principles, he repreſented them by numbers[m]: which ſeems to be all *Pythagoras* deſigned, though his followers have ſought myſteries in his doctrine, which himſelf never dreamt of; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philoſopher, and of *Plato* alſo, was, that they reſolved natural things into mathematical reaſons, numbers, and proportions; as *Ariſtotle* afterwards did into logical reaſons.

a THE monad, dyad, and tetrad we have already ſpoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured, that *Pythagoras* intended only to repreſent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he repreſented the fire by the figure of a pyramid, or tetrahedron, from its aſpiring to a point, or the acuteneſs of its flame; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the neareſt reſemblance to the tetrahedron, being compoſed of two pyramids joined by a ſquare baſe; the water, becauſe of its fluidity, was repreſented by an icoſahedron; and the earth by a cube, to denote its ſtability; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the leaſt adapted to motion[n]. Or if they were to be conſidered phyſically, perhaps *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed the conſtituent parts of the four elements to conſiſt of ſuch figures,
b according to their ſeveral ſpecific gravities: that the *molæ*, or primary particles of the earth, were cubes; for as the earth is the moſt ponderous of all the elements, ſo is the cube the heavieſt of all the regular bodies; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lighteſt and moſt volatile element, as the tetrahedron is the lighteſt of the ſame bodies; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is the next lighteſt body of the five, as air is the next lighteſt to fire; and that the particles of water had the ſhape of an icoſahedron, which figure is a ſort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which repreſents the heaven, or ſphere of the univerſe, it muſt be entirely em-
c blematical, (if it be not rather a later addition to the pythagoric phyſiology, and no genuine part of it) the four faces of that figure being fancied to allude to the twelve ſigns of the zodiac[o], or elſe the four elements, ſeven heavens, and the firmament[p].

The opinion of Timæus Locrus, and of Archytas of Tarentum.

TIMÆUS LOCRUS, who was a *Pythagorean*, ſeems to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter, as if it were a ſelf-exiſtent principle together with GOD; for he affirms it to be eternal[q]: yet, in another place, he aſſerts the eternal GOD, who is viſible to the underſtanding only, to be the author and parent of all things, and that the world, which is viſible to our eyes, is the generated god[r]; and he diſtinguiſhes between the eternal duration of GOD, which had no beginning; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity[s]. He taught more particularly, that
d there were two principles of all things; *Mind*, the principle of thoſe things which are made according to reaſon; and *Neceſſity*, of thoſe which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies; by which ſecond principle, he plainly means matter[t]. That before the making of the world, there were, beſides GOD, idea, or form, and rude matter; one being the intelligible pattern, or exemplar of all things, and the other the ſubject, which, being itſelf without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by GOD into the determinate form of the viſible world; which, being the beſt production, is not corruptible by any other cauſe than the ſame GOD who compoſed it, if it ſhall at any time pleaſe him to diſſolve it[u]. So that *Timæus* ſeems really to have held two ſubordinate principles, matter and form; wherein *Archytas* the *Tarentine*,
e who was alſo a *Pythagorean*, agreed with him, as ſuppoſing GOD to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter[x]; which was alſo the notion of *Plato*. We the rather take notice of the opinion of *Archytas* in this place, becauſe he and *Pythagoras* are joined by *Cenſorinus* with *Ocellus Lucanus*, as believing mankind to have been from eternity[y].

The opinion of Plato.

PLATO, who, as well as his maſter *Socrates*, embraced the Pythagoric notions as to the origin of the univerſe, held the three principles we have juſt mentioned, GOD, matter,

[m] DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [n] SACROBIUS, apud Caſimir. Simienowicz, lib. 4. p. 263. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] Vid. DACIER, Vie de Pythagore, p. cxxxiii. Vid. etiam TIMÆUM LOCRUM de Anima Mundi, Inter Opuſc. Mythol. &c. Edit. a T. Gale, 1688, p. 553, &c. [q] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 544. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 549. [s] Ibid. p. 552. See alſo CLEM. ALEXAND. Strom. 5. p. 604. [t] Vid. MER. CASAUB. in Diog. Laert. in vita Plat. p. 207. [u] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 543, &c. See STANLEY's Hiſt. of Philoſ. part IX. p. 419, 420. [x] STOBÆUS, Eclog. Phyſ. [y] CENSORINUS de die natali, cap. 3. where, inſtead of *Ocellus*, the common Editions have *Cereius*.

matter, and idea [z]; which are by *Laertius* reduced to two, God and matter [a]; the ideas, or original patterns of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no diſtinct principle from him, but the very mind of God, with whom they are often confounded, both by *Timæus*, and ſeveral of the *Platonics* [b]. It ſeems therefore certain, that *Plato* ſuppoſed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often aſſerts it to be. But he has been defended in this reſpect by *Hierocles* [c], who, being himſelf convinced by the arguments on the other ſide, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his ſect, that its founder believed God capable of producing the world by a ſimple act of volition, though there was no pre-exiſtent matter; and therefore maintained, that he really held an abſolute creation out of nothing. Wherein *Hierocles* a
is thought to have been very ſingular [d]; and yet ſome moderns have followed him in that particular, ſuppoſing, that when *Plato* aſſerted matter to be eternal, he did not mean, that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but only that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of God [e]. And ſeveral paſſages have been cited from the works of that philoſopher [f], which would give ſome grounds to ſuſpect he really believed, that God created, or produced matter itſelf, as well as made and formed the world thereout, had he not ſo explicitly declared the contrary. Another opinion imputed to *Plato* by *Plutarch*, *viz.* the ſuppoſing of two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be conſidered by and by.

As to the formation of the world, *Plato* taught, that matter being at firſt unform- b
ed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and diſorderly manner, God, who prefers order to confuſion, gathered it together; and converting this ſubſtance into the four elements, of them made the world, and all things therein, faſhioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himſelf; and that he gave it a ſpherical figure, as the moſt perfect, and that which contains the reſt; and endued it with an intelligent ſoul, becauſe an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which ſoul of the world *Plato* ſuppoſed to be formed before its material body [g]. He alſo aſſerted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but becauſe it is ſupported by divine providence [h]: and held
not only the animated univerſe itſelf, but the ſeveral parts of nature, which he like- c
wiſe ſuppoſed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the ſupreme God, but ſuperior to men, and juſtly challenging honour and worſhip from them. Theſe gods of *Plato* were for the moſt part fiery, being the celeſtial bodies, though he ſuppoſed the earth alſo to be a god, affirming it to be the oldeſt of all the gods within the heaven [i]: and he for this reaſon found fault with the Anaxagorean doctrine, which made the planets and ſtars nothing but inanimate ſtones and earth [k].

The opinion of Anaxagoras.

Anaxagoras, who was not more conſpicuous for his wealth and nobility of birth, than the greatneſs of his mind [l], did indiſputably hold two co-eternal principles, God and matter; being the firſt (of the *Ionic* philoſophers at leaſt) who, as has been obſerved, introduced an intelligent being to move, ſeparate, and put in order the chaotic d
matter: whence he obtained the honourable ſurname of *Nous*, or *Mind* [m]. He admitted as many ſorts of principles as of compounded bodies: for he ſuppoſed, that every kind of body was formed of a great number of ſmall ſimilar particles; that a bone, for example, was nothing but a compoſition of many inviſible bones, and that the blood which we ſee was made up of many minute drops, every one of which was blood [n]; from the ſimilitude of which principles he called them *Homœomeriæ*. But this obliged him to allow, that the ſeeds, or principles of all kinds are found in every body, which throws his ſyſtem into a ſtrange confuſion; not to mention ſeveral other inconveniencies and contradictions therein [o]. As to the formation of the world, his
doctrine ſeems to have been, that the mind, or intelligence who preſided thereat, and e
whom he allows to be the original of motion [p], finding in the infinite matter a vaſt number of particles which were like one another, but promiſcuouſly mixed with, and ſurrounded by others which were unlike, ſeparated the one from the other, and, joining together

[z] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. Chalcidius in Timæum. Apuleius, de Doctrina Platonis, l. 1. [a] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 206, 212, &c. [b] Vid. Menag. in Laert. p. 163, & Mer. Casaubon. in eundem, loco jam citato. [c] Hierocl. apud Photium, Biblioth. Cod. CCLI. pag. 1380. [d] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Hierocles, Philoſ. [e] Dacier, Vie de Platon. p. 123, &c. [f] Vid. ibid. & Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem, p. 404, 570, &c. [g] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 206, &c. Plato, in Timæo. See alſo Stanley's Hiſt. of Philoſ. Part V. p. 186. & Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 176. [h] Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 4. [i] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 211. [k] Plato de Legib. l. 10. [l] Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. p. 83. [m] Idem, ibid. Plutarch. in Pericle. [n] Vide Lucret. de rer. Nat. l. 1. v. 830, &c. Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. p. 84. Arist. Phyſic. l. 1. c. 4. [o] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. C & G. [p] Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra.

together the corpuſcles of the ſame kind, formed of ſome a ſtar, of other a ſtone, &c. Notwithſtanding which, he has been ſeverely cenſured by ſeveral, as allowing too much to material neceſſity, and endeavouring to account for things, as far as poſſible, from the inherent forms and qualities of matter only, or any way, rather than bring in the Deity, to whom he never has recourſe, but when he is abſolutely at a loſs [q], and without whoſe interpoſition, or knowledge, he admitted, ſome revolutions in nature happened [r]. As to the formation of animals, he taught, that they proceeded from the earth, being firſt generated of moiſture and heat, and after by mixture of the ſexes [s].

Of Archelaus.

ARCHELAUS, the ſucceſſor of *Anaxagoras*, moſt probably held the ſame princi-
a ples with his maſter, namely, an infinite number of ſimilar particles, as St. *Auſtin* and *Simplicius* [t] teſtify; though others [u] tell us, that he ſuppoſed infinite air, its rarefaction and condenſation, the one being fire, and the other water, to be the principles of all things. He alſo thought men and animals were produced by the heat of the earth, which yielded a ſlimy ſubſtance like milk, ſerving for food [x].

Of Empedocles.

EMPEDOCLES, who was an auditor both of *Pythagoras* and *Anaxagoras*, is ſaid to have followed the phyſiology of the latter. He held two cauſes of all things, con-
b tention and friendſhip, meaning thereby ſecretion and concretion, or the ſeparation and mixture of the primary matter, from which the elements were formed, and all things that have been, are, or ſhall be, plants, animals, men, and gods, derived their origi-
b nal [y]; yet he ſuppoſed, that contention and friendſhip did both depend on one ſupreme Deity, as their author [z]. For *Empedocles*, it ſeems, believed, that were it not for diſcord, or contention, all things would be one; ſo that, according to him, all things whatſoever proceeded from contention, together with a mixture of friendſhip, ſave only the ſupreme GOD, who hath no contention at all in him, becauſe he is eſſentially unity itſelf [a]. He taught, that the elements were compoſed out of ſmaller corpuſcles, which were moſt minute, and as it were the elements of the elements [b]. Agreeably to other atomiſts, he acknowledged no generation or corruption, properly ſo called, but aſcribed all to ſecretion and concretion [c]. He imagined the elements to have been produced in this order; firſt, that the æther was ſecreted, afterwards the fire, and
c then the earth, which being too cloſely preſſed by violence of the circumvolution, there iſſued thence water, from the evaporation of which proceeded the air. That the heaven was made of the æther, the ſun of the fire, and the things about the earth from the other elements [d]: ſo that the phyſiology of *Empedocles* was, at the bottom, the ſame with that of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*; only that he differed from them in ſome particulars, as in excluding a vacuum, and denying ſuch phyſical corpuſcles as were indiviſible, but chiefly in admitting an intelligent principle, by whoſe wiſdom the world was put into this order, as the beſt and moſt convenient for the good of the whole; though he ſometimes indulged too much to fortuitous mechaniſm, eſpecially in the ſtructure of animals [e]. We ſhall only obſerve further, that he held, according
d to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, that there were two worlds, the one intellectual, and the other ſenſible; the former of them being the model, or archetype of the latter [f].

Of Plutarch, *and ſeveral others.*

THAT *Plutarch* maintained the eternity of matter is paſt all queſtion; he expreſly aſſerting, that the ſubſtance, or matter, out of which the world was made, was not itſelf made, but always ready at hand, and ſubject to the artificer, to be ordered and diſpoſed by him. For, in his opinion, the making of the world was not the production of it out of nothing, but out of an antecedent bad and diſorderly ſtate, like the making of a houſe, garment, or ſtatue [g].

IT is alſo well known, that *Hermogenes*, and other ancient pretenders to chriſtianity, did in like manner aſſert the ſelf-exiſtence and improduction of matter, for which rea-
e ſon they were commonly called *Materiarians*; endeavouring by this means to give an account (as the *Stoics* had done before them) of the original of evils, and to free GOD from the imputation thereof. And they argued in this manner; GOD made all things either out of himſelf, or out of nothing, or out of pre-exiſtent matter: he could not make all things out of himſelf, becauſe himſelf being always unmade, he ſhould then really have been the maker of nothing; and he did not make all out of nothing, becauſe

[q] ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. c. 4. [r] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. 2. p. 364. EUSEB de Præp. Ev. l. 14. c. 14. p. 750. [s] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 85. [t] AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. SIMPLIC. in Ariſt. Phyſ. lib. 1. Vid. etiam CLEM. ALEXANDR. in Protrept. p. 43. [u] PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. Juſtin. Martyr, admonit. ad Græcos, p. 4. [x] DIOG. LAERT. in Archelao, p. 89. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Emped. p. 538. CICER. de Amicitia. CLEMENS ALEX. in admon. ad Gentes. ARIST. Phyſ. l. 8. SUIDAS, in voce Manes, &c. [z] ARISTOT. in Metaph. l. 3. c. 4. & de Mundo, p. 26. [a] CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 392. [b] PLUTARCH. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 13. STOBÆUS, in Eclog Phyſic. [c] PLUT. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 24, & 30 [d] Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 6. [e] Vid. CUDWORTH, p. 24, 25. [f] SIMPLIC. in Phyſic. Ariſt. Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 20. [g] PLT. de pſychog. Platon. p. 1014, 1015, &c.

becauſe, being eſſentially good, he would have made every thing in the beſt manner, and ſo there could have been no evil in the world: but ſince there are evils, and theſe could not proceed from the will of GOD, they muſt needs ariſe from the fault of ſomething, and therefore of the matter out of which things were made [h]. Some modern ſects of the chriſtian profeſſion do alſo, at this day, aſſert the uncreatedneſs of matter; but theſe ſuppoſe, as the *Stoics* did, body to be the only ſubſtance [i].

BUT ſome went ſtill farther, and maintained, that the chaos, or original matter, was animated by an evil, or maleficent ſoul, thereby conſtituting a third ſelf-exiſtent principle. And this was the opinion of *Plutarch*, whom we have juſt mentioned, and of *Numenius*, and *Atticus* [k]. The firſt not only expreſly aſſerts, that a mad irrational ſoul, a
and an unformed diſorderly body did co-exiſt with one another from eternity, neither of them having any generation, or beginning [l]; but diſcovers no ſmall fondneſs for this notion in ſeveral parts of his works [m], and profeſſedly endeavours to eſtabliſh it by the beſt arguments he can; pretending, that otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to account, in a ſatisfactory manner, for the original of evil. For as evil could not be produced without ſome poſitive cauſe, it being ridiculous to imagine it came into the world by accident; and as neither GOD, who is eſſentially good, nor mere inactive matter, void of all form and quality, could be the cauſe of evil; he therefore concluded, that it muſt proceed from a certain irrational and maleficent ſoul, or dæmon, unmade, and co-exiſting with GOD and matter from eternity. So that whatever is good in the b
ſoul and body of the univerſe, and likewiſe in the ſouls of men and dæmons, is to be aſcribed to GOD, as its only original; and whatever is evil, irregular, and diſorderly in them, ought to be imputed to that other ſubſtantial evil principle. And to ſupport this opinion by authority, as well as reaſon, he would perſuade us, that it was the conſtant belief of all the pagan nations, and of the wiſeſt men, and philoſophers that ever were among them [n]; imputing it to the *Egyptians*, who, as he imagines, repreſented the evil principle under the name of *Typhon*; to *Zoroaſtres*, and the *Perſian* Mages, who are alſo by *Laertius* affirmed to have maintained two principles, a good dæmon and an evil one [o] (though it has been queſtioned, whether they really believed the evil principle to be eternal or not); to the *Chaldeans*, becauſe their aſtrologers ſuppoſed two of c
the planets to be beneficent, two maleficent, and three of a middle nature; and to the antient *Greeks*, becauſe they ſacrificed not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but alſo to *Hades*, or *Pluto*, who was ſometimes called by them the infernal *Jupiter*: ſuppoſing alſo the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras*, the contention and friendſhip of *Empedocles*, the mind and infinite matter of *Anaxagoras*, to be no other than a good and evil GOD. But above all he endeavours to prove, that *Plato* was an undoubted champion for this opinion, and that chiefly for theſe reaſons: firſt, becauſe that philoſopher ſpeaks of a neceſſary and innate appetite, which may ſometimes turn the heavens a contrary way, and by that means cauſe diſorder and confuſion [p]; ſecondly, becauſe he ſpeaks of two kinds of ſouls, whereof one is beneficent, but the other the contrary [q]; and laſtly, becauſe d
he ſuppoſes the matter to have been moved diſorderly before the world was made, which implies, there was a diſorderly and irrational ſoul exiſting with it, as the mover of it, matter being unable to move itſelf. But as to the firſt of theſe allegations, it has been obſerved, that *Plato*, as if it had been purpoſely to prevent ſuch an interpretation of his meaning, in the paſſage there quoted, as this of *Plutarch*'s, adds, that it muſt not be ſuppoſed, there are two gods of contrary minds, turning the heavens ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another. Which might alſo ſerve for an anſwer to what is afterwards urged, as if *Plato* had affirmed, that there were two ſouls, the one beneficent, and the other the contrary, becauſe this would be all one as to introduce two gods: but in that place it is conceived, that *Plato* did only diſtribute ſouls in general into e
good and evil; thoſe moral differences properly belonging to that rank of beings called by him ſouls, and ariſing from them, according to his premiſed doctrine, that ſoul is the cauſe of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt: but, then, afterwards making enquiry concerning the ſoul of the world, or heaven, he poſitively concludes, that it was no other than a ſoul endued with all virtue [r]. As to the laſt reaſon, that matter is ſaid by *Plato* to have been moved diſorderly, it is ſuppoſed, that he did therein only adhere to that vulgarly received tradition, that the world was formed from a chaos, or matter confuſedly moved, and afterwards brought into order [s]. And as to the origin of evil, *Plato* is conceived neither to have imputed it to GOD himſelf, nor derived it from unqualified matter,

[h] TERTULLIAN. adv. Hermog. p. 282. [i] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 197. [k] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. [l] PLUT. in quæſt. Platon. p. 1003. [m] Idem, de Pſychog. Plat. & de Iſide & Oſiride, &c. [n] Idem, de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369, &c. [o] DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. [p] PLAT. in Politic. [q] Idem, de Legib. l. 10. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 218, &c. Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art, Zoroaſtre, Rem. E.

matter, nor yet from any irrational and maleficent ſoul, but the neceſſity of imperfect beings[t].

HOWEVER, ſome mongrel chriſtians, as the *Marcionites*, *Manichæans*, and *Paulicians*, did really maintain this opinion of two ſelf-exiſtent gods, a good and an evil one, which latter *Manes* called *Hyle*, or matter[u].

The opinion of thoſe who held the world to be abſolutely created, and liable to diſſolution.

HAVING now done with the ſecond of thoſe opinions, under which we comprehended the ſeveral notions, which have been entertained concerning the origin of the univerſe, we come to ſpeak of the laſt, and only true one; that the world had a beginning, being abſolutely produced by GOD out of a ſtate of non-exiſtence, and conſequently, that it is of its own nature liable to diſſolution.

a AND beſides ſuch of the nations, and philoſophers already mentioned, who moſt probably believed this creation of the world, though ſuſpected of contrary opinions, there were ſeveral among the heathens who unqueſtionably did ſo.

The opinion of the ancient Tuſcans.

WE ſhall firſt inſtance in the ancient *Tuſcans*, or *Etrurians*, whoſe tradition we have from one of their own writers. He ſays, that GOD, the author of the univerſe, employed twelve thouſand years in all his creations, and diſtributed them into twelve houſes. That in the firſt chiliad, or thouſand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next, the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the ſea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the
b ſun, and moon, and alſo the ſtars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and water; in the ſixth, man. It ſeems therefore, according to them, that the firſt ſix thouſand years were paſſed before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other ſix thouſand years, the whole time of conſummation being twelve thouſand years[x]. For they held, that the world was ſubject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of ſuch generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in cuſtoms and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years aſſigned them by GOD, and determined by the period which they called, *the great year*. The approach of ſuch a change in the world was judged, by
c the *Tuſcan* diviners, to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of *C. Marius*, when the air being perfectly clear and ſerene, there was heard a ſhrill and mournful ſound of a trumpet, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every body[y]. And theſe are all the remains we now have of the old *Etrurian* phyſiology; which may be ſuppoſed to have been well worth our knowledge, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their enquiries into nature[z]. Beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the *Druids* alſo taught the alternate diſſolution of the world by water and fire, and its ſucceſſive renovation[a].

and of the Druids.

The opinion of the Perſian Magi.

THE *Mages*, among the ancient *Perſians*, did alſo acknowledge the world to have
d been created by GOD, as their ſucceſſors moſt certainly do at this day[b]; but being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the original of evil, they held two principles, a good dæmon, or God, and an evil one[c]; the firſt the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they ſuppoſed to be repreſented by light, and the latter by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that of the compoſition of thoſe two all things in the world are made. The good principle, or GOD, they named *Yezad*, or *Yezdân*, and *Ormozd*, or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil dæmon they called *Ahârîman*, or *Ahrîman*, and the *Greeks Arimanius*[d]. Intending in the proper place to give a more particular detail of the ancient religion of the *Magi*, and their ſeveral tenets, true or ſuppoſed; we ſhall only obſerve here, that though one ſect of
e them held, as the *Manichæans*, and ſome other heretics did, both theſe principles to have been from all eternity, yet they are reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle, or GOD, only was eternal, and the other created: which appears not only from the unanimous teſtimony of the eaſtern writers, but from what genuine remains we have of *Zoroaſtres* in the *Greek*, particularly the following deſcription of the ſupreme Deity, taken from the very words of *Zoroaſtres* himſelf; GOD, ſays he, has the head of a hawk (which muſt be a ſymbolical expreſſion), and is the firſt of all things, incorruptible, eternal, unmade, without parts, unlike any other being, the promoter of all good, impartial, the beſt of the good, the moſt prudent of the prudent; he is the father of equity and juſtice, ſelf-inſtructed, natural, perfect, and wiſe,

[t] CUDWORTH, p. 220. [u] AUGUST. contr. Fauſt. l. 20. c. 3. [x] Anonym. apud SUID. in voce Tyrrheni. [y] PLUTARCH. in Sylla, p. 456. [z] DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. p. 316. [a] STRABO, lib. 4. [b] See LORD's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5. [c] DIOG. LAERT. in Proœm. p. 6. [d] Vid. HYDE, de Relig. veter. Perſar. cap. 9.

wiſe, and the ſole inventor of what is holy in nature [e]. And, indeed, that the evil dæmon was not believed to be ſelf-exiſtent, appears from what *Plutarch* himſelf, though he ſo confidently affirms the contrary, ſays of his future deſtruction, it being impoſſible, that what is uncreated ſhould ever be deſtroyed [f].

THAT writer gives the following account of the *Magian* traditions in relation to their gods, and the introduction of evil into the world, *viz.* That *Oromazes* conſiſted of moſt pure light, and *Arimanius* of darkneſs; and that they were at war with each other: that *Oromazes* created ſix gods; the firſt the author of benevolence, the ſecond of truth, the third of juſtice, the others of wiſdom, riches, and the pleaſure which attends good actions; and that *Arimanius* made as many, who were the authors of the a
oppoſite evils, or vices: that then *Oromazes*, triplicating himſelf, removed as far from the ſun, as the ſun is from the earth, and adorned the heaven with ſtars, appointing the dog-ſtar for their guardian and leader: that he alſo created twenty-four other gods, and incloſed them in an egg; but *Arimanius* having alſo made an equal number, theſe laſt perforated the egg, by which means evil and good became mixed together. However, the fatal time will come, when *Arimanius*, the introducer of plagues and famine, muſt be of neceſſity utterly deſtroyed by the former, and annihilated; then the earth being made plain and even, mankind ſhall live in a happy ſtate, in the ſame manner, in the ſame political ſociety, and uſing one and the ſame language. *Theopompus* writes, that, according to the *Magians*, the ſaid two gods, during the b
ſpace of three thouſand years, alternately conquer, and are conquered; that for other three thouſand years, they will wage mutual war, fight, and deſtroy the works of each other, till at laſt *Hades* (or the evil ſpirit) ſhall periſh, and men become perfectly happy, their bodies needing no food, nor caſting any ſhadow: that GOD, who contrives this ſcene of things, reſts and repoſes himſelf for a certain ſeaſon, which is not long to him, but like the intermiſſion of ſleep to men [g].

A Tradition of the modern Perſians.

THE modern *Perſians* have a peculiar tradition, which they pretend to have received from *Zoroaſtres*, that GOD created the world, not in ſix natural days, but in ſix times, or ſpaces of different length, called in their tongue *Gâhanbârha*, and making in all three hundred and ſixty five days, or a year compleat: as to the ſeveral names c
of which, their order, number of days, and the ſeveral parts of the creation performed therein reſpectively, all authors agree; though they differ as to the particular part of the year from which they begin. Their names and order are as follow:

THE firſt time is called *Mîd-yûzeram*, and contains the ſpace of fifty five days; in which the heavens were created.

THE ſecond is *Mîd-yûſham*, or *Mîd-yûſhaham*, of ſixty days; in this the waters were created [h].

THE third, *Pîtîſhahîm*, or *Pîtiſhahim-gâh*, conſiſts of ſeventy five days; wherein the earth was created.

THE fourth is *Iyâſeram*, or *Iyâſhebram*, of thirty days; in which the trees and d
plants were created.

THE fifth is *Midiyârîm*, containing eighty days; in which ſpace the animals were created.

THE ſixth, *Hameſpîtamîdîm*, was that wherein man was created, being ſeventy five days [i].

The opinion of the old Brachmans, *and modern* Bramins.

THE old *Indian* philoſophers, called by the *Greeks Brachmanes*, held, that the world was generated, or made, and alſo periſhable, being ſubject to ſucceſſive diſſolutions and renovations: that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water [k]; and that the cauſe of GOD's making all things was his eſſential goodneſs [l]. And theſe are alſo the ſentiments of the modern e
Bramins, their ſucceſſors: but the particulars of their doctrines are related, by different authors, with a variety not eaſy to reconcile; the occaſion of which has been partly the reſervedneſs of the *Bramins*, who are extremely ſhy of converſing with ſtrangers, or making them the leaſt diſcoveries, but more the relators want of ſkill in their language.

THEIR tradition, as delivered by one writer [m], is, that the great GOD, being alone, and intending to manifeſt his goodneſs and power, conſulted with himſelf about the creation

[e] ZOROASTRES, in ſacra collectione rituum Perſ. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. cap. 10. pag. 42. OSTANES the Mage alſo wrote in the ſame manner of the Deity, ibid. [f] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 222. [g] PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369. [h] Mr. LORD, in his account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 6, and 41, makes the work of this ſecond ſpace to be the creation of hell. [i] HYDE, Hiſt. Rel. veter. Perſar. p. 164, &c. [k] MEGASTHENES, apud Strab. l. 15. p. 713. [l] Vid. PHILOSTR. in vita Apollonii, p. 142. [m] LORD's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, extracted from their ſacred book called *Shaſter*.

creation of the univerſe, and, as the ground-work of this mighty frame, made four elements, which were at firſt confuſedly mingled together, but the Almighty ſeparated them in the following manner. Firſt, by ſome great cane, or like inſtrument, he blew upon the waters, which aroſe into a bubble, of a round form, like an egg, which ſpreading itſelf farther and farther, made the clear and tranſparent firmament, that incompaſſes the world. After this, of the remaining water, and its ſediment, GOD made a round ball, which he called the lower world; the ſolid part whereof became the earth, and the more fluid the ſea, both making one globe, which, by a great noiſe, or humming ſound, he placed in the midſt of the firmament. Then he created the ſun
a and moon in the firmament, to diſtinguiſh times and ſeaſons. And thus the elements became ſeparated, and aſſigned to their proper places, and began to perform their offices, the air filling up all interſtices, the fire nouriſhing by its heat, and the earth and ſea bringing forth the living creatures proper to each. And to theſe GOD imparted a ſeminal virtue, that they might be fruitful; and thus was the world created.

GOD having thus made the world, he then created man, as a creature more worthy than the reſt; whom the earth, at GOD's command, produced from its bowels, his head firſt appearing, and afterwards the other parts of his body, into which GOD infuſed life, and afterwards made him a companion, which was a woman, reſembling him more in mind and diſpoſition, than outward ſhape. The firſt man's name
b was *Pourous*, and the woman's *Parcoutee*; whoſe deſcendants being, for their wickedneſs, deſtroyed by a deluge, GOD afterwards created three perſons of greater perfection, called *Bremaw*, *Vyſtney*, and *Ruddery*, to each of whom he gave a different office and power; to the firſt, that of creating, or producing men or other animals; to the ſecond, that of preſerving and feeding them; and to the laſt, that of deſtroying them; which charges they ſeverally executed, in the manner, that ſhall be related in a more proper place.

ANOTHER [n] tells us, that the *Bramins* acknowledge one ſole and ſupreme GOD, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one ſect affirming him to be *Wiſtnou*, another, *Eſwara*; and a third holding *Wiſtnou* and *Eſwara* to be one and
c the ſame: that they all teach, however, that his firſt and moſt ancient production was a ſecondary god, named *Bramma*, whom the ſupreme GOD formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that GOD afterwards, on account of *Bramma*'s virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the univerſe.

BUT the proteſtant miſſionaries, lately ſent to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, have given accounts ſomewhat different from the preceding, and which yet may, perhaps, deſerve more regard, as written by men who were not unacquainted with the *Malabarian* tongue. In one of their letters it is ſaid, that the *Malabarians* (who are one of thoſe nations which follow the religion of the *Bramins*) own but one divine Being, the ſpring and original
d ſource of all other gods and things, called by them *Iſparetta*, which, in their language, imports as much as a Deity. This *Iſparetta*, they ſay, before any thing was created, transformed himſelf into an egg; out of which the whole ſyſtem of heaven and earth, and all things contained therein, were afterwards produced. From this divinity, as their tradition runs, did originally ſpring ſomething, which they call *Kiwelinga*, and which they worſhip in their temples as a god. From this *Kiwelinga* three other great gods took their riſe; *Bramma*, *Wiſhtnum*, and *Iſpara*. *Bramma* is ſaid to create and make all things; *Wiſhtnum*, to rule over things created; and *Iſpara*, to deſtroy them again[o].

IN another letter we are told, the ſupreme Being is called *Barabara Waſtu*, who, as the *Indians* believe, does not concern himſelf immediately about things of ſmall mo-
e ment; but having created ſome other great gods, as his vicegerents, he by them moves and influences the world, and all creatures contained therein. Theſe gods have again their ſubordinate gods, who have their particular ſtations and government of things aſſigned them. The theogony, or gradual production of which gods is deſcribed in the following ſeries. 1. The Being of all beings, or the ſupreme GOD, created eternity. 2. Eternity brought forth *Tiſhiwen*. 3. By this *Tiſhiwen* the goddeſs *Tſhaddy* was created. 4. The goddeſs *Tſhaddy* produced *Putadi*, or the elementary and ſenſitive world. 5. By *Putadi* a ſound, or ringing, was generated. 6. The ſound's off-ſpring was nature. 7. Nature afterwards begot the great god *Tſhatatſhiwen*. 8. Which laſt again produced another great god, called *Mageſhurn*. 9. From *Mageſhurn* ſprang *Ruddiren*, or *Iſpuren*. 10. From *Ruddiren*, the great god *Wiſhtnum*. 11. This laſt created *Bruma*. 12. *Bruma* was the productive principle of the ſoul. 13. The ſoul at length created the heaven, or that vaſt expanſion between heaven and earth,

[n] ABR. ROGER, of the Religion of the *Bramins*, (ſaid to be taken from one of the ſacred Books called *Vedam*) Part 1. c. 3. *and* Part. 2. c. 1. [o] Propagation of the Goſpel in the Eaſt, Part 1. Letter 3.

earth which makes up the fifth element, according to their philoſophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. 14. The heaven begat the air. 15. The air begat the fire. 16. The fire begat the water. 17. And the water the earth. Beſides a tedious genealogy of other gods and prophets, carried to a great length. They acknowledge their inferior gods to be ſubject to various changes, as well as the creatures themſelves: and that each of them has his fixed term of life and government allotted him: after the expiration of all which determined times, every thing ſhall return to the Being of all beings, and there ſhall follow a new creation. As to the creation of man, they ſay, that ſixty thouſand men were created at firſt, but that half of them turned devils ſoon after, and the other half remained men; both of them being, in proceſs of time, multiplied to infinite numbers [p]. a

The opinion of ſome among the Chineſe,

THOUGH the *Chineſe* have, for ſome time paſt, being generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is however certain, that before idolatry prevailed in *China*, they acknowledged one GOD, or ſupreme, eternal, omnipotent ſpirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Shang ti*. But this opinion now obtains with very few, and thoſe of the better ſort [q]. Theſe hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which GOD produced and formed whatſoever is material in the univerſe. But this they diſtinguiſh into two principles, which they call *Yn* and *Yang*; *Yn* ſignifies hidden, or imperfect; *Yang* revealed, or perfect; which two principles by combination produce four images, or ſigns, which ſeem to repreſent the four elements; whence proceed eight forms, or ſymbols; and theſe repreſent certain general things, whereon the generation and corruption of all things depend, being the heaven, the earth, thunder, mountains, fire, clouds, waters, and wind; which again, mutually combined, produce ſixty four ſymbols, compleating, as it were, the number of the univerſe; concerning which they have much myſterious learning. They ſay, the heaven was firſt perfected, then the earth, after which genii, or ſpirits were produced, and then mankind; and that the firſt man, whom they call *Puoncu*, was generated from the chaos, as from an egg; the ſhell of which became the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth: others ſay, he came out of a certain deſart, but that his original is unknown [r]. b c

and Japaneſe;

THEY divide the period wherein the world was created, and will be deſtroyed, as they do their natural day, into twelve hours, or times, conſiſting each of ten thouſand eight hundred years. The twelfth hour, or at midnight, the heaven was made; the earth, the firſt hour after midnight; and man, the ſecond. Their emperor *Ya* was created the ſixth hour, or at noon; and the age wherein we now live is the ſeventh hour (though ſome count a much larger number of years from the beginning of the world). The ninth hour, they ſay, there will be a great diſorder and confuſion of all things, cruel wars, commotions in kingdoms, and public calamities, till all things return to the chaos whence they firſt proceeded [s]. d

THERE are alſo ſome, even among the *Japaneſe*, who acknowledge this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god *Amida*, than the generality of them do. For they ſay, he is inviſible, diſtinct from the nature of the elements, and exiſting before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his eſſence paſſing through heaven and earth, and beyond them; being limited to no place, and governing and preſerving all things; that he is immoveable, incorporeal, without any viſible accident, whereby he may be ſeen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good [t].

and of ſeveral American *nations.*

SEVERAL nations in *America* alſo entertained the ſame belief of a creation; of which ſome inſtances might be given: but their opinions containing little curious, as to the original of things, we have, to avoid prolixity, choſen to omit them. e

A general reflection.

SOME of the accounts we have given above will, no doubt, be taken, by the generality of readers, to be very abſurd and ridiculous: but before they paſs an abſolute judgment, they are deſired to conſider the imperfection of philoſophy in thoſe early times, and that the ancients, as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians*, wrapped up and concealed their true doctrines, particularly thoſe concerning the origin of things, under the veils of ſymbols, ænigma's, and myſtical allegories [u]; for which reaſon many things in the preceding accounts, which may ſeem ſtrange and fabulous, will not, perhaps, deſerve to

[b] Ibid. Part 2. Letter 3. See alſo KIRCHER. China illuſt. p. 154. &c. [q] MARTINII Hiſt. Sinic. l. 1. p. 11. [r] Ibid. p. 13, 14. [s] Ex Libro Sinico de Natura, ibid. p. 13. [t] LUD. FROES. apud Kircher. Chin. illuſtr. p. 142. [u] Vid. PHORNUT, de Nat. Deor. c. ult. CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. 5. p. 556. & BURNET. Archæol. l. 1. p. 89. &c.

so be treated with all the contempt they muſt needs meet with, from thoſe who underſtand them in the obvious and literal ſenſe: nor, perhaps, is it poſſible for us, at this diſtance of time, to give any tolerable explications of them; and therefore, omitting ſuch diſquiſitions, we have confined ourſelves to the bare hiſtorical narration.

The Moſaic *account of the creation.*

AND now we come to the only authentic and genuine hiſtory of the creation; which has been left us by *Moſes*, and carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as a humane compoſition, and ſeparate from divine authority: And it is to this purpoſe.

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth [x]. The earth, after its immediate creation, was for ſome time a promiſcuous dark, fluid, and unformed
a chaos, or maſs of matter [y], which GOD, in the ſpace of ſix days, diſpoſed and reduced into the preſent form of the world; his ſpirit moving, or brooding over the ſurface of the water, or fluid matter, to influence and actuate the ſame.

THE firſt thing that appeared was light; the ſeparation of which from the darkneſs was the work of the firſt day [z].

THEN GOD made an expanſion [a] in the midſt of the waters, to divide the waters above from the waters below; which expanſion *Moſes* calls heaven: and this was the ſecond day's work [b].

ON the third day, GOD cauſed the earth to be drained, and the waters to be ga-
b thered together, chiefly into one great receptacle, or the ocean; whereupon the dry land appeared: after which the earth produced all ſorts of plants, herbs, and trees, bearing their ſeveral ſeeds and fruits, according to their various kinds [c].

THE fourth day GOD made the ſun and moon, and placed them in the heaven to illuminate the earth; to diſtinguiſh between day and night, and divide the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year; the ſtars were alſo made this day [d].

THE fifth day GOD created all the fiſhes, and inhabitants of the waters; and alſo the fowls of the air, which were likewiſe produced out of the water [e].

ON the ſixth day GOD made all the terreſtrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beaſts of the field. And laſt of all, he created man, forming his body of the
c duſt of the earth, and animating him with a living ſoul [f]; and out of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his ſide, having firſt caſt him into a profound ſleep [g].

THIS is the ſubſtance of what *Moſes* has delivered concerning the creation of the world; which being ſhort, and rather ſuited to the capacities of the people he deſigned to inſtruct, than written for the ſatisfaction of a philoſophic enquirer, has left room for various explications, and the ſetting up of ſeveral very different hypotheſes.

The Carteſian *hypotheſis.*

IT may be expected, we ſhould ſay ſomething of the hypotheſis of Mr. *Des Cartes*, though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine ſyſtem of his own, than to explain the *Moſaical* deſcription, and reconcile it with philoſophy. He agrees with *Epicurus*,
d in making matter and motion the principles of nature; ſuppoſing, however, the being of a GOD, who both created the matter, and impreſſed the firſt motion upon it; but then, after this motion once begun, and the wheels ſet a going, he leaves this vaſt machine to the laws of mechaniſm, which affect all things, both celeſtial and terreſtrial, without any farther aſſiſtance from the firſt impreſſor [h], after the following manner.

HE ſuppoſes, 1. That the matter of which the world is compoſed, being at firſt of one uniform nature, and infinitely diviſible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate ſize, which had all ſuch a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all theſe particles were not at firſt ſpherical, becauſe many ſuch little globes, joined
e together, will not fill up a continued ſpace; but that, of whatever figure they were at firſt, by their continual motion, and frequent occurſions againſt each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become ſpherical. 3. He aſſerts, that there is no ſpace left empty, and therefore, when theſe round particles, by being joined together, leave ſome intervals between them, he ſuppoſes, that there are other leſſer particles, ariſing from thoſe angles that were cut off, which, by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable ſtill leſs fragments, proper to fill up all the interſtices. 4. He ſuppoſes, that ſome of theſe fragments, taken from the angles of the ſpherical particles, will neceſſarily have very angular figures, and, upon that account, being not ſo fit for motion, will be apt to ſtick together, and transfer a great part of their

[x] Geneſ. i. 1. [y] Ib. verſ. 2. [z] Verſ. 3, 4, 5. [a] This is the true ſignification of the Hebrew רקיע and not *Firmament*, which was taken from the *Greek* Interpreters. [b] Ibid. verſ. 6, &c. [c] Verſ. 9, &c. [d] Verſ. 14, &c. [e] Verſ. 20, &c. [f] Verſ. 26 [g] Cap. ii. verſ. 21, &c. [h] BAKER's Reflections on Learning, cap. 7.

their motion to ſuch particles as are leſs, and conſequently move ſwifter. Theſe things being ſuppoſed, he proceeds to the formation of the world from his three elements, which conſiſt of the three ſorts of particles abovementioned. The firſt element, which is the ſubtle matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the ſun and fixed ſtars, and ſuſceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the ſecond element conſiſts of the ſpherical particles themſelves, of which the heavens were made: the third element conſiſts of thoſe angular particles which are leſs adapted to motion, and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature [i].

He ſuppoſes, that the ſolar ſyſtem is a vortex continually whirling round, whoſe a matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and tranſparent, conſiſting altogether of the firſt and ſecond elements, and containing a greater quantity of the firſt, than is ſufficient to fill up the ſpaces between the particles of the ſecond. And ſince all bodies which move circularly endeavour to recede from the center of their motion, and the more thick and ſolid parts, ſuch as the particles of the ſecond element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the reſt; the particles of the ſecond element muſt neceſſarily recede from the common center, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interſtices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the firſt element takes the place left by the ſecond; by which means a maſs, or heap of the matter of the firſt element, ſettles, and is formed in the midſt b of the vortex, which maſs we call the ſun [k]. Every one of the fixed ſtars he ſuppoſes likewiſe to be a ſun, and the center of a vortex; and that the earth was originally ſuch a ſtar, whoſe vortex was adjoining to that of the ſun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incruſted with ſpots, ariſing on its ſurface, like the ſcum on a boiling pot, which ſtill increaſing, and growing thicker and thicker, the ſtar loſing its light and activity, and, conſequently, the motion of the celeſtial vortex about its growing more weak, languid, and unable to reſiſt the vigorous incroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the ſun; it was at laſt drawn in, and wholly abſorbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the ſun's ſatellites [l].

Objections thereto.

But this hypotheſis is liable to ſeveral objections, and ſome which abſolutely ruin c it. The three elements of *Des Cartes*, and particularly the ſubtle matter of the firſt, have been ſhewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious, and repugnant to the nature of things; his ſuppoſition of a *plenum* is alſo evidently falſe, not to mention the abſurdities which follow his making of matter and ſpace, or extenſion, to be the ſame [m]. However, we cannot but think the eſſay of that philoſopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world, in a certain time from a rude matter, by the ſole continuation of a motion once impreſſed, and reduced to a few ſimple and general laws; or of others, who have ſince attempted the ſame, with more applauſe, from the original properties of matter, with which it was indued at its creation, is ſo far from being criminal, or injurious to God, as ſome have imagined, that it is rather giving d a more ſublime idea of his infinite wiſdom.

We cannot therefore excuſe ourſelves from repreſenting the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richneſs of his ſtile and fancy, and the other in the ſtrength of parts and contrivance.

The Theory of Dr. Burnet.

The former of them, Dr. *Burnet*, omitting to ſpeak of the original of the univerſe, or even of the ſolar ſyſtem, as made long before the *Moſaic* creation [n], confines himſelf to the formation of the earth only, which he ſuppoſes to be done from a chaos, or confuſed maſs, conſiſting of the principles of all terreſtrial bodies, in this manner. He ſuppoſes, that the firſt change that would happen would be, that the heavieſt and groſſeſt parts would ſink downwards towards the middle of the maſs, (for there he ſup- e poſes the center of its gravity) and, being more and more compreſſed, would harden by degrees, and conſtitute the interior parts of the earth. That the reſt of the maſs, which ſwam above, would alſo be divided, by the ſame principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid, like water, the other volatile, like air: for the more fine and active parts, diſintangling themſelves by degrees from the reſt, would mount above them; and, having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in thoſe open places, where they conſtitute that body we call air: that the other parts, being groſſer than theſe, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up ſeparate from one another, but ſetled in a maſs together under the air, upon the body of the earth,

[i] Vid. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacræ. Ray on the Creation. Cartesii Princip. Philoſ. part 3. §. 52. Rohault. Phyſ. part 1. c. 21. [k] Rohault. ibid. par. 2. c. 25. [l] Ray's Phyſico-Theol. Diſcourſes, Diſc. 3. c. 5. ſect. 3. Vid. Des Cartes, Princip. Philoſ. part 4. §. 2. [m] Vid. Newton, Princip. l. 2. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejuſdem, Optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & Notas S. Clarke ad Rohaulti Phyſ. part 1. c. 8, & 12. & part 2. c. 25, &c. [n] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8.

earth, compoſing not only water, ſtrictly ſo called, but the whole maſs of liquid bodies belonging to the earth. That there being two chief kinds of terreſtrial liquors, thoſe that are oily and light, and thoſe that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally ſeparate from one another when they come to ſettle; the more oily and light part of this maſs would conſequently get above the other, and ſwim upon it. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the air was, as yet, thick, groſs, and dark, there being abundance of terreſtrial particles ſwimming in it, after the groſſeſt were ſunk down; which by their weight made their way more ſpeedily: that the leſſer and lighter, which remained, would ſink too, but more ſlowly, and in a longer time; ſo
a as in their deſcent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watry maſs, which would entangle, and ſtop them from paſſing any further; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous ſubſtance, they compoſed a certain ſlime, or fat, ſoft, and light earth, ſpread upon the face of the waters. That this thin and tender orb of earth increaſed ſtill more and more, as the little earthy parts, that were detained in the air, could make their way to it, ſome having a long journey from the upper regions, and others, being very light, would float up and down a long while, before they could diſengage themſelves and deſcend: but at length being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they ſucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and ſo began to grow more ſtiff and firm, ma-
b king both but one ſubſtance, which was the firſt concretion, or firm and conſiſtent ſubſtance that roſe upon the face of the chaos, and became at laſt an habitable earth, ſuch as nature deſigned it. And ſuch a body as this, he doubts not, would anſwer all the purpoſes of a riſing world; for what can be a more proper ſeminary for plants and animals, than a ſoil of this temper and compoſition? a finer and lighter ſort of earth, mixed with a benign juice, eaſy and obedient to the action of the ſun, or what other cauſes were employed by the author of nature, for the production of things in the new made earth, and perfectly anſwering the ancient deſcriptions of the primigenial ſoil, or ſlime.

THE form of this firſt earth, both external and internal, is eaſily conceived from
c the manner of its formation. As to the external form, it would be ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a ſea. The internal form would conſiſt of ſeveral regions involving one another, like orbs about the ſame center, or the ſeveral elements caſt circularly about each other; the water being entirely contained under the upper cruſt of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, ſuſtained by nothing, but its own meaſures and manner of conſtruction [o].

TO confirm ſo new and ſurprizing a repreſentation of the form of the firſt earth, and to prove it muſt have been different from the preſent, he endeavours to ſhew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capa-
d ble of a deluge, which could not have been effected without ſuch an infinite maſs of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it [p]: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and neceſſarily ſettle and caſt itſelf into a ſmooth ſurface, every where equidiſtant from its center, and not into a ſurface broken into ſo many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it poſſibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it [q]. And theſe reaſons he backs by authority of ſcripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form, or conſtitution of the old world and of the preſent, by reaſon of which difference, that was ſubject to periſh by a deluge, as this is ſubject to periſh by a conflagration [r]; beſides ſeveral paſſages, which ſeem to deſcribe the ſtructure of the antediluvian earth, as founded and eſtabliſhed on the waters [s], and ſet as an orb over the face of the deep [t];
e conformably to which, on the renovation, or reſtitution of nature to its primœval ſtate, the new earth will appear without a ſea [u]. To which he adds the teſtimony of ancient tradition, that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in reſpect to its outward figure, but alſo to the inward compoſition of it; the central parts being repreſented by the yoke of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the ſhell, and the abyſs of water by the white that lies under the ſhell [x]. The manner wherein he ſuppoſes this earth was ſupplied with water, will be taken notice of, when we come to conſider more particularly the ſtate of the antediluvian earth.

SEVERAL objections have been made to the philoſophy of this gentleman's hypo- *Objections thereto.*
f theſis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; becauſe if every thing ſubſided according to its ſpecific gravity, the earth being heavier than the water, muſt neceſſarily place itſelf nearer the center, and ſo leave the waters to cover the face of

[o] BURNET's Theory of the earth, l. 1. c. 5. & Archæol. l. 2. c. 3. [p] Idem, Theory, l. 1. c. 2.
[q] Ibid. c. 4. [r] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7. [s] Pſal. xxiv. 2. & cxxxvi. 6. [t] Prov. viii. 27.
[u] Revel. xxi. 1. [x] BURNET. Theor. l. 1. cap. 5. & Tellur. Theor. ſacr. l. 2. c. 10.

of the whole orb: that his fat, or oily liquid, to catch the terrene particles as they deſcended, is but a weak expedient, becauſe it is impoſſible, that oil, or any other liquor, ſhould ſuſtain ſuch an immenſe heavy orb: that he has, without any reaſon, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantages of a ſea, mountains, and minerals [y]: but the great misfortune is, that ſo coherent and ſurprizing a ſcheme does not in ſeveral particulars accord with the letter of the ſcripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, ſuppoſing, that the ſacred books were not always to be ſo literally and naturally underſtood, as was generally believed hitherto. For conſidering the mean capacities of the *Jews*, which were not capable of ſuch points of philoſophic truths; conſidering the moſt ancient ways of conveying (or rather con- a
cealing,) ſublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics; conſidering the ſcripture ſtile in ſome other caſes, very different from the preſent plain way of diſcourſe; conſidering the main end of thoſe writings, the benefit of the moral world, ſeemed not to require a ſtrict adherence to truth in every circumſtance relating to the natural; and conſidering, laſtly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain to clear theſe points, according to the ſtrictneſs of the moſt obvious ſenſe, and that the greater improvements in philoſophy ſeemed only to render them ſtill more unaccountable; all theſe conſiderations induced him to ſuppoſe, that the holy writers only ſecured the fundamental and general verities; involving the reſt under, and explaining the whole by a way of ſpeaking, which was myſtical and mythological, rather popular than true; and b
fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things [z].

Mr. Whiſton's *Theory.*

THE other theoriſt, Mr. *Whiſton*, not only ſhews a greater regard to ſcripture, and has avoided many difficulties, that were chargeable on the former; but proceeds on more philoſophical principles: He firſt lays down this propoſition, that the *Moſaic* creation is not a nice and philoſophical account of the origin of all things, but an hiſtorical and true repreſentation of the formation of our ſingle earth, out of a confuſed chaos, and of the ſucceſſive and viſible changes thereof each day till it became the habitation of mankind [a]: which he proves from the firſt words of *Moſes*, *In the beginning* GOD *created the heaven and the earth*, which plainly imply, that the creation of the univerſe out of nothing, which we uſually ſtile creation, was precedaneous to the c
ſix days work; the hiſtorian immediately deſcending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards confines himſelf; mentioning, indeed, the making of the ſun and other celeſtial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehenſion, and make it complete; but chiefly to ſecure the *Jews* from the worſhip of the hoſt of heaven [b]. He therefore ſuppoſes, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars were created before, and only made viſible and conſpicuous to the earth on the fourth day [c]: that the ancient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmoſphere of a comet [d], which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primæval ſtate, placed in a very excentrical orbit; to ſupport which propoſition he endeavours to ſhew, that the atmoſphere of a comet has thoſe ſeveral properties which are recorded of the ancient chaos; that it d
has ſuch peculiar properties beſides, as lay a rational foundation for ſome of thoſe *phænomena* of our earth, which can ſcarce otherwiſe be philoſophically explained, and that no other body, or maſs of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can ſtand in competition, or pretend to the ſame character. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the ſix days of the creation were equal to ſix years; a day and a year being one and the ſame thing [e] before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, firſt began [f]: which ſuppoſition agrees with the letter of *Moſes*, and the ſtile of ſcripture elſewhere, wherein a day often denotes a year; and allows a convenient ſpace for the works of creation, which appear to have been leiſurely, regular, and gradual, whithout any precipitancy, or acceleration, by a miraculous e
hand on every occaſion; not to mention other arguments, drawn from the peculiar characters of the ſtate of nature before the fall, which will be obſerved hereafter.

ON theſe foundations, Mr. *Whiſton* proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner: That ſuch formation was not a mere reſult from any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm, independently on the divine power; but the proper effect of the influence of interpoſition, and all along under the peculiar care of GOD, who not only created the matter of which the univerſe, and particularly the earth, was to conſiſt, out of a non-exiſtent ſtate, and endued it with its ſeveral properties and powers, but interpoſed more particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the courſe and

[y] Vid. KEILL's Examinat. of Dr. Burnet's Theory. [z] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8.
[a] WHISTON's new Theory of the Earth. Diſc. of the Moſaic Creation, p. 3. [b] Ibid. p. 4, &c.
[c] Ibid. p. 24, &c. [d] WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 73. [e] EMPEDOCLES taught, that when mankind ſprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the ſun's motion, was equal to ten of our preſent months. PLUT. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 5. c. 18. a ſurprizing teſtimony to this purpoſe. [f] WHISTON's Theory, B. II. p. 85, &c.

and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet, by immediately forming the ſeeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every diſtinct day's work to be compleated in its proper period, that every thing ſhould follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our firſt parents [g]. That at the time immediately preceding the ſix days creation, the face of the abyſs, or ſuperior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkneſs; agreeably to the nature of a comet, which is repreſented as containing a central, ſolid, hot body, of many hundred, or thouſand miles in diameter, and beſides that, a vaſtly large, fluid, heterogeneous maſs, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, ſeparate, and expanded condition, whoſe diameter were ten, or
a eleven times as long as that of the central ſolid, which is the atmoſphere, or chaos it ſelf. But on the change of the comet's orbit, from a very excentrical, to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the *Moſaic* creation, and the influence of the divine ſpirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each ſpecies of bodies rank themſelves according to the law of ſpecific gravity. By which method the maſs of denſe fluids, which compoſed one part of the entire chaos, being heavier than the maſſes of earth, and water, and air, would ſink downwards with the greateſt velocity, and elevate thoſe maſſes encloſed among them upwards, which muſt diſtinguiſh the chaos into two very different and diſtinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of denſe and heavy fluids, or a vaſt abyſs, immediately encom-
b paſſing the central ſolid; the higher and leſſer would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts confuſedly mixed, and encompaſſing the ſaid abyſs. And this he takes to be the ſtate of darkneſs; for the crowding together of all thoſe opake corpuſcles, which before roved about the immenſe regions of the atmoſphere, muſt, by conſequence, exclude the rays of the ſun much more than before [h].

THINGS being in this ſtate, the viſible part of the firſt day's work was the production of light, or its ſucceſſive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the conſequent diſtinction of darkneſs and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the ſeparation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuſcles, into two ſomewhat different regions; the one a ſolid orb of
c earth, with conſiderable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmoſphere in a peculiar ſenſe, or maſs of the lighteſt earthy, with the reſt of the watery and airy particles, ſtill ſomewhat confuſedly mixed together. So that on this firſt day, or year of the creation, the earthy, or denſer parts, would take their places loweſt on the ſurface of the great abyſs, would ſettle in part into the ſame, and compoſe an orb of earth; and in its interſtices, and little cavities, all ſuch watery particles as were already in this region, or deſcended upon it before its conſolidation, would be encloſed; and that as far above the ſurface of the abyſs, as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this firſt day alſo, the upper regions of the chaos, now, in ſome meaſure, freed from thoſe earthy and opake maſſes, which before excluded the ſame, and cauſed
d the above-mentioned thick darkneſs, would, in ſome degree, admit the rays of the ſun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and, by the annual motion, ſucceſſively illuminate the ſeveral parts of it, and conſequently occaſion the viciſſitude of night and day [i].

THE viſible part of the ſecond day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours; the ſpreading of it for an *expanſum* above the earth; the diſtinction thence ariſing of ſuperior and inferior waters; the former conſiſting of thoſe vapours raiſed and ſuſtained by the air; the latter of ſuch as either were encloſed in the pores, interſtices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the ſurface thereof. The heat of the ſun, at the concluſion of the former day, beginning conſiderably to penetrate the ſu-
e perior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy *ſtrata* continuing to ſettle ſomewhat cloſer together, the watery parts would ſubſide, and where they could get entrance, ſaturate their inward pores and vacuities, and the atmoſphere would free itſelf more and more from the heavieſt and moſt opake corpuſcles, and thereby become much more tenuious and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or firſt part of this ſecond day was over, and the ſun aroſe, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmoſphere, and become very ſenſible in theſe upper, or airy regions; and conſequently vaſt quantities of vapours would be elevated and ſuſtained there, and ſo encreaſe the quantities which were there already; while in the mean time all the earthy corpuſcles, uncapable of rarefaction,
f and with them all ſuch watery particles, as were ſo near the earth that the ſun's power could not ſufficiently reach them, were ſtill ſinking downwards, and the former increaſing the craſſitude and bulk of the ſolid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too ſolid

[g] Ibid. Book IV. p. 292, &c. [h] Ibid. p. 307, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 311.

ſolid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its ſurface with water. So that the *expanſum*, or firmament, which was this day ſpread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the ſuperior waters, all thoſe freſh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine, or ten months heat of the ſun, with the aſſiſtance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air ſuſtain, beſides thoſe vaſt quantities of ſalt ones, which had never yet left thoſe regions: the inferior waters were thoſe which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the ſurface of the earth [k].

THE viſible parts of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, of ſuch as were now under the heaven, into the ſeas, with the conſequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground ſo lately become dry. In order to apprehend which it muſt be conſidered, that the orb of the earth had been ſettling and fixing itſelf on the ſurface of the abyſs, from the very beginning of the creation; and was by the coheſion of its parts grown ſolid, ſome time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were deſcended upon it, ſuppoſe by the end of the firſt day: by which means, and by reaſon of the different denſity and ſpecific gravity of its columns, it was ſettled into the abyſs in different degrees, and thereby became of an unequal ſurface, diſtinguiſhed into mountains, plains, and vallies; which things being ſuppoſed, at the concluſion of the preceding day, the air being crowded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the ſaid vapours muſt needs deſcend on the earth in vaſt quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming of celeſtial, terreſtrial waters: theſe waters being deſcended, by reaſon of the inequality of the earth's ſurface, and its ſolidity, muſt in ſome time have run down from the higher parts, by the declivities and hollows, into the loweſt vallies, and moſt depreſſed regions of all, and there compoſed the ſeas and lakes; ſo that in the morning, the entire face of the globe, which was before covered with the deſcending waters, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into overflowed vallies, and extant continents. The dry land being now diſtinguiſhed from the ſeas, and juſt become moiſt and juicy, like the primitive ſlime; on the ſun riſing, it was of all other the moſt fit ſeaſon for the germination of the ſeeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which purpoſe, nine, or ten months continual preſence of the ſun was a time very proper and natural [l].

THE fourth day's work was the placing of the heavenly bodies, ſun, moon, and ſtars in the *expanſum*, or firmament; that is, the rendring of them viſible and conſpicuous on the face of the earth: together with their ſeveral aſſignations to their reſpective offices there. For though the light of the ſun penetrated the atmoſphere in ſome ſort the firſt day, and in the ſucceeding ones had very conſiderable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be ſuppoſed, that his body was viſible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times ſo clear, as to render it diſcernible by us, though we are at the ſame time ſufficiently ſenſible of his force and influence in the conſtant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the ſun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, thoſe vapours which were raiſed the day before, muſt fall downwards, and ſo, before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greateſt clearneſs and purity imaginable, and permit the moon firſt, and then the ſun, moſt plainly to appear, and be conſpicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time, when both theſe heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet ſo as to be wholly ſtrangers to a ſpectator on earth, were rendred viſible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable productions, being now complete, according to the tradition of the *Chineſe* [m] inhabiting *Formoſa*, and other iſlands, who hold, that the world, when firſt created, was without form, or ſhape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years [n].

THE production of the fiſh and fowl out of the waters, with the benediction beſtowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the ſwimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and ſo penetrable by that complete heat of the ſun, which was requiſite to the generation of ſuch creatures; thoſe ſeeds, or little bodies of fiſh and fowl, which were contained in the water, (or moiſt fruitful ſlime of kin to it) were now expoſed to the kindly warmth of the ſun, and the conſtant ſupply of a moſt gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither diſturbed by any ſudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in thoſe ſmall ſeas, and in the abſence of the diurnal rotation were imper-

[k] Ibid. p. 317, &c. [l] Ibid. p. 320, &c. [m] Atlas Chineſ. part 2. p. 46. [n] WHISTON's Theor. ubi ſup. p. 325.

imperceptible and gradual: which ſeeds being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific; and a numerous off-ſpring of the ſwimming and volatile kind aroſe, whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became repleniſhed with thoſe firſt pairs, which were enabled to propagate their ſpecies [o].

THE ſixth day's work was the production of all the terreſtrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beaſts were produced out of the earth; after which the body of *Adam* was formed of the duſt of the ground; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living ſoul: and ſome time after, on the ſame day, he was caſt into a deep ſleep, and *Eve* was formed of a rib taken from his ſide. The
a earth being now grown more ſolid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for reſpiration, and the other diſpoſition of external nature being ſubſervient, it was a proper ſeaſon for the generation of the land animals, and the introduction of the nobleſt of them, man [p].

THIS is the ſubſtance of the latter theory, wherein, among many ingenious and probable ſolutions, there are ſome ſuppoſitions, which have been thought too bold and precarious. *Objections to Mr. Whiſton's theory.*

IT has been objected, that he is probably miſtaken as to the extent of the *Moſaic* creation; it being pretty certain, that the moon was formed at that time, or at leaſt placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth; for no comets have any ſecondary
b planets: ſo that ſomething more muſt be intended by *Moſes*, than the bare rendring the moon viſible; and the word *made*, being equally applied both to ſun and moon, it is ſuppoſed, it ought in both places to be taken in the ſame, that is, a literal ſenſe.

THE atmoſphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obſcure, but a bright pellucid fluid, which is a conſequence of the intenſe heat of the central ſolid; and becauſe the greateſt part of the bodies which compoſe the upper *ſtratum* of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comets near approach to the ſun, and ſo very improper for the formation of the earth.

THAT the diurnal rotation of the earth did not commence till after the fall, ſo that till that time days and years were exactly the ſame, has been held a paradox; con-
c ſidering the prodigious cold, that muſt be occaſioned by the total abſence of the ſun for one half of the year, and the intenſe heat, that muſt enſue upon its continual ſhining upon it for the other; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold muſt be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals, unleſs their bodies were of a very different conſtitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any neceſſity to lengthen a day into a year, for the ſake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance, or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowledged to be concerned [q].

IT may not therefore be amiſs, laying all hypotheſes aſide, briefly to propoſe ſuch an explication of the coſmogony, as may be moſt agreeable both to reaſon and the
d letter of ſcripture. *The Moſaic creation explained.*

AND firſt, it is conceived, that the *Moſaic* creation is neither to be extended to the whole univerſe, nor yet confined to the terreſtrial globe alone; the middle opinion, that it included the ſolar ſyſtem, and that only, ſeeming the moſt probable, from the near ſimilitude and relation the ſeveral planets in that ſyſtem bear to one another, and their having the ſame common center and luminary; ſo that though the hiſtorian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reaſon to preſume, that the other planets were formed in the ſame manner, and in the ſame time, as the earth, of ſo many particular chaotic maſſes.

MOSES, after the general aſſertion, that both heaven and earth were originally made [r]
e by GOD, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the preſent ſyſtem, informs us, that the earth, in particular, was at firſt in an unformed and defart ſtate, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the ſpirit of GOD moved upon the face of the waters; by which ſpirit ſome underſtand the third perſon in the bleſſed Trinity [s], others, that plaſtic nature [t], which was ſubſervient to him on this occaſion, or ſome other emanation of the divine power; which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe moved the chaotic maſs, whoſe ſurface was covered with water, or other fluid matter, and impregnated it with ſeveral kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended diſpoſition, order, and life.

THINGS

[o] Ibid. p. 328. [p] Ibid. p. 329, &c. [q] Vid. KEILL's Remarks on Mr. Whiſton's Theory.
[r] The original word ברא is allowed not neceſſarily to ſignify a creation, or production out of nothing: yet as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to expreſs ſuch a creation, it is moſt likely *Moſes* uſes it here in that ſenſe. [s] GROTIUS, &c. [t] Dr. CUDWORTH's Intell. Syſt. p. 148. Yet others by this ſpirit of GOD underſtand no more than a violent wind, which they ſuppoſe was ſent to dry up the waters. Chal. paraphraſe, DRUSIUS, &c.

THINGS being in this ſtate, the confuſed ſtagnating parts of matter began to range themſelves in order; and the groſſer parts ſubſiding, the lighter and more tenuious mounted up, by which means the atmoſphere being in ſome degree cleared, the luminous rays of the ſun began to pierce it, and cauſed an imperfect and glimmering light, yet ſufficient partly to diſpel the before total darkneſs, and to diſtinguiſh day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the firſt day, is much more reaſonable than to ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the ſun, much leſs the fixed ſtars, were then extracted from the chaos [u]; becauſe more than ninety-nine parts in an hundred of the matter of the univerſe, are fiery corpuſcles, and if they were included at firſt in the chaos, it could not poſſibly have been dark or caliginous. Nor is it probable, a
that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the *Moſaic* chaos, not only becauſe it is expreſly called *the earth*, but becauſe ſuch an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the univerſal gravitation of matter; not to mention the falſe ſuppoſition, which muſt in that caſe be made, of the earth's being the center of the world [x]. To account for this day's light, before the ſun is ſaid to be made, there is no occaſion to recur to the ſuppoſition of its being either the divine *Shechinah* [y], or no more than a temporary light, occaſioned by the rapid motion communicated by GOD to a portion of matter [z],

THE ſecond day, the expanſe, or air, called by *Moſes* heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the groſs terrene particles which before crowded it, and b
made capable of ſupporting clouds and aqueous vapours, which were the ſuperior waters, as thoſe on the earth were the inferior [a]. By the waters above the firmament cannot be underſtood the planetary waters [b], for the reaſons given above; and the notion, the old chriſtian fathers had of ſuper-celeſtial waters, is perfectly groundleſs.

THE former part of the third day's work was to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into ſeas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this was effected is not eaſy to determine. That GOD himſelf ſhould raiſe the mountains, and hollow the channels of the ſea for this purpoſe, appears not a little indecent; for which reaſon ſome have ſuppoſed, the mountains might have been thrown c
up by the force of a ſubterraneous fire, or flatus, in the ſame manner as earthquakes are now cauſed [c]: but the more philoſophical opinion is, that they were occaſioned by the different denſities of the ſeveral columns of the earth, when its ſurface was firſt formed, ſome ſinking lower into the abyſs than others; for it is more than probable, that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithſtanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary [d]. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were deſigned as food for the future animals. But how great ſoever we ſuppoſe the fœcundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is ſcarce to be imagined, that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their ſeveral fruits and ſeeds in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a day, without the aſſiſtance of a ſuper- d
natural power: and as GOD is on all hands allowed to have formed the ſeeds of thoſe vegetables, it may not, perhaps, be wrong to attribute their ſudden maturation alſo to his interpoſition; though, it be well known, how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art, even at this day, of which there have been ſome ſurprizing inſtances, and much more might be expected from nature in that vigorous ſtate.

ON the fourth day the two great lights, the ſun and the moon, are ſaid to have been made and placed in the heaven. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed they were then firſt created, or aſſigned to their reſpective orbs; for the ſun was not only in being from the beginning of the *Moſaic* creation, but had all along great influence e
on the earth, its light and heat gradually encreaſing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defæcated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only, that the bodies of thoſe luminaries, which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours, which before obſcured it, did then firſt appear to the earth, and viſibly begin to perform their ſeveral offices. The ſtars alſo are for the ſame reaſon ſaid to be made on that day; tho' the planets,

[u] Which is the opinion of Dr. NICHOLS, and others. See his Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part. 1.
[x] Vid. WHISTON, of the Moſaic Creation, p. 35, &c. [y] The notion of ABRAVANEL. [z] Vid. SAURIN, Diſſert. p. 2. [a] GROTIUS, &c. [b] This is Dr. NICHOLS's interpretation, ubi ſupra.
[c] RAY on the Creation, and Biſhop PATRICK in his Commentaries. [d] See WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 82.

planets, as we have ſaid, were forming before; and the fixed ſtars were no part of this creation[e],

AFTER the formation of the inanimate world, *Moſes* proceeds to the formation of animals, and he begins with fiſhes and fowls, which were both produced, on the fifth day, out of the waters in great numbers[f]. And as the original of fiſh and volatiles was from the ſame element, ſo there is ſuppoſed to be ſome congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of ſwimming and flying ſomething alike.

IN the former part of the ſixth and laſt day, the terreſtrial animals were produced out of the earth.

Of the formation of plants and animals.

a THE manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wiſdom of the creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philoſopher with any tolerable ſucceſs; matter, and the laws of motion having nothing at all to do in theſe things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous and groundleſs thoſe hypotheſes are, which make them to be produced from the earth, ſuppoſed ever ſo fruitful, by the influence and heat of the ſun, appears from the late diſcovery made in philoſophy, that there is no ſuch thing as equivocal generation of any the meaneſt animal, or plant; the ſun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all, towards the producing of any thing endued with ſo much as even a vegetative life[g]. It muſt be therefore neceſſarily allowed, that GOD himſelf,
b or ſome agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making uſe of the earth and water, as the matter only whereof he conſtituted their parts. But whether theſe firſt vegetative and ſenſitive creatures were created in their ſeeds only, (which contain the plants and animals themſelves in little) and diſperſed over the ſuperficial part of the land and water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth; or whether they were created in their full ſtate of perfection, ſeems not eaſy to decide. It has been thought by ſome modern philoſophers, that GOD at firſt created only two of each ſpecies of animals, from which all the reſt proceeded by generation: to ſupport which opinion, they obſerve, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beaſts)
c were preſerved in the ark. But it ſeems more conſonant to ſcripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at firſt: we are aſſured, the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, muſt neceſſarily have been created diſperſedly all the world over. There has been alſo a farther queſtion moved concerning the creation of animals, *viz.* whether all animals, that already have been, or hereafter ſhall be, were at firſt actually created by GOD? or whether he hath given to each kind of animals ſuch a power of generation, as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies? and it ſeems to be the moſt reaſonable opinion, that GOD did himſelf, at firſt, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever ſhall be; and that there is no ſuch thing as any
d production of new ones. For what were that but a creation of ſuch individuals? and what did GOD at the firſt creation more than, if this be true, we ſee every day done; that is, produce a new animal out of matter, which it ſelf prepares? all the difference is, that GOD does that in an inſtant, which the creature muſt take time to do. Beſides, the parent animal cannot be the agent, or efficient in the generation, or forming and nouriſhing of the fœtus, becauſe that is a work of art and reaſon, which brute creatures are not endued withal; nor indeed does man himſelf underſtand any thing of the proceſs of generation in himſelf. Again, it is moſt probable, if not certain, that moſt animals have in them from the beginning, the ſeeds, or eggs, of all the young they ſhall afterwards bring forth; which when ſpent and exhauſted, the crea-
e ture becomes barren: the females of all viviparous quadrupeds being brought forth with their *teſtes*, or *ovaria*; and all birds formed with their ovary, or egg-cluſter, containing the ſeeds of all the eggs they ſhall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there, that there ſhould be ſo many at firſt formed in them? Whereupon theſe philoſophers argue thus; Let us ſuppoſe, GOD did at firſt create two animals, a male and a female: the female muſt be created with its ovaries, which

[e] Dr. NICHOLLS (ubi ſupr.) ſupports the opinion of the creation of other worlds, or Syſtems before ours, by a criticiſm on the Hebrew words אֵת (in Geneſ. i. 16.) which ſignify *together with*; and thence concludes, that by *Moſes*'s text the moon was to rule the night *and*, or *together with*, the ſtars, which ſhine then only; the words *he made* being interpolated in our tranſlation. By the ſtars coming in ſo abruptly in this place, ſome have been ready to think, thoſe words were added ſince *Moſes*'s time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the ſtars were not made. [f] *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl*, &c. Geneſ. i. 21. But afterwards it is ſaid, that GOD *formed the fowls of the air out of the ground*, Geneſ. ii. 19. The Jews reconcile this, by ſuppoſing, that they were formed out of both elements mixed, *viz.* out of ſoft ooze. But CALMET (in his commentary) ſays, the firſt paſſage may be rendred, *and let the fowl fly*, &c. [g] Dr. CLARKE's Demonſtration of the being and attributes of GOD, p. 64.

which (as we have ſaid) contain ſo many ſeeds, or eggs, as the creature ſhould ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the firſt pair, but the firſt generation of animals were actually created. Again, this generation, from their firſt appearance, had each of them (that is the females) its *ovaria*, containing in like manner, the ſeeds of its future off-ſpring; ſo that this ſecond generation was alſo created in the firſt. The ſame may be demonſtrated of the third and fourth; and ſo on of all the generations that ſhall be, as long as the world ſhall laſt [h].

The creation of man,

WHEN the creation had proceeded thus far, and every thing, that could be ſubſervient to man, or advance his felicity, was compleated; he, who was to be the lord of all, and for whoſe ſake the whole was framed, was brought into the world, being a created in a ſolemn and immediate manner by GOD himſelf [i], after a conſultation, as it were of the holy Trinity [k], every Perſon wherein may juſtly be preſumed to have been peculiarly concerned in the production of that being, which was to bear the image of GOD, and be made capable, in ſome degree, of his immortality.

MAN then was, by a divine power, created on the ſixth day, after the terreſtrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the duſt of the ground [l], whence he had the name of *Adam* [m], and his ſoul immediately infuſed into him by his creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently conſiſted that image, or reſemblance of GOD, wherein he is ſaid to have been made [n]. The woman was formed alſo on the ſame day [o], out of the ſide [p] of the man, who had been caſt into a deep b

and of woman.

ſleep for that end [q]. And this original, it is to be ſuppoſed, was choſen, to conciliate the ſtricter love and union between them; the ſide being alſo the moſt proper part to denote that equality with the man, for which the woman was deſigned; whereas if ſhe had been taken from the head [r], it might have argued ſome intended ſuperiority, or if from the lower parts [s], the contrary. From what *Adam* ſaid on his firſt ſight of the woman, *that ſhe was bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*, it appears, he well knew whence ſhe was formed; whether he was ſenſible of the paſt operation, or had it otherwiſe revealed to him, as probably it was in a viſion as he ſlept. Beſides *Eve*, it is pretended by ſome *Rabbins*, that GOD made another woman out of the earth named *Lilith*, of whom the *Jews* relate many ſtories [t]. c

Traditions concerning their ſize,

THAT the firſt pair were created in an adult and perfect ſtate, immediately capable of the full exerciſe of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their maker's hands in the greateſt perfection both of body and mind [u]. But we muſt not hence entertain thoſe extravagant opinions, which ſome have held in thoſe reſpects. The *Talmudiſts* ſay, that *Adam* reached from one end of the earth to the other, when firſt created, but that when he had ſinned, GOD squeezed his ſtature to an hundred ells [x]: though others

[h] RAY's Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, chap. 4. [i] Mr WHISTON, conceiving it unfit and impoſſible for the divine nature of the Father to be ſo much, and in ſuch a manner, concerned with the corporeal world, and the ſinful race of mankind, is of opinion, that the ſame divine perſon, who was afterwards frequently converſant on earth, gave the law on mount *Sinai*, and took the title, adoration, and, to others, incommunicable name of the God of *Iſrael*; and who at laſt was incarnate, and died, and ſtill makes interceſſion for us with the Father, and will judge the world at the laſt day; was actually and viſibly on earth in a human ſhape, and truly and really employed in this creation of the world, ſo frequently aſcribed to him in the holy ſcriptures, and particularly in this formation of man. Vide his Theory, Book IV. p. 330. [k] Geneſ. i. 26. Moſt of the modern expoſitors take the plural number here uſed, *Let us make*, &c. to be no more than a majeſtic form of ſpeech, as princes now uſe. The *Jewiſh* doctors are of opinion, that this deliberation was real, and held with ſuch angelical beings as GOD might employ in the work of man's creation: and on this occaſion tell the following ſtory; That, as *Moſes* was writing his book by GOD's appointment, and theſe words came to be dictated, he made ſome difficulty to ſet them down, crying out, *O Lord, wouldſt thou then lead men into error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity?* whereupon GOD anſwered, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Bereſhit Rabba. *Philo* the *Jew* ſays, the true reaſon of this expreſſion is known to GOD only; yet he conjectures that man alone, of all creatures, being capable of the contraries of virtue and vice; the creation of ſuch a mixed being was partly proper, and partly improper for GOD himſelf, who therefore here beſpeaks his coadjutors, that what is irreprehenſible in the actions, or will of man may be attributed to GOD, and what is otherwiſe, to his ſubordinate agents. De mundi opificio, p. 15, &c. [l] Geneſ. ii. 7. [m] אדמה *Adamah* in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Earth*, but more properly, as is ſaid, a ſort of *red earth, or clay*, from the root אדם *to be red*. *Ludolphus* derives it from the *Æthiopic*, *Adama*, *i. e. to be pleaſant or delightful*, which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the firſt man for his beauty. But this name of *Adam*, it muſt be obſerved, is an appellative, rather than a proper name, and includes even both the ſexes. Ibid. According to ſome of the *Perſian* Mages (but not the more orthodox) the firſt human pair were named *Miſha* and *Miſhána*. HYDE, Hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. 10. [n] Geneſ. i. 26, 27. Ib. v. 1. [o] Ibid. i. 27. [p] The original word, which ſtrictly ſignifies a *rib*, may be alſo tranſlated *ſide*, as it is all along by the *Septuagint*. [q] Geneſ. ii. 21. [r] Which ſome have imagined. Vid. St. ROMUALD, Abregè du Treſor Chronolog. Tom. I. p. 35. [s] Some *Rabbins* ridiculouſly fancy, that GOD at firſt made *Adam* with a tail, but finding it leſſened the beauty of his workmanſhip, he reſolved to cut it off; however, he made it ſerve for the matter whereout he formed the firſt woman. Vid. BARTOLOCCII Biblioth. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 69. [t] Vid. St. ROMUALD, ubi ſupra. HEIDEGGER, Hiſt. patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. [u] Vid. PHILON. JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 31. [x] TALMUD, in libr. Sanhedrim.

others ſuppoſe this was done at the requeſt of the angels, who were terrified at his gigantic ſize, and that GOD ſtill left him nine hundred cubits high [y]; and that was not a great deal too much, if he waded through the ſea into our continent after his expulſion from paradiſe, which, as ſome imagine, was ſeparated from this world by the ocean [z]. The *Mohammedans* alſo have a tradition from their prophet, that *Adam* was as high as a tall palm tree [a]; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long, on the top of a mountain in the iſland of *Ceylon*, thence named *Pico de Adam*; and too little, if *Eve* were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her
a head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket-ſhots aſunder [x]. The beauty of *Eve* is ſaid to have been ſo extraordinary, *beauty.*
that the prince of the angels fell in love with her, which occaſioned his fall [c]: and to give as charming an idea of *Adam*'s perſon, ſome have imagined, that GOD, at his creation, cloathed himſelf with a human body ſuperlatively beautiful, and by that model formed the body of *Adam*; which apparition was the firſt prelude of the incarnation [d]: and what is yet more wonderful, *Adam* all the while looked on, and ſaw his maker, in that lovely form, faſhioning every limb [e]. Nor have the gifts of his *and knowledge.*
mind been leſs magnified than his ſtature and beauty: ſome *Rabbins* [f] have been contented to equal him with *Moſes*, and *Solomon*; others aſſert, that he was maſter of
b every ſcience and art; that he knew more the firſt day of his creation, than any other by the experience of a long life [g]; nay, that he ſurpaſſed the angels themſelves in knowledge [h]: allegorically interpreting what is ſaid of his ſtature's reaching from one end of the world to the other, of the extent of his underſtanding [i].

BUT it is ſtill more groundleſs and extravagant to ſuppoſe, as ſeveral *Rabbins* have *Suppoſed, by*
done, that *Adam*'s body was created double, male on one ſide, and female on the other, *ſome, to have*
being joined together by the ſhoulders, the heads looking directly contrary ways: *been created*
and that GOD, when he had made *Eve*, had no more to do than to ſplit this body *double.*
in two [k]. Others join them by their ſides, and ſay the male body was on the right, which embraced the other round the neck with his left hand, while the other did the
c ſame to him with her right. Theſe dreams are ſufficiently refuted by the text of *Moſes*. *Of the* Andro-
It may not however be improper to add a word of the *Hermaphrodites*, or *Androgynes*, gynes *of* Plato.
of which *Plato* has ſaid ſo much: they were bodies which had the two ſexes, with four arms, four legs, and two faces on one neck, turned one towards the other. This duplicity of numbers gave them a prodigious ſtrength, and conſequently inſpired them with great inſolence, and they thought of no leſs than making war againſt the gods: who conſulting on means to bring them to reaſon, the advice of *Jupiter* was approved, and that was to ſplit them in two; which being done, each part ſtill preſerved a ſtrong inclination to unite itſelf to the other, and this was, according to him, the original of love [l].

d THE *Mohammedans* have ſeveral peculiar traditions about the creation of *Adam*. *Mohammedan*
They ſay, that the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Iſrafil* were ſent by GOD, one after *traditions con-*
another, to fetch for that purpoſe ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and *cerning the*
of different colours (whence ſome account for the various complexions of mankind [m];) *creation of man.*
but the earth being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſent her fear to GOD, that the creature he deſigned to form would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he ſent *Azrail* on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe; for which reaſon GOD appointed him to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death. The earth he had taken was carried into *Arabia*,

[y] Vid. BARTOLOCCII Biblioth. Rabbinic. Vol. I. p. 65, 66. [z] BARCEPHA, in tract. de Paradiſo, cap. 14. [a] YAHYA, Comment. in Korân. [b] MONCONIS, Voyages, part I. p. 372, &c. [c] Vid. BARTOLOCC. ubi ſup. p. 322. [d] EUGUBIN. in Coſmopœia, apud Salian. Annal. Tom. I. p. 106. [e] The latin terms are, *Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aſpexit ambroſioſque vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia corpus ſuum fingentia, ſingulosque artus ducentia.* Idem, ibid. [f] Apud RIVINI Serpent. Seduct. p. 50. [g] Vid. SALIAN. ubi ſup. p. 107, 113. [h] To prove this, they pretend to alledge the teſtimony of GOD himſelf. They ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and being aſked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH. RIVIN. Serpent. Seduct. p. 56. This ſtory has been adopted by Mohammed in his Korân, cap. 2. ver. 30, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 49, &c. [k] Vid. HEIDEGGER. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 85. which author attributes this opinion to two famous Rabbins, Manaſſes Ben Iſrael (in Conciliat. in Geneſ.) & Moſes Maimonides (in More Nevoch. p. 2. cap. 30), who yet rather approve a different ſentiment. [l] PLAT. in Sympoſ. pag. 1185. Ed. Francof. 1602. [m] AL TERMEDI, from a tradition of Abu Muſa al Aſhari.

Arabia, to a place now between *Mecca* and *Tayef*, where, being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards formed by GOD himſelf into a human form, and left to dry for the ſpace of forty days, or, as others ſay, as many years; the angels, in the interim, often viſiting it, and *Eblis* (afterwards the devil) among the reſt: but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowledge him as ſuch. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent ſoul; and when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed *Eve* out of his left ſide [n].

The Phœnician *tradition.*

THE two firſt human pair, according to the *Phœnician* tradition, were begotten, a or generated by the wind *Colpias*, and his wife *Baau*, which is interpreted night [o]; that is, by a hollow wind acting on unformed matter: the meaning being no more than this, that a wind incloſed in ſeveral cavities of unſhapen matter, worked out of it the firſt man; the rude matter being the paſſive principle, or cauſe, and therefore here figuratively called the wife; and the encloſed wind being the active principle, and therefore here intimated to be as it were the huſband, in this firſt generation [p].

Of the human ſoul:

THAT the ſoul of man is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any, who conſiders the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be ſuppoſed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and maturations, can never be able to perform. It has however been queſtioned, whether b

whether infuſed, or ex traduce.

the ſouls of men are infuſed into them immediately from GOD, or whether they are derived, *ex traduce*, from their parents. The latter opinion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their ſpecies in full perfection; by which it ſeems to follow, that mankind were endued with the ſame; from the likeneſs of temper and diſpoſition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of conceiving GOD to be inceſſantly making ſouls, whenever the ſexes are ſtimulated to ſatisfy their natural appetite. But it is ſcarce poſſible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human ſoul on this ſuppoſition: for if the ſoul be propagated by generation, it muſt, to our beſt apprehenſion, be material, and liable to corruption [q]; it is therefore more reaſonable to believe, that c though GOD has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of ſecond cauſes, yet he has reſerved the production of our ſouls to himſelf, who is the Father, and GOD *of the ſpirits of all fleſh* [r].

Whether our ſouls were created at once, or ſucceſſively.

IT has alſo been doubted, whether the ſouls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of *Adam*, in order to be united to certain bodies, which ſhould be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are ſucceſſively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them? Such of the old philoſophers who believed the ſoul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the body, as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and *Plato*, concluded, that all ſouls muſt pre-exiſt in the univerſe, before generation and tranſmigration into their reſpective bodies; and this doctrine was not d confined to human ſouls only, but extended univerſally to all ſouls and lives whatſoever; for the ancients were ſo far from denying the ſenſe and conſciouſneſs of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reaſoning [s], though they were not able to expreſs their thoughts as man did: for which reaſon they were ſuppoſed, by ſome, to tranſmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein conſiſted the ſeeming diſparity of their powers. Several of the ancient chriſtians have alſo believed the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, induced by this conſideration, that it was incongruous to bring GOD upon the ſtage perpetually, and make him immediately interpoſe every where in the generation of men, by the mira- e culous production of their ſouls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the ſouls of brutes has been thought ſo improbable, that it has been fancied, they are but ſo many particular eradiations, or effluxes, from that ſource of life above,

[n] KHOND AMÎR, JALLALO'DDIN, Comment. in KORAN, &c. Vid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. Orient. p. 55. [o] SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. As to the words *Colpias* and *Baau*, Bochart takes the firſt of them to be the ſame with קול-פי-יה *Col-pi-yah*, i. e. *the voice of the mouth of* GOD; but this is improbable, becauſe it is plainly the name of a wind, derived from the Greek Κόλπος, which ſignifies a hollow place or cavity, whether thoſe little ones in our boſoms, garments, &c. or thoſe large ones which we call bays in the ſea-ſhore: nor is there ſuch a phraſe in the Hebrew tongue, as *the voice of the mouth of Yah*; beſides other reaſons. *Baau* he would correct *Baut*, which he affirms to ſignify the night: but it is more probably the בהו *Bohu* of Moſes, as Scaliger and Grotius agree. Vid. CUMBERLAND's Remarks on the Hiſt. of SANCHONIATHO, p. 207. [p] CUMBERLAND, ibid. p. 209. [q] Vid. CUDWORTH, Intell. Syſt. p. 38. [r] Numb. xvi. 22. Vid. Mr. STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 223, &c. [s] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis Philoſ. l. 5. cap. 20. See BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Pereira, Rem. E.

above, which animate ſuch matter, as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by them, ſo long as it continues ſuch; but when thoſe organized bodies, by reaſon of their indiſpoſition, become incapable of being further acted upon, are reſumed and retracted into that original head, or fountain; it ſeeming not at all abſurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the ſouls even of brutes, any more than to every the leaſt particle of matter [t]. Nor is this doctrine of pre-exiſtence unknown to the *Mohammedans*, who imagine, that GOD drew out of the loins of *Adam* all his poſterity at once, and made a covenant with them, that they ſhould acknowledge him for their lord [u]. They ſay, that all theſe men were actually aſſembled together in a valley near *Mecca*, or, as others
a ſay, in the plain of *Dahia* in *India*, in the ſhape of piſmires, which are endued with underſtanding; and after they had in the preſence of the angels, as witneſſes, confeſſed their dependance on GOD, they were again cauſed to return into the loins of their great anceſtor [x]. That the *Jews* had likewiſe ſome notion of the ſoul's exiſting before the body, appears from their queſtion put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind [y], had himſelf ſinned, or his parents, to deſerve that puniſhment; and as this opinion was not then contradicted, ſome have ſuppoſed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the vulgar opinion of the ſucceſſive creation of ſouls, may with good reaſon be allowed; for why ſhould we imagine, that GOD put
b forth all his creative vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a ſpectator only of the conſequent reſult, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interpoſition [z]? and how is it poſſible, that if our ſouls were ever in ſuch a ſtate of pre-exiſtence, we ſhould have ſo perfectly loſt all memory and conſciouſneſs of any thing?

BEFORE we have done with this ſubject, the creation of man, we muſt take ſome notice of the opinion of thoſe who think mankind were in being before *Adam*, who was the progenitor of the *Jews* only. To ſupport which, they alledge, that *Moſes* makes mention of two diſtinct creations, one of mankind in general [a], and the other of *Adam* and *Eve* [b]; and in the progreſs of his hiſtory gives ſtrong intimations, that
c there were ſeveral more men in the world when they were created; elſe it is not eaſily to be conceived, how *Cain* could be a tiller of the ground [c], which muſt pre-ſuppoſe all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reaſon he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would ſlay him [d]; nor can his going into another country, marrying a wife, and building a city [e], be otherwiſe accounted for. From which they would infer, that *Moſes* intended only to give an account of the origin of the *Jews*, and not of the primitive parents of the whole human race [f]. Theſe objections are eaſily anſwered; for the paſſage, wherein the creation of man is mentioned the ſecond time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been ſaid before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our firſt parents.
d And as to the numbers of men ſuppoſed to be in the world, about the time of the murder of *Abel*, it is by no means improbable, that theſe ſhould be the deſcendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, whoſe poſterity, in the ſpace of near one hundred and thirty years, (for it was in that year of *Adam*'s age that *Seth*, who was given in lieu of *Abel*, was born) might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thouſand ſouls, conſidering the primitive fœcundity, and that none are ſuppoſed to have died in the interim [g].

Whether Men before Adam.

BUT the moſt plauſible objection of the *pre-adamites* is, that if *Adam* and *Eve* be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cauſe aſſigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable,
e they were both the off-ſpring of the ſame parents. To this it may be anſwered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of mens bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater, or leſſer diſtance from the ſun: we may therefore well conclude, that the firſt colony, which ſettled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackneſs, as the ſun was more intenſe upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawnineſs might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themſelves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; ſo that their love for

Their difference of colour accounted for.

[t] CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra, p. 44, &c. [u] Al Korân. cap. vii. ver. 173. [x] See D'HERBELOT, Biblioth. orient. p. 54. MARRACCIUS in Alcoran. p. 290. [y] John ix. 2. [z] CUDWORTH ubi ſupra. [a] Geneſ. i. 27. [b] Geneſ. ii. 9. Ib. v. 1. [c] Geneſ. iv. 2. [d] Geneſ. iv. 14. [e] Ib. ver. 16, 17. [f] Vid. PEYRERII Præadamit. l. 3. cap. 4. BLOUNT's Oracles of Reaſon, 218. [g] Vid. NICHOLLS's conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. part I.

for their husbands, and daily converſation with them, might have a conſiderable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which is evident from many inſtances. Upon this ſuppoſition, the children thus produced muſt every birth approach nearer to an abſolute blackneſs; and as their tender bodies came to be expoſed naked (as the manner of ſuch countries is) to the violent heat of the ſun, their ſkin muſt needs be ſcorched in an extraordinary manner, and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackneſs far ſuperior to that of their parents. By ſuch degrees it is not improbable, that people of the faireſt complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what ſome have imagined, that this blackneſs was at firſt ſupernatural, and a judgment inflicted upon *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, for diſcovering his father's nakedneſs [h], and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that undutiful ſon [i]; this ſeems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curſe on that occaſion being laid on *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, by name, and yet his poſterity are allowed not to have been black. a

THUS have we attended the earth through its ſeveral degrees of formation, ſeen it perfected, clothed with trees and plants, and repleniſhed with animals; and at laſt man, for whom the whole was deſigned, and to whom the dominion of it was expreſly given by its maker, introduced, and placed in it. b

The time and ſeaſon of the creation.

WHETHER all this was really done in the ſpace of ſix days, has been a queſtion; ſome, as has been obſerved, thinking it much too ſhort for ſuch a work, and others too long [k], ſuppoſing, that the world was created in a moment, and that *Moſes* extends it to ſix days, the better to help the imagination of the people, that things may ſeem to riſe in ſome order and method, and to take off any image of haſte, or precipitancy. But we cannot ſee any reaſon to depart from the letter of *Moſes* in this particular, the creation deſcribed by him being not the creation of the ſubſtance of all things out of nothing, which was moſt probably the effect of one individual act, but the formation of one world, or ſyſtem only, out of matter before created [l]

IT has been diſputed alſo in what ſeaſon of the year the world was made; which, it is to be preſumed, muſt be meant in reſpect of the place where *Adam* was created; for otherwiſe all theſe ſeaſons muſt have been in being at once in different parts of the world. Some have ſuppoſed the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal, which opinion is the more generally received [m], and ſeems to be confirmed from the years anciently beginning from that time [n]. This indeed was afterwards altered by *Moſes*, who ordered the eccleſiaſtical year ſhould commence from the vernal equinox, or the month *Niſan* [o]: but the *Jews* in civil affairs ſtill continued to compute from the former, or the month *Tiſri*. c

The place where Adam *was created.*

ANOTHER ſubject of enquiry has been the place where *Adam* was created. There is an ancient tradition, that it was in *Syria*; near where *Damaſcus* now ſtands [p]; others will have it to have been in *Armenia* [q]; but it was, moſt probably, in, or near the garden of *Eden*, the ſeat deſigned for him, where-ever that was. d

Things made prior to the creation.

THE *Mohammedans*, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in ſix days, do however believe, that GOD, previous to that creation, made the table whereon, as they ſuppoſe, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is eſtabliſhed; and the throne itſelf [r]: wherein they have imitated the *Jews*, who ſay, that GOD created ſeven things before the world; *viz.* paradiſe, the law, the ſouls of juſt men, *Iſrael*, the throne of GOD's glory, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Meſſiah* [s].

Of angels.

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, it may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething of the creation of angels, who ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the affairs of mankind, at leaſt in the firſt ages of the world. e

ANGELS, in the proper ſignification of the word [t], do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, eſpecially by way of meſſage, or intercourſe between GOD and his creatures; in which ſenſe they are called the miniſters of GOD, who do his pleaſure, and miniſtring ſpirits ſent forth to miniſter

[h] Geneſ. ix. 22. [i] Ib. ver. 25. [k] St. AUSTIN. PHILO. JUD. LE GRAND, Hiſt. ſacra. [l] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. p. 312. [m] Vid. JACOB. CAPPELLI Obſerv. in Geneſ. c. i. ver. 14, p. 583. [n] Vid. Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. [o] Exod xii. 2. [p] Vid HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patriarchar. Tom. I. p. 84. [q] CALMET's Comment. in Geneſ. [r] Vid. ECCHELLENS. Hiſt. Arab. c. 9. [s] Maſſechet Peſachim. [t] The word *Angel* is Greek, and ſignifies a Meſſenger: the Hebrew: מלאך, the Arabic ملك, and Perſian فرشته, ſignify the ſame thing. The Angels are in *Daniel* (cap. iv. ver 13, &c.) called עירים or *Watchers*, from their vigilance; for which reaſon they are, in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to *Enoch*, named *Egregori*; which word imports the ſame in Greek.

ſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation. That there are ſuch beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent ſubſtances, inviſible, and imperceptible to our ſenſes, endued with underſtanding and power ſuperior to that of humane nature, created by GOD, and ſubject to him, as the ſupreme Being; miniſtring to his divine providence in the government of the world by his appointment, and more eſpecially attending the affairs of mankind; is a truth ſo fully atteſted by ſcripture, that it cannot be doubted, and was ſo generally acknowledged by the *Jews*, that it is ſcarce to be believed, that even the *Sadducees* themſelves utterly denied their exiſtence, but only that they had no notion of their appearing in thoſe latter times; as many *Chriſtians*, though they do
a not abſolutely impugn the being of ſpirits, yet are far from giving credit to the frequent ſtories of apparitions. Nay, the exiſtence of ſuch inviſible beings was generally acknowledged by the ancient heathens, though under different appellations; the *Greeks* calling them *dæmons*, and the *Romans genii*, or *lares* [u]: *Epicurus* ſeems to have been the only one among the old philoſophers who abſolutely rejected them [x]; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and ſerving as miniſters, or interpreters, between GOD and man, is as extenſive as the belief of a GOD; having never, as we know, been called in queſtion by thoſe who had any religion at all.

AND had we no ſuch revelation and tradition, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe,
b there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwiſe be in nature; for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, ſome having barely being, as earth, air, and water; ſome that beſides being have life, as vegetables; ſome that beſides life have ſenſe and perception, as brute animals; and ſome that beſides ſenſe have reaſon and cogitation, as men: and as we ſee our ſenſitive part exiſts in beings beneath us; ſo it is very probable, that our more noble and intellectual part exiſts in beings, as much ſuperior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual aſcent from the loweſt rank of them, which borders upon man, to the higheſt, which comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity [y].

When created.

THAT the angels were in being long before the *Moſaic* creation, is generally allow-
c ed [z], and indeed cannot be doubted, ſince they were actually preſent, if not employed in that creation, *when the morning ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of* GOD *ſhouted for joy* [a]; and ſince it is more than probable, that the fall of the apoſtate angels was ſome time at leaſt before it.

Their nature, power, employment, &c.

As to the natures of theſe beings, we are told, that they are ſpirits [b], but whether pure ſpirits diveſted of all matter, or united to ſome thin bodies, or corporeal vehicles, has been a controverſy of long ſtanding. Not only the ancient philoſophers, but ſome of the chriſtian fathers [c], were of opinion, that angels were cloathed with ethereal, or fiery, bodies, of the ſame nature with thoſe which we ſhall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, eſpecially of later times,
d has been, that they are ſubſtances entirely ſpiritual, though they can at any time aſſume bodies, and appear in human, or other, ſhapes [d].

THAT the angelical powers and abilities vaſtly excel thoſe of man, cannot be denied, if we conſider, that their faculties are not clogged, or impeded, as ours are, by any of thoſe imperfections which are inſeparable from corporeal beings: ſo that their underſtandings are always in perfect vigour; their inclinations regular; their motions ſtrong and quick; their actions irreſiſtible by material bodies, whoſe natural qualities they can controul, or manage to their purpoſes, and occaſion either bleſſings, or calamities, public or private, here below. Inſtances of which are too numerous to mention.

BESIDES their attendance on GOD, and their waiting and executing of his commands,
e they are alſo preſumed to be employed in taking care of mankind and their concerns: and that every man had ſuch a tutelar, or guardian angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the *Jews*; and our SAVIOUR himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame ſentiment [e]. The heathens were alſo of the ſame perſuaſion [f], and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of ſo divine a guide [g]. *Socrates* publickly confeſſed himſelf to be under the direction of ſuch an angel, or dæmon, as ſeveral

[u] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. l. 1. c. 8. & VARRON. apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 7. cap. 6. [x] Vid. PLUT. ibid. [y] Vid. STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 185, &c. [z] Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. p. 300, &c. [a] Job. xxxviii. 7. Yet ſome have imagined, they were created the firſt day, and deſigned by *Moſes* under the name of *light*: Others, that they were created the ſixth day, after man, to crown and conſummate the creation, which roſe by degrees from the leſs to the more perfect parts. [b] Vid. TILLOTSON's Serm. Vol. II. [c] S. BASIL, S. ATHANASIUS, and METHODIUS; and alſo St: AUGUSTIN. apud Sixt. Senenſ. l. 5. Annot. 8. Vid. Acta Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5. [d] MAIMONID More Nev. p. 2. cap. 49. [e] Vid. Matth. xviii. 10. [f] Vid. MENAND. ARRIAN. in Epictet. [g] Vid. M. ANTONIN. Meditat. l. 2. § 15. l. 5, § 19. &c. PLOTIN Ennead. 3. l. 4. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 418.

ſeveral others have ſince done [h]. And on this tutelar genius of each perſon they believed his happineſs and fortune depended. Every genius did his beſt for the intereſt of his client; and if a man came by the worſt, it was a ſign the ſtrength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There was ſome genii, whoſe aſcendant was ſo great over others, that their very preſence entirely diſconcerted them; which was the caſe of that of *Auguſtus* in reſpect to that of *M. Antony* [i]: and for the ſame reaſon, perhaps, ſome perſons have wit, and ſpeak well, when others are abſent, in whoſe preſence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The *Romans* thought the tutelar genii of thoſe who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours ſhewn them: a nations and cities alſo had their ſeveral genii [k]. The ancient *Perſians* ſo firmly believed the miniſtry of angels, and their ſuperintendance over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months, and the days of their month, and aſſigned them diſtinct offices and provinces [l]: and it is from them the *Jews* confeſs to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them, when they returned from the *Babyloniſh* captivity [m]. After which, we find, they alſo aſſigned charges to the angels, and in particular the patronage of empires and nations; *Michael* being the prince of the *Jews* [n], as *Raphael* is ſuppoſed to have been of the *Perſians* [o].

THE *Mohammedans* have ſo great a reſpect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel who either denies their exiſtence, or loves them not. They believe them to b be free from ſin, enjoying the preſence of GOD, to whom they are never diſobedient: that they have ſubtil pure bodies, being created of light; and have no diſtinction of ſexes, nor do they need the refreſhment of food or ſleep. They ſuppoſe them to have different forms and offices; that ſome adore GOD in ſeveral poſtures; others ſing his praiſes, and intercede for men, ſome carry and encompaſs his throne; others write the actions of men, and are aſſigned guardians to them [p].

AS the numbers of theſe celeſtial ſpirits are very great [q], it is likewiſe reaſonable to believe, that there are ſeveral orders and degrees among them, which is alſo confirmed by ſcripture: whence ſome ſpeculative men have diſtributed them into nine orders, according to the different names by which they are there called; and reduced thoſe orders into c three hierarchies; as they call them; to the firſt of which belong ſeraphim, cherubim, and thrones; to the ſecond, dominions, virtues, and powers; and to the third, principalities, arch-angels, and angels. They imagine farther, that there are ſome who conſtantly reſide in heaven; others who are miniſters, and ſent forth, as there is occaſion, to execute the orders they receive from GOD by the former. The *Jews* reckon but four orders, or companies, of angels, each headed by an arch-angel; the firſt order being that of *Michael*, the ſecond of *Gabriel*, the third of *Uriel*, and the fourth of *Raphael*; but though the *Jews* believe them to be but four, yet it ſeems there were rather ſeven [s]. The *Perſians* alſo held, there were ſubordinate degrees among the an- d gels [t].

Of the fallen angels.

ALTHOUGH the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their maſter's will, yet ſome of them ſinned [u], and kept not their firſt eſtate [x], but left their habitation, and ſo, of the moſt bleſſed and glorious, became the moſt vile and miſerable of all GOD's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and caſt down to hell, to be reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs, until the day of judgment. With heaven they loſt their heavenly diſpoſition, which delighted once in doing good, and praiſing GOD; and fell into a ſettled rancour againſt him, and malice againſt men: their inward peace was gone; all deſire of doing good departed from them; and inſtead thereof, revengful thoughts and deſpair took poſſeſſion of them, and created an eternal hell within them. e

The time of their fall, their offence, &c.

WHEN, and for what offence theſe apoſtate ſpirits fell from heaven, and plunged themſelves into ſuch an abyſs of wickedneſs and woe, are queſtions very hard, if not impoſſible, to be determined by any clear evidence of ſcripture. As to the time, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though ſome have imagined it to have been after, and that carnality, or luſting to converſe with

[h] Particularly PLOTINUS, whoſe dæmon is ſaid to have appeared at the evocation of an *Egyptian* prieſt, in the temple of *Iſis* at *Rome*, in the preſence of *Plotinus* himſelf, and proved to be a god, and not a ſimple dæmon; whereupon *Plotinus* was immediately congratulated by the prieſt, on ſo extraordinary a prerogative. PORPHYR. in vita Plotini. [i] PLUTARCH. in Antonio, p. 930. [k] Vid. DODWEL. præl. II. ad Spart. Hadrian. p. 176. &c. [l] Vid. HYDE, Rel. vet. Perſ. cap. 19. & 20. [m] TALMUD Hieroſol. in Roſh ha ſhana. [n] Dan xii. 1. [o] HYDE, ubi ſup. p. 270, 273. [p] Compendium Theolog. Moham. c. 3. apud Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. [q] Revel. v. 11. [r] MAIMONID. More Nevoch. part 2. c. 10. [s] Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15. [t] Vid. HYDE, de Rel. vet. Perſ. c. 12, & 20. [u] 2. Pet. ii. 4. [x] Jude, ver. 6.

with women upon earth [y], was the ſin which ruined them [z]: an opinion built on a miſtaken interpretation of ſcripture, as if angels were meant by the ſons of GOD, who are ſaid to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men [a]. Others have ſuppoſed, that the angels, being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by CHRIST's aſſuming of it, and thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted [b]: and with this opinion that of the *Mohammedans* has ſome affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of thoſe angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, and named *Azazil* [c], forfeited paradiſe for refuſing to worſhip, or pay homage to, *Adam*,
a at the command of GOD [d]. But on what occaſion ſoever it firſt ſhewed itſelf, pride ſeems to have been the leading ſin of the angels [e]: who admiring, and valuing themſelves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their ſtation, came at length to entertain ſo little reſpect for their creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apoſtaſy [f].

IT is certain from ſcripture, that theſe fallen angels were in great numbers [g], and that there was alſo ſome order and ſubordination preſerved among them; one eſpecially being conſidered as their prince, and called by ſeveral names, *Belzebub*, *Satan*, or *Sammaël* by the *Jews*; *Âhâriman* by the *Perſians*; and *Eblis* by the *Mohammedans*. Their conſtant employment is not only doing evil themſelves, but endeavouring by all
b arts and means to ſeduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of ſin, and thereby bringing them into the ſame deſperate ſtate with themſelves.

BESIDES the angels and devils, the *Mohammedans* believe there are a ſort of inter- *Of intermediate ſpirits, or* Genii.
mediate creatures, which they call *Jin* or *Genii* of a groſſer fabric than angels; ſome of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future ſalvation or damnation, as men are. The *Orientals* pretend, that theſe *Genii* inhabited the world for many thouſand years before the creation of *Adam*, under the reigns of ſeveral princes, who all bore the common name of *Solomon*: but falling at length into an almoſt general corruption, *Eblis* was ſent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that ſome of that generation, ſtill remaining, were by *Tahmûrath*,
c one of the ancient kings of *Perſia*, who waged war againſt them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of *Kâf*. Of which ſucceſſions, and wars, they have many fabulous and romantic ſtories. They alſo make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings, (if they are not rather of different ſpecies) ſome being called abſolutely *Jin*, ſome *Peri* or *faries*; ſome *Div*, or *giants*; others *Tacwins*, or *fates* [h].

As to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we do not find, they had any notion of evil ſpirits, or devils, in the uſual ſenſe of the word, if we except only *Plutarch*'s evil principle before mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddeſſes, and the avengers only of evil
d actions.

MUCH more might be added to what we have already ſaid on theſe ſubjects; but as we may be thought already to have exceeded the bounds of an introduction, we ſhall here conclude it, and haſten to the hiſtory itſelf.

[y] See before p. 54. a. [z] JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUD. ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, &c. [a] Geneſ. vi. 2, 4. [b] IRENÆUS, LACTANCTIUS, GREGORY NYSSEN, &c. [c] Vid. RELAND. de Rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. [d] Al Korân, cap. 2. ver. 34. [e] Vid. i. Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent compariſon of the fall of proud *Sennacherib* to that of *Lucifer*; Iſaiah xiv. 12, &c. [f] The opinion of St. CHRYSOSTOME, THEODORET, ATHANASIUS, &c. [g] Yet ſome have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vid. Lettres de BAYLE, Tom. I. p. 360. [h] Vid. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c.

A N

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. I.

The General History of the WORLD *till the* FLOOD.

SECT. I.

The Creation of Man, and the Situation of the Garden of Eden.

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth. The earth was once in a confuſed and deſolate ſtate, but, by divine providence, and ſecond cauſes ſubſervient to that purpoſe, gradually, in the ſpace of ſix days, reduced into a habitable world; cloathed with trees, ſhrubs, plants, and flowers, and ſtocked with various kinds of animals. And when all theſe things were, by the care and beneficence of GOD, prepared for the reception of his principal gueſt, then, and not till then, was Man created, and introduced into the world [a].

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The creation of the world, and of man.

WHATEVER opinions the ancient heathens might have of the origin of mankind, we are aſſured, by the moſt authentic records, that we are deſcended from two perſons, *Adam* and *Eve* [b], who were formed by GOD in the moſt abſolute perfection both of body and mind, and ſubject to none of thoſe irregular appetites, diſeaſes, wants, and ſorrows, which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought on themſelves, and their unhappy poſterity. And leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to compleat their happineſs, a moſt delightful habitation was prepared for them in *Eden*, by their gracious creator; a garden, or paradiſe [c], whereon all the beauties of nature were profuſely beſtowed, well watered, and planted with all ſorts of trees, that were either pleaſant to the ſight, or good for food. In the midſt of which garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and, it ſeems, contrary nature; one called the tree of life, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendring thoſe who eat it, in ſome degree at leaſt, immortal; and the other the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the conſequence of the taſting of which was ſo pernicious to them and their off-ſpring [d].

The happy ſtate of the firſt pair.

BUT before we proceed, it may be expected, we ſhould ſay ſomething with reference to the ſituation of this garden, concerning which there has been ſo great a variety of opinions among learned men.

Situation of the garden of Eden.

SEVERAL of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local paradiſe, and that all which is ſpoken of it in ſcripture is to be underſtood in an allegorical ſenſe: others, who allowed the reality of paradiſe, have ſwerved ſo far from the letter, as to ſuppoſe it not to be ſituated on any part of this terreſtrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itſelf, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a receſs hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place poſſeſſed at preſent by the *Caſpian ſea*,

Extravagant opinions concerning it.

[a] Geneſ. i. [b] Geneſ. iii. 20. [c] Geneſ. ii. 8, &c. [d] Geneſ. ii. 17.

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sea, under the *Arctic* pole, and under the equator, with many more such extravagancies, which have been collected by several authors [e], some of whom have thought it worth while to give such whimsies a serious answer.

ON the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial paradise, have fallen into no less extravagancies. There is scarce a corner of the earth which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in *Asia*, in *Africa*, in *Europe*, in *America*, in *Tartary*; upon the banks of the *Danube*, and the *Ganges*; in the isle of *Ceylon*, in *Persia*, in *Armenia*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Chaldea*, in *Arabia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*; about the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Antilibanus*; near the cities of *Damascus*, and *Tripoly*; in *Ethiopia*, towards the mountains of the moon; a and, which will doubtless be thought as much out of the way, in *Sweden*.

What owing to.

THIS diversity of opinions proceeds partly, from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of christianity, of allegorizing all passages of scripture which had the least appearance of difficulty in them, and partly, from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of *Moses* and that of the heathen authors, whose imperfections are not yet perhaps sufficiently supplied, to resolve this difficult problem. As for the *Jews*, from whom we might have expected some light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their bible, and have run as much astray as other nations, in their descriptions of paradise; supposing, as *Josephus* [f], and all the rest of their authors have done, the b *Ganges* and the *Nile* to be two of the four rivers, in which the christian fathers have almost unanimously followed them.

Several Edens.

THERE are several places which bear the name of *Eden*; we find two mentioned in scripture, besides that in the *Mosaical* description, if it be not one of them; *viz.* one near *Damascus* in *Syria* [g], the other in, or about, *Thelassar* in *Chaldea* [h]. *Ptolemy* places an *Addan* in this last country, and another on the *Euphrates*. There is also another *Eden* in *Syria* near *Tripoly* [i], in the road to *Damascus*, as the former seems likewise to be. *Cartwright*, in his travels [k], gives an account of an island in the *Tigris* [l], called *Eden*, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve miles above *Mausel* (A). There is a city near *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, still called c *Adena*, and *Aden* is a very noted one on the coast of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, a little without the straits of *Bâb al Mondab*; for *Eden*, or *Aden*, signifying *pleasure*, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; and the last seems to be the case of *Aden* in *Arabia*, which has nothing more than ordinary to deserve that name, but the barrenness of the neighbouring soil.

The Mosaical *paradise local, not imaginary.*

IT appears plainly from the *Mosaical* description (B), however preposterous a learned author [m] thinks it, that *Moses* had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them, in his time, and (as appears from scripture) for many d ages after. *Eden* is as evidently a real country as *Ararat*, where the ark rested, and *Shinaar*, where the sons of *Noah* removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the *Mosaical* history: but the *Jews* having, probably, during

[e] STEPH. MORINUS, dissert. de parad. terrest. præfix. oper. Bocharti, Edit. 1722. MOSES BAR CEPHA, de paradis. comment. P. DAN. HUET. de situ paradisi. BURNET's Theory of the Earth. RALEIGH's hist. of the World, &c. [f] Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. i. [g] Amos i. 5. [h] 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12. [i] MAUNDREL's travels, p. 135. [k] Vid. The preacher's travels, p. 91, 95. [l] Vid ASSEMANI Bibl. orient. tom. I. p. 526. [m] BURNET's Theory of the Earth, book II. chap. i. at the end.

(A) This remark, whether true or false, seems to have occasioned Raleigh's straining the expression in the Nestorian epistles, (1) translated into Latin by Masius, where that isle is not called Eden, but is said to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(B) *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden* (2).—*And a river went out of Eden to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads* (3). *The name of the first is Pison* [Fishon]: *that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold* (4). *And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium* [Bdolah] *and the onyx-stone* [Shoham] (5). *And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia* [Cush] (6). *And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of* [or eastward to] *Assyria* [Ashur]. *And the fourth river is Euphrates* [Perath or Frat] (7).

(1) Ad calcem Bar Cephæ, comment. de situ paradisi, p. 264. (2) Gen. ii. 8. (3) Ibid. ver. 10. (4) Ver. 11. (5) Ver. 12. (6) Ver. 13. (7) Ver. 14.

during the diſtraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, loſt the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of *Eden*, (as indeed they have of moſt things relating to their antiquities) except that of the rivers *Hiddekel* and *Frat*; the chriſtians, who have buſied themſelves much in ſearch after it, have loſt their way for want of guides, which had been the occaſion of ſo many ſtrange notions about it, as we have already mentioned; and there muſt always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveneſs of the proofs leave room for controverſy. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

SOME of the lateſt moderns [n], miſled by the affinity of names, have ſuppoſed, they found the name of the *Piſon* preſerved in the *Paſi-tigris*, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypotheſis) the *Piſo-tigris*, whilſt others [o] take it for granted, that it is the *Phaſis*, as they conclude the *Aras* to be the *Gihon*, from the conformity of the ſignification; both thoſe terms being uſed by the *Perſians* to ſignify any great river in general. But at that rate, *Eden* may be any where, and every where, ſince a conformity of names, either in ſound or ſignification, may be found in all countries; and if that ſort of proof be admitted, unleſs under proper reſtrictions, it will be no hard matter to prove, that *America* was peopled immediately by the poſterity of *Noah*, as ſome have alledged. *This enquiry uncertain and conjectural.*

a

THE *Bdolah* and *Shoham*, which were the produce of *Havilah*, being unknown b names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one ſo as to favour the ſcheme he eſpouſes. Thus the *Bdolah* is rendered *bdellium*, the *carbuncle*, the *loadſtone*, the *Oleaſter*. Thoſe who place paradiſe in *Armenia*, will have it to be *cryſtal* [p], becauſe they find that ſtone thereabouts; and thoſe who ſituate it in *Chaldea*, towards the *Perſian* gulph, inſiſt, that it ſignifies *pearl*, which is fiſhed in great quantity in *Bahrein* near *al Katîf*, on the *Arabian* coaſt, where the country of *Havilah* is to be found, according to this hypotheſis; and it muſt be owned, this conjecture ſeems to come neareſt to the truth, conſidering manna is compared [q] to the *Bdolah* for colour; and ſo the Talmudiſts deſcribe manna to be round as coriander-ſeed, and white as pearls. In like manner the *Shoham* is made by different authors c to ſignify the *beryl*, and the *emerald* [r]; perhaps with as little propriety, as it is rendered in our bibles the *onyx-ſtone*, which tranſlation is condemned by *Bochart* [s] and others (C).

OF the three ſchemes which at preſent obtain amongſt the learned; the firſt, which places paradiſe near *Damaſcus* in *Syria*, about the ſprings of *Jordan*, and has for its patrons *Heidegger* [t], Mr. *le Clerc* [u], *Pere Abram* [x], and *Pere Hardouin* [y], ſeems the worſt grounded, being deſtitute of all the marks ſpecified in the *Moſaical* deſcription, which ought always to be the principal teſt in this enquiry. The ſecond hypotheſis places *Eden* in *Armenia*, between the ſprings or heads of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Phaſis*, and is eſpouſed by two great men, emi- d nent for their ſkill in geography, namely, *Sanſon*, and the late Mr. *Hadrian Reland* [z], beſides *Calmet* [a]. But this ſcheme is not much better ſupported than the firſt; for, according to the modern diſcoveries, the *Phaſis* does not riſe in the mountains of *Armenia*, near the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo* [b], *Ptolemy* [c], *Dionyſius* [d], and the reſt of the antients have wrongly informed us, which led them, without doubt, into this error; but, by the map of *Colchis*, or *Mingrelia*, in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account of Sr *John Chardin*, in his travels, that river has its ſource far away in mount *Caucaſus*, and does not flow from ſouth to north, but on the contrary from north to ſouth; a great extent of country, and the river *Kor* (which by its *The ſchemes which place* Eden *in* Syria *and* Armenia *ill-grounded.*

[n] FRANCIS JUNIUS, HUGO GROTIUS. [o] WILL. SANSON, in geograph. *Aſiæ*. RELAND. diſſert. de ſitu paradiſi, p. 7. CALMET, comment. ſur la Gen, ii. 8. [p] RELAND, ibid p. 27. [q] Numb. xi. 7. [r] RELAND, ibid. p. 31. [s] Vol. I. p. 30. [t] Hiſtor. patriarch. p. 94. [u] In Gen. cap. ii. 8. [x] PHARUS vet. teſt. l. 2. n. 16. p. 6. [y] In his Edition of Pliny. [z] Diſſertat. de ſitu paradiſi. [a] Dict. de la Bible, p. 150, & Commentaire ſur la Geneſe, cap. ii. 8. [b] Lib. X. & XI. [c] Tab. III. *Aſiæ*. [d] Periegeſis.

(C) On this occaſion we cannot help obſerving, that our tranſlators have often ſwerved from the original Hebrew, to follow the Septuagint, if not the German verſion, eſpecially in names and terms. Thus Aram is generally rendered Syria; Khaſhdim, Chalden; Mizraim, Egypt; Cuſh, Ethiopia; and the like: but we need not ſend the reader farther than the moſaical deſcription of Eden above-cited, in which it appears, that there are no leſs than ſix variations. They have moreover introduced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the German orthography inſtead of the Engliſh, or continuing the orthography of the vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have conſtantly made uſe of the J conſonant inſtead of the Y: Jacob and Joſeph ſhould be written Yacob and Yoſeph, or rather *Yoſef*; Benjamin Benyamin, or rather Benyemim.

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its ſituation would much better ſupply the place of the *Piſon* than the *Phaſis*) interpoſing; as may be ſeen by the map. As one miſtake generally draws on another, *Reland*, led again by that deceitful guide the ſimilitude of names, ſuppoſes *Cuſh* to be the country of the *Coſſæans*, or *Cuſſæans*; but if the *Cuſſæans* were the inhabitants of the mountains [e], which, with *Parthia*, bounded *Media* on the eaſt; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was *Kuheſtân*, or the mountain country, as that name ſignifies; how could they be ſettled along the *Araxes*, which yet it was neceſſary they ſhould be, to favour his opinion? for *Kuheſtân* is the moſt eaſtern, or north-eaſtern part of *Irâk Ajami*, a well-known province of *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, agreeable to *Diodorus Siculus* [f] and *Arrian*, [g], who makes the country of the *Coſſæans* a
a part of *Media*; though ſome place them in *Perſia*, and *Ptolemy* in *Suſiana*: beſides, the *Phaſis* and *Scythia* (which *Sanſon* underſtands by *Cuſh*, or the *Coſſæans*) ſeem to have been too remote to be known to *Moſes*. Neither does this hypotheſis account for that river which watered paradiſe, and from whence the other four had their riſe; and *Reland* will not allow it can be done, but by ſuppoſing a ſubterranean river, which may as well ſerve for the ſcheme of the *Jews*, followed by the Fathers, which makes the *Piſon* and *Gihon*, the *Nile* and the *Ganges*.

The third ſcheme moſt probable.

ACCORDING to the third opinion, *Eden* is placed upon the united ſtream of the *Dijlat*, or *Hiddekel*, and *Frat*, called by the *Arabs*, *Shat al Arab*, that is, the river of the *Arabs*; which [h] begins two days journey above *Baſrah*, and, about five leagues b
below, divides again into two, or three channels, which empty themſelves into the *Perſian* gulph. By this hypotheſis the *Shat al Arab* is the river paſſing out of *Eden*, which river, conſidered according to the diſpoſition of its channel, and not according to the courſe of its ſtream, divides into four heads, or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, *viz*, the two branches of the *Shat*, which ſerve for the *Piſon* and *Gihon*; and two above, *viz*. the *Frat* and *Dijlat*, or the *Euphrates* and *Hiddekel*. According to this diſpoſition, the weſtern branch of the *Shat* will be *Piſon*, and the adjoining part of *Arabia*, bordering on the *Perſian* gulph, will be *Havilah*; and the eaſtern branch will be the *Gihon*, encompaſſing the country of *Cuſh*, or *Khuzeſtân*, a province of *Irân*, as it is ſtill named by the c
Perſians.

Eden *to be looked for in* Chaldea.

THIS opinion was firſt ſtarted by *Calvin*, and is, with ſome little variation, followed by *Stephanus Morinus*, *Bochart*, and *Huet* biſhop of *Avranches*; and, indeed, all the paſſages of ſcripture, where *Eden* is mentioned, concur to eſtabliſh it ſomewhere hereabouts. The prophet ſpeaking of *Tyre*, ſays, *Haran, and Canneh, and Eden were thy merchants* [i]. Now if *Canneh* be *Calneh*, or *Calyo* which is taken to be *Cteſiphon*, or *Medain*, the ſeat of the *Parthian* race of *Perſian* kings, then *Eden* muſt have been the ſouth of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which ſeems to be from north to ſouth. The ſame order is obſerved in two other place[s] of the old teſtament, where mention is made of *Gozan*, *Haran*, *Rezeph and* d
the children of Eden which were in Telaſſar [k]. To this we may add an argument of ſome, that the city of *Enoch*, or rather *Hanukh*, built by *Cain*, and called after the name of his ſon, is placed to the eaſt of *Eden* [l]; and *Ptolemy* places a city, called *Anuchia*, in *Suſiana*, or the country of *Cuſh*.

WITH regard to the natural marks aſcribed to *Havilah*, authors mention that part of *Arabia* is productive of gold; and as for the *Bdolah* and *Shoham*, they may be made the produce of any country, as we have before obſerved. However, the *Bdolah*, being conſidered either as pearls, or bdellium, (ſuppoſed to be a tranſparent, odoriferous, but bitter gum) is allowed to be a native of *Arabia*.

Objections to the third ſcheme.

BUT though this hypotheſis ſeems the beſt of any that hath been yet advanced, e
and to account tolerably well for the *Moſaical* deſcription, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the *Shat al Arab*, which by this ſcheme repreſent the *Piſon* and the *Gihon*, ſeem not conſiderable enough to deſerve the name of rivers, nor are of ſufficient length to encompaſs countries of any extent; the place where the *Shat al Arab* divides below *Baſrah*, being not above eighteen leagues [m] diſtant from the places where thoſe two branches fall into the ſea. Indeed, if we could be ſure there was a third branch, which, according to ſome accounts and maps, parting from the *Shat* about *Baſrah*, falls into the ſea at *al Katif*, it might ſerve tolerably well for the *Piſon*; and for the *Gihon*, we ſhould chuſe to ſubſtitute either the river *Karon*, or the river *Karha*; the firſt of which falls into the *Shat al* f
Arab,

[e] STRABO, lib. XIV. [f] Lib. XVII. cap. iii. [g] In hiſtor. Ind. [h] THEV. trav. Part. II. chap. ix. [i] Ezek. xxvii. 23. [k] Iſaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xix. 12. [l] Gen. iv. 17. [m] THEVENOT's travels, Part II. chap. x. Teixeira, in his journey from Baſrah to Aleppo.

Arab, the other into the *Tigris*, and may much more properly be said to encompass the whole land of *Cush*, as running through *Khuzestan*; whereas the eastern branch of the *Shat* washes only a corner of that country, or rather one side of an island made by it and the *Caron*. Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

New schemes proposed.

OR suppose, we should alter this scheme a little, and situate *Eden* above the confluence of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, we shall find one, or two large arms, crossing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better supply the place of the *Pison* and *Gihon*, than the branches of the *Shat al Arab*, provided, other circumstances agreed with this alteration. If these branches of the *Tigris* had
a been known to *Grotius* and others, they would not perhaps have fallen into so gross a mistake, as to make the *Nahar Malca*, or *Royal River*, which passes from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, the *Gihon*: it would better have suited with the *Mosaical* description to have supposed it to be the river of *Eden*, which was divided into four heads, in which case the parts of those rivers to the south of the *Nahar Malca*, would serve for the *Pison* and *Gihon*; and indeed, that would answer the *Mosaical* description as to the rivers, almost without exception. But the truth is, such an hypothesis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the scripture, and allowing the most ancient books in it were written after, or in the times of the *Babylonish* captivity; for the *Nahar Malca*, or *Basilicos Potamos*, as the *Greeks* called it, is an
b artificial canal still in being, cut from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, a little above *Babylon*, in the latter times of the *Babylonian* empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to *Nimrod* [n]; perhaps it may be the same with the river *Cutha*, which, a *Persian* author [o] says, was dug by a king of *Babel* of the same name, and supposed to be *Cush* the father of *Nimrod*.

THOSE who patronize the *Armenian* paradise, may likewise improve, or amend their scheme, out of the modern travellers and maps *, where they will find the *Morad Shai*, which falls into *Euphrates*, and the *Kor*, which joins the *Araxes*, or *Aras*, either of them better fitted to supply the place of the *Pison* than the *Phasis*; or, if they chuse to have the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* united with the other two *Mosaical*
c rivers, they may adopt the *Sert*, which falls into the *Tigris* at *Hesn Keifa*, and throw out the *Aras* and *Kor*, the head of which last *Ptolemy* has made to change place with that of the *Phasis*. As a wrong, or confused account of the rise and course of rivers, delivered by the ancients, has been the occasion of many of the mistakes into which authors have fallen in treating of this subject, the inquirer ought to have recourse to the modern observations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

AFTER all, we ought not to be so earnest about this matter; for, strictly speaking, the *Mosaical* description does not agree with the state of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common stream, of which
d the four rivers are properly branches, nor can one conceive, how a whole land can be encompassed by a river, as *Havilah* is said to be by the *Pison*, and *Cush* by the *Gihon*, without being an island. But we are to consider paradise described according to *Moses*'s notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in those early times. It is absurd in this case to alledge an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the course of rivers; for *Moses* describes things as they were supposed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible, that the *Hiddekel* and *Frat* were branches of a river before, and had springs of their own afterwards.

The Mosaical description of Eden imperfect.

IT is observable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to these two rivers; nor indeed is there the least room for it, they having retained their
e names nearly, if not exactly the same, to this day; for what the *Hebrews* called *Hiddekel*, the *Arabs*, and perhaps the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, called *Dijlat* then, as they do at present; and the *Pherath*, *Forat*, or *Frat*, is still called *Frat* by the neighbouring people; for *Euphrates* is one of those corrupt names, which our translations have borrowed from the *Septuagint* version, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland* [p] judiciously observed, took from the *Persians*, who often set the word *Ab*, or *Au*, which signifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word and *Frat* the name *Euphrates* is compounded. The other opinion which forms that name from a conjunction of *Frat* with the preceding particle *hua*, in the *Hebrew* text, is absurd; as supposing, the *Greeks* first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of
f *Moses* relating to the situation of *Eden*.

THE

[n] Vid. HYDE, de Relig. vet. Persar. p. 40. [o] TABARI, in cap. de morte Saræ apud HYDE, ibid. [p] De situ paradisi.

* Particularly those of DE LISLE, which are far the best.

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Several paradises.

THE oriental nations give the name of paradise to several places, rather for the deliciousness of their situation, than a real persuasion, that any of them was the paradise of *Adam*, which the *Mohammedans* in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the seventh heaven [s]. And of the ancient *Persians*, some thought it to be in the sun, as the *Manichæans*, and other hereticks did; and others, that there is no paradise now in being, but after the resurrection the earth will be renewed, by being melted and changed into another form, and a paradisiacal state [t]; so that they seem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradise, before the curse given it at the fall [u]. However, the terrestrial paradises, mentioned by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, are, 1. The plain of *Damascus*, which they call *al Gauta*. 2. *Obolla*, a village in *Irâk*, on the western branch of the *Shat al Arab*, where there are most pleasant gardens. 3. *Sheb Bawân*, a place in *Fars*, or *proper Persia*, situate on the river *Nilâb*, near *Nubendijân*. 4. *Sogd Samarkand*, or the valley of *Samarkand* [w]. 5. *Gangdiz*, or the castle of the *Ganges*, called also *Behisht Gang*, or the paradise of *Ganges*, *Arîm*, or *Arîn*, and *Kubbat al ard*, or the vertex of the earth. 6. *Jamgherd*. But these two last places are imaginary, and supposed to be situate eastward of *China*, in the middle of the sea, where the zodiac and equator intersect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the fortunate islands (or *Canaries*), where they place the other intersection. So that these two places are supposed to be paradisiacal, as considered mathematically, and situate exactly under the intersection of the equator, where, they think, the temperance and clemency of the air must needs render such a situation extreamly delightful. The *Indians* place their earthly paradise in *Cashmîr*, near the head of the *Ganges* (whence that above-mentioned seems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world), and this not only on account of the amenity of that small kingdom [x], especially in respect of the more southern parts of *India*; but because the river *Ganges*, which that nation esteems so sacred, is supposed to take its rise from thence [y]. But the more general tradition of the east is, that paradise was in *Serendib*, or rather *Selandiv* (D), that is the island of *Selan*, or, as we corruptly call it, *Ceylan*, or *Zeilan* (E) [z]. The *Arab* writers also take notice of several paradises, as that of *Iram*, or *Aram*, in *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, built by *Shaddâd*, the son of *Ad*, who being destroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himself, were rendered invisible (though preserved to this day), and never seen but by GOD's particular permission; which favour one *Colabah* pretended to have received, in the reign of the *Khalif Moawiyah* [a]: and another planted by the *Molâhidah*, or *Ismaelians*, a race of princes, called by the *Europeans Assassins*, in a valley in *Curdistân*; which was designed, by its delightfulness, to ravish the persons to whom it was shewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradise; and in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villany, which he should judge conducing to his designs.

NOR were the ancient heathens themselves without some obscure tradition concerning a paradise, or rather several paradises, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent; in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemisphere; as the garden of the *Hesperides*, the *Fortunate islands*, *Ogygia*, and *Taprobane* [b], and the like; which as they were all characterized like so many paradises, so they were all seated out of this continent by their geography and descriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the christian fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradise in the southern hemisphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man [c] was induced to believe the same thing; though he supposed the whole earth, before the fall, to be, in an eminent degree, paradisiacal.

SECT.

[s] Vid. MARRAC. in Alc. p. 24. [t] See before, p. 32. [u] HYDE de Rel. vet. Pers. c. xxxiii. p. 400. [w] Vid. D'HERBELOT, p. 378, & 361. [x] Vid. BERNIER. [y] Vid. HYDE, ubi supra, c. x. p. 172, &c. [z] Vid. D'HERBELOT, ubi sup. p. 378. [a] Vid. eund. p. 51, &c. [b] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. ii. p. 173. [c] Dr. BURNET in his Theory, l. ii. c. 7.

(D) Div, in the Malabaric tongue, signifies an island.

(E) It is surprizing, that Mr. LE CLERC should take Serendib for Madagascar (1).

(1) Comment. in Gen. c. viii. p. 72.

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SECT. II.

Of the fall of man.

GOD having placed *Adam*, immediately after his formation, in the garden of *Eden*, whose situation we have been endeavouring to discover, to dress and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, under pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience [f]. Adam *placed in paradise, and forbidden the tree of knowledge.*

a THE first thing which *Adam* did, after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beasts and birds which presented themselves before him, not only for that purpose [g], but to perform their homage, as it were, and make *Adam* sensible, that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him [h]. We might on this occasion say something of the original of speech, did we not reserve that enquiry for a more proper place. *He names the beasts and birds.*

AFTER this, GOD having formed *Eve* out of the side of *Adam*, as he slept, brought her to him, who knowing her to be *bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they b were both naked [i]. *Takes* Eve *to wife.*

How long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain; it is probable, they did not immediately transgress the divine command, but it should seem, by the narration of *Moses*, that their fall was not long after their creation. The *Jews* in general, and most of the christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created [k]; but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprized in it. Besides, GOD himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (as at the end of the preceding days) every thing to be very good [l]; which is not reconcilable with truth, if sin, the greatest evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore c conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day [m], and others the tenth of the world's age; supposing, that in commemoration thereof the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was instituted in after-times [n]. If we can subscribe to the opinion of those who make a day and a year to have been the same before the fall [o], there is indeed no difficulty in supposing it even on the sixth day. *The continuance of the state of innocence.*

THE fall of man is succinctly related by *Moses*, in the following manner [p]; that the serpent, being more subtle than any beast of the field, asked the woman, whether it was true, that GOD had not granted her and her husband leave to eat of every tree in the garden? to which she answered, that GOD had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden; which he commanded they d should not taste, nor so much as touch, lest they should die. The serpent replied, that they should not die; for God knew the virtue of the tree, and that so soon as they eat of it their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon *Eve*, seeing the fruit tempting to the view, and desirable to make one wise, took of the fruit of it, and eat; and gave also to her husband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they, knowing they were naked, sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons. After this, *Adam* and *Eve*, hearing the voice of GOD, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themselves among the trees; but on GOD's calling for *Adam*, he excused himself for not appearing, because he was naked. Upon this, GOD e demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked, and whether he had disobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? *Adam* did not encrease his guilt by denying it, but confessed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had tasted it. She being examined likewise, acknowledged what she had done, but said, the serpent had seduced and deceived her. GOD then proceeded to judgment: he first cursed the serpent above all beasts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the dust; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their several off-spring; and that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, who should bruise the other's heel. The woman was punished with the pain of childbirth, and put in subjection to her husband; and as to the man, GOD cursed the ground *The fall, as related by* Moses.

[f] Genes. ii. 15, &c. [g] Genes. ii. 19. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. ver. 21, &c. [k] Vid. EDWARDS's survey, Vol. I. [l] Genes. i. 31. [m] EDWARDS, ubi supr. [n] Vid. USSER. ad ann. mundi, 1. & BAYLE, Dict. hist. Art. Abel, Rem. A. [o] Vid. WHISTON's Theory, l. 2. p. 96, &c. [p] Genes. iii. 1, &c.

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ground for his sake, declaring, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, till he returned to the dust from whence he was taken. And at last, God, having cloathed them both with skins, turned them out of the garden, lest they should take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever: and to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims at the east of the garden, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the passage to the tree of life.

Some objections to the letter of that relation.

THIS concise account being, at first view, incumbred with some improbabilities, several learned and pious men have been inclined to believe, the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter; alledging a for their excuse, that the ancients, and particularly the eastern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philosophy, a popular, and a mysterious, or hidden one: of which dubious sort of stile the scripture often makes use in explaining natural things; sometimes in accommodating itself to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled truth; and that, to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal history of this sad catastrophe, the safest way is, to understand it as a parabolical story, under which the real circumstances are disguised and concealed, as a mystery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

THE first objection made to the letter of this history is in relation to the serpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the use of speech, and rational dis- b course; for to suppose an evil spirit, or the devil, made use of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of *Moses*, who attributes the seduction of *Eve* to the natural craftiness of the serpent only. Besides, the very speech of such an animal, if *Eve* had taken it to be dumb, must have so frighted her, that she would scarce have staid and entered into a conference with it. And if the serpent had originally the gift of speech, but lost it, as a punishment of his crime in seducing the woman, *Moses* would surely not have passed it over in silence, and mentioned so small a penalty, as going on his belly and licking the dust; the meaning of which words it is not easy to explain, unless we say, that the serpent did before walk upright, or on four feet; for if he crept from the beginning, it seems ridiculous to impose, as a c punishment for a crime, what he was by nature subject to.

As to the trees, the nature of them both seem to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is said, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if not for ever. But if the longævity, or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if *Adam* had not sinned? How could his posterity, when they were dispersed over the face of the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? Or how could one tree have sufficed all mankind? The nature of the tree of knowledge is still more difficult to conceive; it seems to have instilled into our first parents a new sense of shame and modesty, to which, before the fall, they were utter strangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to have been in the tree, that on eating of it d a man became as a GOD, knowing good and evil.

SOME further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind (for which reason some have thought *Moses*'s design in this relation was to authorize the rigour of his own laws); the improbability of *Adam* and *Eve*'s sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of GOD's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel, killing and fleaing the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should endeavour to repossess themselves of it, by fraud, or force [q].

CONCLUDING therefore, that these things will not bear a literal construction, an e allegorical, or figurative sense has been put on this whole account: and it is pretended, that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on [r].

The literal sense defended.

But though it cannot be denied, that some of the ancient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school, yet it is apparent, *Moses* had no such design; and as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art, or disguise, it cannot be supposed, but that this history of the f fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

As

[q] Sic vacat exiguis rebus adesse Deo. Vid. BURNET. Archæol. l. 2. c. 7. See also PHIL. JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 36. MAIMON. More Nevoch. Part. II. c. 30. [r] Vid SAURIN's Dissertations.

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As to the particular objections which have been mentioned, and first, as to the serpent; it is answered, that as *Moses* contents himself with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication; he makes the serpent, it is true, who was the visible instrument, to have been the seducer of the woman, and says nothing of the latent efficient cause: for which reason some of the antient *Jews* were of opinion, that the whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent, which creature they suppose had originally the gift of reason and speech; so that *Eve* might well have understood him (F). Others, thinking this too difficult of belief, have imagined, that it was not a real serpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no less liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently stiled in scripture the *serpent*, and the *old serpent*, yet why he should be called *the most subtile beast of the field*, we cannot conceive; neither will the punishment inflicted on the serpent suffer us to doubt but that a serpent's body, at least, was employed in the transaction.

The tempter was the devil, who abused the body of the serpent.

THE most common therefore, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil, some wicked and malicious spirit, (probably the chief of those beings) who envied the happiness of mankind, and was thereupon resolved to bring them into the same miserable condition with himself, and his apostate companions; and that, to effect his purpose, he made use of a serpent's body (G), as the propereſt organ by which to carry on his fraud with success. And this seems reasonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beast's over-reaching mankind in their highest pitch of understanding, but from the attestation of other parts of scripture, where the devil is called *the old serpent* [t]; and is by our Saviour himself said to have been *a murtherer from the beginning*, or the first creation, alluding to his mischievous destruction of mankind at that time: the author of the book of *Wisdom*, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the *Jewish* church also telling us, that *by the envy of the devil death came into the world* [u].

Why he made choice of that creature.

WHY the devil should chuse the body of a serpent, rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that subtlety attributed to him by *Moses*; which may not, perhaps, so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the familiar and insinuating nature of this creature (H). That the serpent before the fall was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I), and had by his engaging behaviour gained, in some measure, the good will of our parents, is not only the sentiment of both *Jews* [x] and *Christians* [y], but seems likewise to have some foundation of scripture: for when GOD says, that he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, it must be implied, that there was some kind of friendship between them before.

IT is no way unreasonable therefore to suppose, that this creature was beloved both by *Adam* and *Eve*: she especially might be delighted with it; she laid it perhaps in her bosom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being so intimate with the woman, made it the properer instrument for the devil's purpose, who sliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he insensibly brought her to the forbidden tree, and then, twisting round its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to shew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to bespeak her; and his speech might be the less surprizing to her, because she might probably think, (as he might positively affirm) that this new acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

BUT this conjecture is still more probable, if we will but allow, that the serpent, whose body the devil possessed, was not of a common ordinary species, but some-

[t] Revel. xii. 9. Ibid. xx. 2 [u] Wisd. ii. 24. [x] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra. [y] BASIL. Homil. de Paradiso. DAMASCEN. de Orthodox. Fid. lib. 2. c. 10.

(F) JOSEPHUS supposes, that all creatures at that time used the same language, and that the serpent, conversing familiarily with *Adam* and *Eve*, excited by envy of their happiness, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of knowledge; for which, among other punishments, he was deprived of the use of speech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground (1). Of the same opinion are ABEN-EZRA, and others.

(G) The *Arabs*, before *Mohammed*, believed, that the devils were transformed into serpents (2).

(H) The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the devil, offering to go into paradise to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him (3).

(I) The *Mohammedans* also say, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears (4).

(1) Antiq. 1. c. 1. §. 4. (2) RELAND. de Rel. Moham. l. 2. p. 271. (3) See MARRACC. in Alcoran. p. 22. (4) Vid. ibid.

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Of what kind the serpent probably was.

something like that flying fiery sort, which, as we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are of a shining yellowish colour like brass, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the sun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now if the serpent, whose body the devil abused, was of this kind (though perhaps of a species far more glorious) it was a proper creature for his purpose: for these serpents are called in scripture *Seraphs* or *Seraphim* [z], and gave name to those bright angelical beings, which we commonly understand by that appellation: it being very probable, from the representations of them tolerated in the *Jewish* church, that the angels, when they administred to *Adam* and *Eve*, were wont to put on certain splendid forms; some of them the form of *Cherubim*, or beautiful flying oxen, and others the shape of *Seraphim*, winged and shining serpents. The devil therefore might usurp the organs of one of these shining serpents, which, by his art and skill in natural causes, he might improve into such a surpassing brightness, as to represent to *Eve* the angelical appearance, or *Shechinah* (K), to which she was accustomed; and having done this, it was no wonder, that he so easily deceived her.

a

HOWEVER this be, it is reasonable to suppose, that it was some beautiful creature, whom *Eve* took to be an angel that wished her well, while he discoursed with her. For it is impossible to conceive, that she should be so simple and ignorant as to think that beasts could speak, much less that they knew more of GOD's mind than herself: nor seems it credible that she could be deceived but by a creature which appeared so b
gloriously as to make her mistake it for an heavenly minister, who might come to explain to her the divine command. And if we observe in what manner the tempter addresses himself to her (L), we shall find this supposition confirmed.

His accosting Eve.

IT is not improbable [a], that the seducer, before he spoke to *Eve*, represented himself as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happiness that GOD had bestowed on them in paradise, which was so great, that he could not easily believe, he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he desired therefore to be satisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and as the woman acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he first suggests, that she mistook the meaning of it, that death could not be the punishment of so small a fault; c
and, to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a false promise, that on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a sovereign quality to illuminate the understanding, and advance the other faculties of the soul, she and her husband should immediately become as angels, nay, as Gods, and their happiness be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themselves.

THIS seems to have been the purport of the serpent's words, by which he gained the ear of *Eve*; and she, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and pushed on by curiosity and vanity, could not resist the temptation: and when she had eat, was so far from being sensible of her condition, that fancying herself already in possession of the chimerical happiness which had been promised her, she invited her husband to partake d
with her. And he, it is probable, after some reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments to violate the command, contrary to his sense of duty, and to share the fate, which GOD's indignation for her trangression should bring upon her [b].

The punishment of the serpent reasonable.

The sentence denounced on the serpent cannot seem strange, if we consider, how different his original form was from his present, and that GOD probably intended the debasement of that once glorious creature, not so much to express his indignation against the beast, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a testimony of his displeasure against sin: nor could this be unjust; the meer instrument of an enormous crime being detestable, and often destroyed by human laws; and this great change in e
the serpent, perhaps, not felt, at least, not distinguished, or conceived by him as a misfortune [c].

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[z] Numb. xxi. 6. [a] See Bishop PATRICK's Commentary. [b] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 284, &c. [c] Vid. NICHOLL's Conf. Vol. 1.

(K) This seems to be the opinion of TERTULLIAN, when he tells us, that *Eve* gave attention to the serpent, as to the SON of GOD, &c. (1).

(L) The learned ABRAVANEL supposes the whole to be only dumb shew, and that the serpent did not speak at all, neither did *Eve* say any thing to it; but that being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took, and eat of the fruit; that *Eve*, having seen it several times do so, and not die, concluded with herself, that the said fruit did not occasion death, and that it might not only be grateful to the taste, but procure them that knowledge, which GOD seemed to have grudged them (2).

(1) De Præscript. Hæret, p. 220.

(2) STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 287.

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The account of the two trees not incredible.

In reference to the two trees, which seem to be so very extraordinary, it is but reasonable to imagine, there was a wide difference between the state of innocence and our present condition; and consequently, that there were some things consonant to the first state, which are very incongruous to our present. Now of those *Moses* has mentioned but a few, and among them these trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a state of innocence, which seems to imply a state of immortality; and something was requisite to make men immortal, when their bodies were not so; and what can be supposed more effectual than the fruit of such a tree? When God had designed, that mens bodies should never yield to death, it seems but reasonable he
a should direct them to the eating of such a fruit, whose juice was of that spirituous nature, as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigour, and to keep them up in constant youth, without pain, disease, or weakness, till such time as he should translate them to a better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the species is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable, that, had there been no lapse, many of them would have been transplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent off-spring had encreased; and when mankind had sinned, it is likely, God destroyed this species out of the world, as now grown useless and inconsistent with the curse and punishment of man. And of this tree the heathens seem to have had some traditional notion, when they speak of the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* which maintained the im-
b mortality of their gods, and *Moly*, which was the great *Panacea*, or universal medicine celebrated by the poets [d].

The tree of knowledge of good and evil is conceived to have been so called; either because it had really a virtue to open man's understanding, and to make him distinguish between good and evil; or else because the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the *good* of obedience and the *evil* of transgression [e]: but others suppose it so called, meerly from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowledge, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be in a preceding passage, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, by way of anticipation: and as to God's saying, *Behold, the man is become as one of us, to*
c *know good and evil*, that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his foolish disobedience and disappointment [f].

But what particular tree this tree of knowledge was, has been a matter of much conjecture; the vine, the apple, the common, and *Indian* fig-tree [g] (N), and wheat, though no tree, have all put in their claims (O); and though the generality are for the common fig-

[d] Idem, ibid. [e] Vid. Barcepham de Parad. part 1. c. 19. Edward's Survey, Vol. 1. [f] Vid. Nicholls, ubi supra. [g] Vid. Barcepham, ubi sup. p. 48.

(M) It is the joint opinion of the best antient writers, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, that in case our first parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after such a time of trial, as the divine wisdom should think convenient, have been translated; or removed from earth to heaven; and that their posterity likewise would have been liable to no sorrow or misery of any kind, but possessed of constant happiness, and, in their several courses and successions taken up into a heavenly paradise (1)

(N) *Goropius Becanus* is most confident, it was the *Indian* fig-tree; which notion, however, he did not borrow from *Moses Barcephas*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* supposes (2). The chief reasons urged why it should be this tree, are 1. The goodness of the fruit, and fairness of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedness of *Adam* and *Eve*, which it is supposed, they would cover as soon as ever they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeness and thickness of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the presence of God. But here *Becanus*, from the words of the vulgate version, *in medio ligni*, imagined they hid themselves in the body of the tree itself, though the stem of the *Indian* fig-tree, notwithstanding the extravagant size given it by some authors, be not very large. As Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had himself seen many of these trees in *America*, has given a description of them, we think it worth while to transcribe it. "They grow, says he, in moist "grounds, and in this manner: After they are "first shot up, some twenty, or thirty foot in "length (some more, some less, according to the "soil), they spread a very large top, having no "bough, nor twig in the trunk, or stem; for from "the utmost end of the head-branches, there issu-"eth out a gummy juice, which hangeth down-"ward like a cord, or sinew, and within a few "months reaches the ground; which it no sooner "toucheth but it taketh root, and then being "filled both from the top boughs, and from his "own proper root, this cord maketh itself a "tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs "of these young trees, there, fall again the "like cords, which in one year, and less (in that "world of perpetual spring) become also trees "of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, "and as strait as nature and art can make any "thing, casting such a shade, and making such "a grove, as no other tree in the world can "do. Now one of these trees considered with "all his young ones, may, indeed, shroud four "hundred, or four thousand horsemen, if they "please; for they cover whole vallies——But "that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such "delicate fruit, I could never find (3)."

(O) The *Mahummedans* have the like different opinions among them relating to this tree; some affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others a fig tree; and a third party a vine (4).

(1) See Bull's State of Man before the Fall. Barcepha de Parad. Part I. c. 22. (2) Barcepha takes it, indeed, to have been the fig-tree; but does not join the word *Indica* to it, as we can find. (3) Hist. of the World, Part I. Book I. c. 4. § 2. (4) Vid. Marracc. in Alc. p. 22.

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fig-tree, yet what *Moses* has so industriously concealed, is above the power of any to discover. *Philo* the *Jew*, according to his custom, allegorizes what is said of both these trees, supposing, that no such ever were, nor ever will be in the world [m] (P).

The trial, by forbidding a fruit, rational.

THAT the trial of man's obedience should be by such a prohibition, as is mentioned by *Moses*, seems perfectly rational, and adapted to the state of innocence; no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpose, because there was then scarce a possibility of their transgressing any such: it must therefore have been some indifferent action, neither good, nor evil in itself, but so far only, as it was commanded, or forbidden. And what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding of them to eat a of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them every moment an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it [n].

And the punishment consequently just.

AND this takes off the objection against the punishment, inflicted on man for his disobedience, as too severe, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived, if we suppose, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of GOD. And, considering this crime to have been a downright rebellion against GOD, and committed against the clearest conviction of conscience, with other aggravating circumstances, it will appear to have been a crime so heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be supposed to resemble it. b

The circumstances of the aprons and coats explained.

NO sooner was the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree gone off, and the criminals began to return to their senses again, but the eyes (Q) of their understanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedness (R), and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they were able, they twisted, or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waists, so that the broad leaves hanging down might serve them instead of aprons: for we must not imagine, that they sewed the leaves together, as taylors do their cloth, which is more than the words of *Moses* imply (S).

JUDGMENT being passed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is said, that GOD, before he drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of paradise, cloathed them with skins, which it is conceived is not necessarily to be understood, as if GOD himself, or c even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the *Hebrew* tongue verbally to attribute things to GOD, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permission of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable, *Adam* and *Eve* only received instructions how to make them [o].

The cherubim and flaming sword, what?

As to the cherubims and flaming sword, placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are several opinions concerning them. They who place paradise in the southern hemisphere, conceive the sword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel situation the earth is then supposed to have had, must have been a region of flame intolerably hot like a furnace, and consequently impassable; its encompassing of the whole earth sufficiently answering the *Mosaic* description [p], that it turned every way. Others

[m] PHILO JUD. de mundi opificio, p. 35. [n] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 281. NICHOLLS's Confer. ubi supra. [o] Ibid. [p] TERTULLIAN. Apolog. cap. 47. Vid. BURNET's Theory, Book II. c. 7. Theor. Sacr. Telluris, l. 2. c. 6.

(P) Those who admire allegorical interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the sensual act of generation, for which the punishment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth (1). But this opinion has not the least foundation in the words of *Moses*; especially if we consider, that Adam knew not his wife till after their expulsion out of paradise.

(Q) The expression, that *the eyes of them were opened*, occasioned a popular belief, that *Adam* and *Eve* were blind till they had transgressed; which imagination St. *Austin* has taken the pains to refute (2).

(R) By perceiving their nakedness, a late writer conceives no more is meant, than that they were sensible of their transgression. Thus, after the golden calf was consecrated, *Moses* is said to have seen the people *naked*; (*Exod.* xxxii. 25.) And in the new testament γυμνὸς is sometimes taken for a sinner. Others indeed suppose, that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our first parents to lust, and some indecent motions of the body; for, according to the modesty of the Hebrew tongue, *nakedness* may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleasures (and this is the opinion of St. *Austin* mentioned hereafter.): But our author thinks this conjecture is without any manner of foundation, and that it is hard to conceive, how *Adam* and *Eve* should not know themselves to be naked before their fall; or why they should be more ashamed of their nakedness then, than they were before. When they were the only inhabitants of the world, their bed under the canopy of heaven, was equally as chast as if it had been covered and enclosed; and therefore this nakedness of theirs must, in his opinion, be understood in a figurative sense (3).

(S) The original word חָפַר, which is translated *Sewed* signifies no more than to *put together*, to *apply*, or *fit*; in which sense it is used *Job* xvi. 15. and *Ezek.* xiii. 18. And עָלֶה, which we render *leaves*, signifies also branches of trees, such as were fit to make booths, or bowers; *Nehem.* vii. 15. (4.)

(1) Vid. BARCEPHAM de Parad. ubi sup. LEON Hebreu, Philosophie d'amour, Dial. 3. p. 620, &c.
(2) AUGUST. de civit. Dei. l. 14. c. 17. (3) LE CLERC's Dissertat. (4) Dr NICHOLLS's Conf. ubi supra.

Others have thought to have been a wall, or circle of fire, encompaſſing paradiſe (T); and that this flame was an accenſion of ſome inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradiſe about *Babylon*, where there is ſuch an abundance of naphtha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which even yet, at ſome time of the year, ſeem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubims had nothing to do with ſuch a wall; it is anſwered, that it is uſual for the ſcriptures to expreſs all extraordinary works of GOD by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a deſtroying angel; and the like[r]. Some Rabbins [s] are of opinion, that
a this flaming ſword was an angel; which they found on that paſſage, where it is ſaid, that GOD maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire [t]. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming ſword, which was eſteemed by the *Jews* a ſecond angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, *viz.* a *Seraph*, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery ſerpent, whoſe body vibrated in the air with luſtre, and may be fitly deſcribed by the image of ſuch a ſword [u].

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The effects of the fall, on man, and on the ground.

HAVING thus examined the circumſtances of the fall, it may be proper to conſider the effects it had upon our firſt parents and their poſterity, and alſo upon the ground, which was curſed for their ſake.

THE unpappy pair did not indeed die immediately, but they became ſubject to
b death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live, being but as the ſpace between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had loſt GOD's favour, and forfeited paradiſe: the neceſſaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: ſo that the remembrance of their paſt happineſs, and the proſpect of the innumerable miſeries, to which they had made themſelves and their off-ſpring obnoxious, muſt needs fill them with regret and deſpair. For ſince they could not by generation tranſmit any thing to their poſterity, but what they had themſelves; their deſcendants were deſtined in like manner to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the neceſſary conſequences of *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion: nor is there in this any
c injuſtice, we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of GOD's wrath, and deſerving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of *Adam*'s ſin (which is the doctrine of St. *Auſtin* and his diſciples, thence named *Supralapſarians*) has ſeemed to many a very harſh opinion, and to reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of GOD.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines [x], and foreign to our preſent deſign, we ſhall only ſay; that the general manifeſt depravity and corruption of human nature, ſo very different from what we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been in its original ſtate, would induce us to believe it the effect of our firſt parents tranſgreſſion; whereupon unruly paſſions and appetites got that ſuperiority over, and influence on, our
d wills, which reaſon alone ought to have; and this might be poſſibly occaſioned, in ſome degree at leaſt, by the infirmities which our bodies neceſſarily contracted, by proceeding from ſuch a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curſe. For whatever the ancients have ſaid of the plenty and happineſs of the golden age, ſeems chiefly to have been ſome broken notions and traditions of man's firſt eſtate in paradiſe, and of that univerſal harmony wherein the world and all things would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at firſt ſpontaneous, and the ſoil, without being torn and tormented, ſatisfied the wants and deſires of man; but, upon his apoſtaſy from GOD, as a puniſhment for his ſin, GOD curſed the ground, which immediately brought
e forth thorns and thiſtles; for we muſt not ſuppoſe, with ſome, that the original fertility of the earth continued, till the deſtruction brought upon it by the univerſal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curſe, but ſome conſiderable effects of it appeared before; otherwiſe how could *Adam* be ſaid to eat bread in ſorrow, and in the ſweat of his face all the days of his life? As the earth was impoveriſhed on man's tranſgreſſion, ſo the air and other elements became diſordered, in ſome meaſure unwholſome, and ſometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, peſtilences, earthquakes,

[q] Pſeudo-Anſelm. Elucid. c. 15. [r] NICHOLLS, ubi ſup. [s] Vid. MAIMONID. More Nevoch. p. 1. cap. 49. [t] Pſalm civ. 4. [u] TENNISON of Idolatry. [x] See STACKHOUSE's body of Divinity, p. 295, &c.

(T) the words commonly rendred *flaming ſword*, are in the original the *flame of cutting*, or *diviſion*, or a *dividing flame*; for the ſame word which ſignifies a *ſword*, ſignifies alſo *diviſion*; and is in the new teſtament tranſlated both ways (1).

(1) See Matth. x. 34. & Luke xii. 51. NICHOLLS, ubi ſupr.

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earthquakes, ſtorms, and all manner of natural calamities, which cauſe an innumerable variety of diſeaſes and diſtempers [y].

BUT in order to give a more clear idea, in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall; it may be proper to conſider the conſtitution of man's body, (for what concerns his ſoul is not properly within the compaſs of this deſign) and of the earth in that primitive ſtate; and by what means they were reduced to their preſent condition.

The change in the conſtitution of man.

As to the conſtitution of man's body, it appears, that nakedneſs was then no inconvenience or ſhame, and conſequently, there was no ſenſe of any need to cover it. Thoſe inclinations which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it ſeems, a ſo regular, and ſo entirely under the command of reaſon, that not ſo much as an apron was eſteemed neceſſary to hide thoſe parts, which all the world have ſince thought proper to conceal [z]. But ſome have imagined, that in caſe man had perſevered in his ſtate of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would have been otherwiſe propagated (V); and this the ancient fathers were inclined to believe, from their pre-poſſeſſion in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy [a]. This opinion St. *Auſtin* combated by very ſtrong arguments [b], ſuch as the benediction of GOD, and his command to encreaſe and multiply; the diſtinction of the ſexes preceding the fall; and the abſurdity of ſuppoſing ſin to have been neceſſary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that in the ſtate of innocence, the b work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of paſſion, or loſs of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his ſpecies, whenever he judged it requiſite, without any incitement of luſt. In the primitive ſtate alſo, the temper of the human body ſeems to have been more ſoft, pliable, and alterable than now it is: ſome ſorts of fruits and food were able to cauſe a mighty change therein, either to fix and adapt it to its preſent condition, or diſcompoſe and diſorder it: thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowledge, of bringing upon it diſeaſes, corruptions, and mortality, on the other; but the firſt effect of this latter fruit is ſuppoſed to have been the revolt of the parts ſubſervient c to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the ſhame which immediately ſeized thoſe who had taſted it (W). And, to ſay the truth, ſince man, in his fallen ſtate, was unable to conform himſelf to the dictates of reaſon, love was neceſſarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwiſe it is not conceived how mankind could have ſubſiſted: ſo that the paſſions were then raiſed, in order to produce men to do that to ſatisfy their appetites, which before they did merely from prudential conſiderations [c].

THERE was alſo a conſiderable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which ſhe has ſince been in; particularly, ſhe was then in a ſtate of greater equality with the man, and little more ſubject to ſorrow in the propagation of poſterity than he [d]. Nay, the very animals ſeem to have been, at that time, d in a ſtate of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reaſon and diſcourſe, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happineſs, than they have been ever ſince [e].

The change in the conſtitution of the earth, how effected, according to Dr. Burnet.

WHEREIN the fœcundity and amenity of the primitive earth conſiſted, and by what means it became ſo much altered for the worſe, is difficult to be determined. It is indeed preſently accounted for, if we have recourſe to the divine interpoſition, and ſuppoſe, that the ſterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature was effected by GOD, or his ſubordinate agents. But to aſſign a probable natural cauſe of ſuch effects is not ſo eaſy. Dr. *Burnet*'s notion is, that the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth was entirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the con- e ſequence of the ſituation of its axis, which he ſuppoſed to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the ſun with the other planets. And that it really had ſuch a ſituation, he thinks needs no other proof than its own evidence;

[y] Vid. STACKHOUSE, ubi ſup. [z] Vid WHISTON's Theory, Book III. p. 238. [a] Vid. SALIAN. Annal. Tom. I. p. 174. CORNEL. à LAPIDE, in Gen. ii. BARCEPHA de Parad. part. 1. c. 25. [b] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 21, &c. [c] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Eve, Rem. F. [d] Vid WHISTON's Theory, Book III. p. 239. [e] Ibid. p. 240.

(V) *Paracelſus* was ſo firmly perſuaded of this, that he maintained *Adam* and *Eve* to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies like excreſcences (1).

(W) Some *Rabbins* alſo ſeem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit (2).

(1) Apud VOSSIUM de Philoſ. cap. 9. p. 71.

(2) Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Eve. Rem. C.

evidence; for it is the immediate result and common effect of gravity, or libration, that a body, left freely to itself in a fluid medium, should settle in such a posture as best answers to its gravitation; and the first earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally ballanced [f], there was no reason, why it should encline at one end, more than the other, toward the sun. And this position he supposes the earth kept till the deluge, when it was so broken and divided, according to his hypothesis, that it lost its equal poise; and the centre of its gravity changing, one pole became more enclined to the sun, and the other more removed from it, and so the parallel situation, which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of seasons, and those irregularities in the temperature of the air, which have since obtained [g]. But this does not account for the immediate effect of GOD's curse on the earth, which, as has been observed, must by no means be deferred so late as to the flood.

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a To avoid this difficulty, Mr. *Whiston* has supposed, that the earth in its primitive state had no diurnal motion about its own axis, but only an annual motion about the sun; so that the sun and planets then rose in the west, and set in the east, contrary to what they have ever since done (X).

—*and Mr.* Whiston.

b On this supposition, as well as the former, there would also be a perpetual equinox through the world, which characters the fathers usually applied to the paradisiacal state, and the ancient heathens to the golden age [b]. The great change therefore which was made in nature at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion, or rotation of the earth about its present axis: by this means the poles of the world, which to the first inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the intersection of the ancient ecliptic with the present northern tropic) were neither considerably elevated nor depressed, suddenly changed their situation; the northern pole appeared to be elevated above, and the southern depressed below, the horizon: and the course of the heavens seemed bent, or inclined to the southern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical cause of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued some time, assigned by him is, the impulse of a comet with little, or no atmosphere, or of a central solid hitting obliquely upon the earth along some parts of c its present equator: from which impulse both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion about a new and real axis would certainly commence. And he observes, that in all probability this comet was of the bigness of one of the small secondary, rather than of the large primary, planets; for otherwise by its causing vast tides in the abyss, after it was passed by, it would have occasioned many more alterations in the earth, than we have reason to believe happened at that time [i] (Z).

But

[f] See the Introduction, p. 37. c. [g] BURNET's Theory of the Earth, Book II. c. 3. [h] Vid. BURNET's Theor. l. 2. c. 1. & 10. Archæol. l. 2. c. 5. & 6. [i] WHISTON's Theory, Book II. p. 98, &c.

(X) This, he thinks, may have been the foundation of that story in *Herodotus* (1), who tells us, that the sun, in the space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his course, and rose in the west. But what he mainly depends on, is that discourse in *Plato* (2), where, relating some very ancient traditions (as he expressly says they are, and delivered by our first parents to their posterity) about the primitive state of things, he says, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the sun and other stars formerly setting in the same place where they now rise, and rising where they now set; which change he attributes to GOD, who sometimes directs the motion of the universe himself, and at other times, after so many periodical revolutions as he sees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, spontaneously carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change *Plato* reckons the greatest, and most entire of any, the heavenly bodies undergo.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much insisted upon by the ancients. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Leucippus* was of opinion the earth fell towards the south, because of the rareness of those parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the southern were scorched, or on fire (3). *Democritus* and *Empedocles* gave nearly the same reason for it; and *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras* specify the very time when this happened; *viz.* after the first coalition of the world, and the production of animals out of the earth: and they thought this inclination was probably the effect of providence, on purpose, that some parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reason of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof (4).

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till some time after the annual, Mr. *Whiston* imagines to be evinced from the late discovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are supposed to arise. The poles of this interior magnet being, as they suppose, distant from the earth's axis, slowly change their places in respect of the external earth, by a motion westward: whence he concludes, that the enclosed magnet, or nucleus, has not attained the same velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution, because the impulse by which the diurnal motion was first impressed upon the external earth, has not yet been so perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the first motion impressed and still preserved by the superior parts of the globe (5).

(1) HERODOT. l. 2. c. 142. (2) PLATO, in Politic. p. 174, 175. (3) PLUT. de placit. philos. l. 3. c. 12. (4) Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 8. (5) Vid. Dr. HALLEY's Theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, Philos. Trans. N° 195.

Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

BUT besides the impression of this new motion, another effect of such a collision of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipsis, as it was before the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr. *Whiston* supposes the reduction of the very oblong eccentrical orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greatest part at the commencing of the *Mosaic* creation, and the rest at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being supposed, and that providence adjusted all circumstances, so as should be most for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradise, where alone *Adam* and the other creatures dwelt in this state; we shall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentrical ellipsis, without any diurnal rotation, about the sun in the space of a year; we a
shall have some diameter of the earth, which passed near paradise, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipsis, and the place of paradise respecting nearly the same fixed stars with the *perihelion* of the ellipsis. Which being again supposed, we may observe, that as a circular orbit is much the best for a globe inhabited all round (as the earth was designed to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemispheres; so is this elliptic orbit the best for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive state, this providing peculiarly for the happiness of that particular spot, where alone the living part of the creation was to reside. For the heat of the day-time would gradually encrease before, and decrease after noon, but yet would never be over violent; because the increase of the heat, by the sun's rising b
higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon, or spring, would be prevented, in a great measure, by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his *aphelion* during the same time: and *vice versâ* in the afternoon, or summer, which would render the state of the air more equal and uniform. And thus also the too long duration of the night would be entirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a small proportion to the day, and amount perhaps to no more than two months; out of which must be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkness of the night itself to about a single month; out of which another fortnight is to be still deducted for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightning the earth: so that at last, if the moon's *crepuscula* be c
allowed for, as they ought to be, we shall scarce have a week of pure darkness in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly paradisiacal state [k]; wherein there would be a constant warmth without the frequent interposition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and susceptible of the utmost power of the solar heat, and the seasons equable, or gradually distinguished from one another, with other natural consequences. But so soon as man had rendred himself unworthy of that happy state, and GOD had pronounced a curse on the ground, presently the earth began a new and strange motion, and revolved from west to east upon its own axis: the succession of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, distinguished the seasons, and, in conjunction with the d
diurnal, described the equator and the tropics; by which, and the polar circles, the face of the earth was distinguished into zones, with respect whereto the particular regions of the earth changed their situation; so that paradise, which was before near the middle or ecliptic, was now beyond the northern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly spherical, degenerated into an oblate spheroid; the torrid zone rising about fifteen, or sixteen, miles upwards, and the frigid one subsiding as much downwards. The *compages* of the upper earth, and of its *strata*, became thereby chapped and broken, and so carried up the warm steams from beneath, arising from the hot central solid, to particular receptacles and *volcano's*, which before served, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the entire earth and its pro- e
ductions [l]. In these and other circumstances was the state of nature altered for the worse on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

[k] Ibid. p. 114, &c.

[l] Ibid. Book IV. p. 353, &c.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge stated.

BEFORE we enter on the history of the antediluvian world, it will be necessary, that we should settle the chronology of this period.

As *Moses* has not set down the particular time of any transaction before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the several descendants of *Adam*, in the line of *Seth*, were begotten, and the length of their several lives; all we can do in this period is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of those patriarchs, and the distance of time from the creation to the deluge.

AND this might be easily done, if there were no varieties in the several copies we now have of *Moses*'s writings; which are the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and the *Greek* a version of the *Septuagint*: but as these differ very considerably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions, concerning the chronology of the first ages of the world, some preferring one copy, and some another.

THAT the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we shall in the following table subjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add those of *Josephus*, as corrected by Dr. *Wills*, and Mr. *Whiston*, the numbers in the present copies of that historian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE *of the Years of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.*

	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after the Sons Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Joseph.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.
Adam, - - -	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth, - - -	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enos, - - -	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
Cainan, - - -	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
Mahalaleel, - -	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
Jared, - - -	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	962	847	962
Enoch, - - -	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
Methuselah, - -	187	67	187	187	782	653	802	969	720	696
Lamech, - - -	182	53	188	182	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah was aged at the Flood,	600	600	600	600						
To the Flood, -	1656	1307	2262	1556						

To this Table it will be necessary, in order to explain the consequences of these variations, to add separate chronological tables, shewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the said three copies.

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Hebrew.

	Years of the world.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created, -	1									
Seth born, - -	130									
Enos born, - -	235	105								
Cainan born, - -	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born, -	395	265	160	70						
Jared born, - -	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born, - -	622	492	387	297	227	162				
Methuselah born, -	687	557	452	362	292	227	65			
Lamech born, - -	874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187		
Adam dies, - -	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Enoch translated, -	987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth dies, - -	1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
Noah born, - -	1056		821	731	661	596		369	182	
Enos dies, - -	1140		905	817	745	680		453	266	84
Cainan dies, - -	1235			910	840	775		548	361	179
Mahalaleel dies, -	1290				895	830		603	416	234
Jared dies, - -	1422					962		735	548	366
Japhet born, - -	1556							869	682	500
Shem born, - -	1558							871	684	502
Lamech dies, - -	1651							964	777	595
Methuselah dies, -	1656							969		600
The Flood, - -										

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Septuagint.

	Years of the world.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created, -	1									
Seth born, - - -	230									
Enos born, - - -	435	205								
Cainan born, - -	625	395	190							
Mahalaleel born, -	795	565	360	170						
Adam dies, - -	930	700	495	305	135					
Jared born, - -	960	730	525	335	165	162				
Enoch born, - -	1122	892	687	497	327	182				
Seth dies, - - -	1142	912	707	517	347	327	165	187		
Methuselah born, -	1387		852	662	492	327	218	200		
Enos dies, - -	1340		905	715	545	380	352	248	61	
Lamech born, - -	1474			849	679	514	365	375	188	
Enoch translated, -	1487			862	692	527		403	216	28
Cainan dies, - -	1535			910	740	575		635	448	260
Noah born - -	1662				867	702		875	688	500
Mahalaleel dies, -	1690				895	730		877	690	502
Jared dies, - -	1922					962		940	753	565
Japhet born, - -	2162							969		594
Shem born, - -	2164									600
Lamech dies, - -	2227									
Methuselah dies, -	2256									
The Flood, - -	2262									

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the* Samaritan *Pentateuch.*

	Years of the world.	Years of *Seth*,	Years of *Enos*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Mahalaleel*,	Years of *Jared*,	Years of *Enoch*,	Years of *Methuselah*,	Years of *Lamech*,	Years of *Noah*,
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	130									
Enos born,	235	105								
Cainan born,	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born,	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born,	522	392	287	197	127	62				
Methuselah born,	587	457	352	262	192	127	65			
Lamech born,	654	524	419	329	259	194	132	67		
Noah born,	707	577	472	382	312	247	185	120	53	
Enoch translated,	887	757	652	562	497	427	365	300	233	180
Adam dies,	930	800	695	605	535	470		343	276	223
Seth dies,	1042	912	807	717	647	582		462	388	335
Enos dies	1140		905	815	745	680		553	486	433
Japhet born,	1207			882	812	747		620	553	500
Shem born,	1209			884	814	749		622	555	502
Cainan dies,	1235			910	840	775		648	581	528
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		703	636	583
Jared, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech* die,	1307	The Flood,				847		720	653	600

To the varieties exhibited in the two last tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of some numbers in the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*: for as to the *Hebrew* copies, there is here a constant agreement among them (A).

THE manuscript from which the *Samaritan* pentateuch was published (B), agrees exactly with the *Samaritan* numbers given by *Eusebius* [a]. But St. *Jerom* tells us [b], that in his time there were some *Samaritan* copies which make *Methuselah* 187 years old at the birth of *Lamech*, and *Lamech* 182 at the birth of *Noah*, just as the *Hebrew* does. Now if these numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (C); differing from the *Hebrew* computation but 100 years, in the age of *Jared* at the birth of *Enoch*: and if this
a last be allowed to be a mistake of the transcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 instead of 162, as has been suspected, the *Samaritan* will be perfectly reconciled with the *Hebrew*, and all difference between them vanish (D).

THERE are indeed some other variations in the *Samaritan* numbers, as given by *Eusebius*; but as they are plainly owing to the negligence of the copier, or the printer, we think it needless to trouble the reader with them.

SCALIGER, on the authority of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of *Moses*, would correct two of the *Samaritan* numbers in *Eusebius*; *viz.* instead of 65, the age of *Mahalaleel* when he be-
b gat *Jared*, he thinks it should be 75; and instead of 67, the age of *Methuselah*, when he begat *Lamech*, he would have it 77 [c]. By which alterations he reckons 20 years more

[a] In Chronic Græ. p. 3, 4. [b] In Quæst. in Genes. [c] SCALIGER in Græc. Euseb. p. 403.

(A) It is observable, that the *Hebrew* numbers were exactly the same when the two *Talmuds* were composed; and that the *Chaldee* paraphrase of *Onkelos*, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does also agree with the *Hebrew* chronology.

(B) This MS. was written *A. D.* 1404. (1).

(C) Mr. WHISTON, allowing of these two corrections, which are supported by the attestation of *Josephus*, follows this computation in his chronological table (2).

(D) This is the hypothesis of Father TOURNEMINE, who, in his *Samaritan* chronology, reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(1) Vid. JOAN. MORIN. in Præf. Ed. Septuag. Gr. Lat. Paris, 1618.

(2) See also his Essay towards restoring the true text of the old Test. &c. p. 23.

more to the flood than *Euſebius* and the manuſcript; that is, 1327 (E). But as he acknowledges the table, whereupon he grounds theſe corrections; contains ſome great abſurdities, it ſeems unreaſonable to oppoſe it to the joint authority of *Euſebius* and the *Samaritan* manuſcript.

As to the *Septuagint*, in the common editions of that verſion, the age of *Methuſelah*, at the birth of *Lamech*, is 167, and conſequently, the ſum total of this period, according to them, is more than 2242. But in this caſe *Methuſelah* will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well wonder, with *Euſebius* [c], where he was preſerved. To obviate this objection, we are told, that in ſome copies *Methuſelah* is ſaid to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of *Lamech*, and no more than 949 in all [f]. But the *Alexandrian* manuſcript entirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the ſame number in this place with the *Hebrew*. a

PEZRON is of opinion, that the age of *Lamech*, at the birth of *Noah*, ſhould be but 182, as it is both in the *Hebrew* and in *Joſephus*, ſuppoſing with St. *Auſtin*, that the preſent number is the error of the ſcribe who firſt copied the original *Septuagint* manuſcript in *Ptolemy*'s library [g]. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned alſo by St. *Auſtin* [h], *viz.* that *Lamech* lived 595 years after the birth of *Noah*, and not 565, as in the preſent copies, there will then remain no other difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Hebrew* than 600 years, added to the ages of ſix of the patriarchs when they begat their ſons [i], and *Methuſelah* will, conformably to the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan*, die in the year of the flood. b

As we have choſen to follow the chronology of the preſent *Samaritan* copies, after the flood, for the reaſons which will be found in another place, we have done the ſame in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the *Hebrew*, or *Septuagint* by thoſe who prefer the accounts of thoſe copies.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305.

WHERE *Adam* dwelt after his expulſion from paradiſe, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now conſummated his marriage with *Eve*, which, as the words of *Moſes* ſeem to imply, he had not done before the fall [k] (G): a ſtrong argument for the ſhort duration of the ſtate of innocence. The eldeſt ſon of *Adam*, named *Cain*, was born probably in the firſt year of the world; and his ſecond, *Abel* (H), the

[d] Vid. LUD. CAPPELLI Chronol. Sacr. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 13. CAPPELLI Chronolog. ſacr. [e] Chron. Græc. p. 4. [f] Ibid. [g] AUGUSTIN. [h] Ibid. [i] Vid. PEZRON, l'Antiquité des temps retablie, p. 57. & [k] Geneſ. iii. 24. iv. 1.

(E) It is remarkable, that *Scaliger*, taking the *Samaritan* numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of *Noah*, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again miſtaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of *Noah*'s life to the former number. And he at the ſame time quarrels with *Syncellus*, for not committing the ſame fault (1).

(F) The eaſtern tradition is, that *Adam* went into *India* (2), and did penance on the mountain thence named *Pico de Adam*, in the iſle of *Ceylon*, for ſeveral years. Some Rabbins pretend, that he was ſeparated from *Eve* for 130 years, and lived with another woman, named *Lilith*, formed out of the ground like himſelf; during which time he begat dæmons on her, as the devils did on *Eve* (3). *Maimonides* ſuppoſes, that by thoſe dæmons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of *Adam* were before *Seth*, whom he is therefore ſaid to have begotten in his own likeneſs, and after his own image (4). The *Mohammedans* ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, *Adam* fell on *Ceylon*, and *Eve* near *Joddah* in *Arabia*; and that after a ſeparation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies (5).

(G) Yet ſome Rabbins, as *R. Solomon Yarhi*, and *R. Moſes Haddarſhan* (6), were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as Father *Bartolocci* aſſures us, whoſe words we ſubjoin, (to ſhew what abominable imaginations ſome men are capable of) but deſire to be excuſed the tranſlating of them. *De protoparente Adamo ita ſiniſtre ſentiunt, ut ipſum etiam nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, inſimulent; & ante Evæ formationem, omnia jumenta feraſque campi carnaliter cognoviſſe aiunt* (7).

(H) Some Rabbins imagined, that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins, (which *Calvin* (8) alſo ſuppoſed) but that *Cain* was the off-ſpring of the devil, or *Sammael*, who firſt lay with *Eve*; and that ſhe afterwards, by ſuperfetation, conceived *Abel* by *Adam* (9). Some heretics fancied both *Cain* and *Abel* to have been the iſſue of the devil (10).

(1) SCALIG. in Græc. Euſeb. p. 403. (2) Vid. EUTYCHII annal. p. 15. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. orient. p. 55. (3) Vid. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. & BARTOLOCC. Bibl. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 291. (4) MAIM. More Nevoch. p. 1. c. 7. (5) Vid. D'HERBEL. ubi ſupra. (6) Vid. HEIDEGG. p. 111. (7) BARTOLOCC. ubi ſup. p. 75. (8) Vid. CORN. a LAPIDE, in Geneſ. iv. 2. (9) BARTOLOCC. ubi ſupra. (10) Vid. EPIPHAN. Hæreſ. 40.

a the year following *. When they were grown up, they betook themselves to distinct employments; the former of them to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep [p]. And their inward dispositions were still more different, *Cain* being wicked and avaritious, but *Abel* just and virtuous [q].

Year of the World, 2. Year before Christ, 4304.

In process of time the two brothers brought their respective offerings to God †, *Cain* of the fruit of the ground, and *Abel* of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof **; but they met with very different success: for God had respect to, or accepted the offering of *Abel*, but *Cain*'s he did not accept ‡. At this preference *Cain* was so enraged and transported with envy against his brother, that he could not help shewing it by his countenance. God however condescended to expostulate the matb ter with him, and asked him, what reason he had to be angry, since if he did well he should be accepted; and he could blame none but himself for what was the consequence of his own ill behaviour; and, in particular, he could not justly be angry with *Abel*, who had no design to supplant him, and should always pay him the respect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had so little effect on *Cain*, that, on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he rose up against *Abel* his

Year of the World, 129. Year before Christ, 4176.

Cain *and* Abel, *their offerings.*

Abel *murthered.*

[p] Genes. iv. 2.

[q] Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2.

* The name *Cain* signifies *an acquisition*, or *possession*, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קנה *Kana*, *to acquire*. *Abel*, or rather *Hebel*, signifies *vanity*, and not *mourning*, as *Josephus* (1) and *Eusebius* (2) suppose.

The *Arab* authors say, that before *Cabil* (for so they call *Cain*) *Adam* had a son named عبد الحارث *Abd' alhâreth*, on the following occasion. When *Eve* was big with her first child, the devil came to her and asked her, if she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it. She being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that as he knew the mysterious name of God, he would in vertue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of God, that *Eve* might be safely delivered of a son in his (*Adam*'s) own likeness, provided, he would promise to call his name *Abd' alhâreth*, or *the servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name in heaven) instead of *Abd' allah*, or the servant of God, as *Adam* had designed. This *Adam* and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died (3). The parents are taxed with this in the *Koran*, as an act looking towards idolatry (4). But the whole story seems to have no other foundation, than *Cain*'s being called by *Moses Obed Adamah*, i. e. *a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated by the *Arabs Abd' albâreth*.

Abu'lfaragius (5) says, *Cain* was born in the thirtieth year of the world, with a twin sister, whom that author calls *Klimia*, *Eutychius* (6) *Azrân*, and others *Kalmanna*. And that thirty years after, *Abel* was born with a twin sister also, named *Lebúdha*, or *Lesûra*, by *Eutychius* (who says *Lesûra* was her *Greek* name) *Owain*, and by others *Delborah* (7).

† It has been supposed by some (but without any ground) that they brought their offerings to *Adam* to offer for them (8).

The oriental tradition makes these sacrifices to have been offered, and *Cain*'s malice excited against his brother on the following occasion. When they were grown up, in the one hundred and thirtieth Year of the world, according to *Abu'lfaragius*, *Adam* proposed to *Eve*, that *Cain* should marry *Abel*'s twin sister, and *Abel Cain*'s. But this *Cain* refused to agree to, insisting to have his own sister, who was the handsomest of the two. *Adam* hereupon was greatly displeased, because it was against the divine command that he should marry his twin sister (for it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since *Cain* and *Abel* must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree), and ordered his sons to make their offerings before they took their wives, referring the dispute, probably, to God's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpose, the devil put it into *Cain*'s head to rid himself of his brother; for which wicked intent, his sacrifice was not accepted; and they were no sooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on *Abel*, and killed him with a stone (9). Thus was a woman, according to this story, the occasion of the first quarrel in the world; *Nam fuit ante Helenam, &c.*

** The opinion of those who think *Abel* did not kill, or offer the Animals themselves, but only their milk and wool, will be considered hereafter, when we enquire into the origin of Sacrifices.

‡ Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing, but the wickedness and ill disposition of *Cain*, and the righteousness and faith of *Abel* (10), yet it has been imagined, that *Cain*'s ill success was owing to some defect in his offering, or his presenting the worst part of it to God, and reserving the best to himself. The reason given by *Josephus* (11) is very frivolous: he says, that God was more delighted with *Abel*'s offering, as being the spontaneous production of nature; and displeased with *Cain*'s, because it was forced by the art and industry of a covetous man (12).

In what visible manner God declared his acceptance of *Abel*'s offering, is not expressed by *Moses*. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven descended on the sacrifice and consumed it, but did not touch *Cain*'s. This is supported by the version of *Theodotion*, who translated the word שעה, which we render *had respect unto*, ἐνεπύρισεν, *he set on fire*; the usual sign whereby God has been pleased to testify his approbation in other instances. The *Mohammedans* likewise affirm the same thing (13). And the heathens themselves boasted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in some particular places (14).

(1) *Antiq.* l. 11. cap. 6. (2) *De Præp. Ev.* l. 2. (3) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orien.* p. 438, &c. Selden *de jure nat.* &c. l. 5. c. 8. Maracc. *in Alcor.* p. 291. (4) Al Koran, c. 7. ℣ 189, &c. (5) p. 6. (6) p. 15. (7) *Vid.* Pererium *in Genes.* iv. 1. Heidegg *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 112. (8) *Vid.* Heidegg. *ubi supr.* p. 117. (9) Abu'lfarag. p. 6. 7. Eutych. p. 15. 16. (10) *Vid.* Heb. xi. 4. (11) *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 2. (12) *Vid.* Heidegg. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 120. (13) *Vid.* Maracc. *in Alcoran.* p. 229. (14) *See* Bayle *Dict. Hist. Art. Egnatia.*

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his brother, and slew him[r]*, and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murther[s]. a

Cain's punishment.

AFTER the commission of this horrid fact, *Cain* being questioned by GOD about his brother, returned an evasive answer, that he knew not what was become of him, churlishly asking, *if he was his brother's keeper?* But GOD soon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a punishment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful soil, which should not reward his labour, with the plenty and encrease he had before experienced. This sentence, though it fell short of the heinousness of his guilt, was yet thought too severe by *Cain*, who complained, that *his punishment was greater than he could bear*; since he was to be banished from the presence of GOD, and from his near relations, and, b being a vagabond and friendless, would be in danger of being killed by the next that should meet him†. But GOD told him, that whoever slew *Cain*, vengeance should be

[r] Genes. iv. 3.—8.

[s] JOSEPH. ubi sup.

* Before the commission of the fact, *Moses* tells us, according to the *English* translation, that Cain *talked with* Abel *his brother*. The words strictly signify, Cain *said unto* Abel *his brother*: after which there is a blank space left in the *Hebrew* copies, as if something was wanting. The *Samaritan pentateuch* and *Septuagint* version supply this, by adding the words, *Let us go into the field*: but the *Jerusalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* have obliged us with the whole conversation. Says *Cain*, *There is no future Judgment, nor judge, nor life after this, nor reward for the just, nor punishment for the wicked: the world was neither created, nor is governed by the mercy of* GOD, *forasmuch as thy oblation was accepted, and mine rejected.* To which *Abel* answers, *There is a future judgment, and a judge, and a life to come: there is both a reward for the just, and a punishment for the unjust: the world was created, and is governed by the mercy of* GOD. *And because my works are better than thine, therefore was my oblation accepted, and thine rejected.* Upon which ensued the quarrel, which ended in *Abel*'s murther. An ill beginning of religious controversy. *Mohammed* has also, in his *Korân* (1), inserted the debate between the two brothers, somewhat to the same purpose.

The time, place, and manner of this murther are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of *Seth*, who *was appointed instead of* Abel: but St. *Austin* (2) will not allow *Seth* to be the next son which *Eve* had after *Abel*'s death; supposing that expression to mean no more, than that *Seth* succeeded that righteous person in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that *Adam* assigned his sons their several employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as *Eusebius* says he did), that *Cain* and *Abel* made their offerings A. M. 100, and that thirty years after *Abel* was killed. But neither reason, nor scripture lead us to believe, that *Cain* concealed his resentment so many years (3). The place where *Abel* was slain, according to an antient tradition, is said to be still shewn at the foot of a hill near *Damascus* (4). As to the manner wherein *Cain* committed this murther, there is a great variety of opinions. *Eutychius* and the *Arabs* say, he struck him on the head with a stone; some *Jews* tells us, that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed him with the jaw-bone of an ass, which is the weapon the painters generally put into *Cain*'s hand: some arm him with a fork; St. *Chrysostome* with a sword; St. *Irenæus* with a scythe, and *Prudentius* with a pruning hook (5).

Whether *Abel* was a married man or not, has been disputed. Some of the antient fathers have maintained the affirmative (6), as did also some heretics called *Abelians* (7). But it is improbable, he should continue single if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for such continency. Nor do St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* (8) seem to doubt of his being married, though *Moses* makes no mention of his offspring.

The *Rabbins*, and some Christians (9) say, that *Adam* and *Eve* mourned for *Abel* one hundred years, during which time they lived separate; *Adam* particularly in a valley near *Hebron*, thence named *the valley of tears* (10). The inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the salt lake on the mount of *Colombo* was formed by the tears, which *Eve* shed on this occasion (11).

† These words of *Cain* are variously interpreted. The first sentence, which our version renders, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, some translate, *My sin is greater than can be forgiven* (for עון signifies *iniquity* rather than *punishments* and נשא *to forgive*, as well as *to bear*); and others interrogatively *Is my sin too great to be forgiven?* which last is the sense followed by the *Hebrew* expositors, and seems to be the best (12). The latter words, in the *English* translation, *And it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me*, have also been rendred, *I wish that any person that finds me may kill me* (13).

That there were such numbers of men in the world, at the time of *Abel*'s murther, that *Cain* might justly apprehend some danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increase of mankind before the flood. Mr. *Bayle* (14) thinks, that *Cain* was not so much afraid of his kindred, the descendants of *Adam*, (though he might justly fear the resentment of *Abel*'s children, if he left any) but of some strangers whom he apprehended he should meet in his banishment, where he would be friendless, and have none to support him; and therefore supposes, that, in his fright, he either did not consider, there were no men in the world but what were the offspring of his father, or else feigned an apprehension, to move GOD's compassion. But we conceive, there will be no occasion for either of those suppositions, if we consider in how few descents the degrees of kindred, at least of affection, decrease, and at length vanish; and that *Cain* might justly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vast numbers of men, which, he could not but think, would in a few years to come overspread the earth, and have probably little knowledge of, or respect for him.

(1) *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 33, &c. (2) *De civit Dei*, l. 15. c. 15. (3) *See* BALYE *Dict. Hist. Art. Abel, Rem. C.* (4) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 126. (5) *Vid.* BAYLE *ubi sup. Rem. G.* (6) BASIL. & AMBROS. *apud* CORN. *à* LAPIDE *in Genes.* iv, & v. (7) *Vid.* BAYLE *Dict. Hist Art. Abelians.* (8) *Vid.* SALIAN *Annal.* tom. 1. p. 184. (9) EUTYCH. p. 16. (10) *Vid.* SALIAN. *ubi sup.* p. 190. (11) *Vid.* CHEVREAU, *Hist. du. Monde*, tom. 4. p. 255. (12) *See* SHUCKFORD's *Connection*, vol. 1. p. 6. (13) LIGHTFOOT, vol. 1. p. 3. (14) *Dict. Hist. Art. Cain, Rem A.*

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a be taken on him ſeven fold; and the more effectually to ſecure him from that apprehenſion, was pleaſed to give him a ſign * (probably by ſome ſenſible miracle) that none that met him ſhould take away his life [t].

He goes into baniſhment, and builds a city.

CAIN, ſoon after this unfortunate affair, having wandred about ſome time, at length ſettled with his wife and family in the land of *Nod*, where he built a city, and called it, after the name of his ſon, *Enoch* [u].

WHERE the land of *Nod* (which word ſignifies *wandring*) was ſituate, is uncertain. *Moſes* places it, according to our tranſlation, *on the eaſt of* Eden; and it has been obſerved, that *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Anuchtha* in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân*, a country lying eaſtward from *Chaldea*: which ſituation, and the near reſemblance of
b the name *Anuchtha* to the original *Hanokh* (for *tha* is ſuppoſed to be only the *Chaldee* termination) induced the learned *Huet* to believe it to be the ſame with that built by *Cain*. But it ſeems very improbable, that the city of *Enoch*, built before the flood, ſhould either withſtand the deluge, or retain its antient name after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, *Suſiana* being a very fertile and pleaſant country, it is not likely *Cain* ſhould be baniſhed thither, but rather to ſome barren and deſolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and ſeparated by mountains, or other natural obſtructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reaſon *Grotius* and *Junius* are of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* retired was the deſert *Arabia*; but that lying on the weſt, and not on the eaſt of *Eden*, to remove ſo formidable an ob-
c jection, it is ſaid, that the words which we tranſlate *on the eaſt of* Eden, ſignify no more than *before*, or *over againſt* Eden, as the *Septuagint* have rendred it [w].

WHEN *Cain* built this city cannot be conjectured by any circumſtance recorded by *Moſes*; but it is probable, he did it not till many years after his baniſhment, and when his poſterity was greatly encreaſed. *Philo* ſuppoſes, he alſo built ſix other cities, named *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jeſca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*, but what foundation he had for it we cannot conceive [x].

Grows more wicked.

JOSEPHUS ſays, that the puniſhment inflicted on *Cain* was ſo far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worſe, and became a reprobate to all ſenſe of goodneſs, indulging himſelf in all manner of pleaſures, though he wronged his neigh-
d bours to procure them; that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their inſtructor in evil courſes. That he firſt corrupted that ſimplicity wherein men till then lived, by the invention of meaſures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of ſuch things, and their greatneſs of mind, into fraud and cunning: and that he alſo firſt ſet bounds to fields and poſſeſſions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependants to live in community [y], the better, it is probable, to ſecure their ill-gotten wealth.

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SOON after the murther of *Abel*, and probably the next year, his loſs was made up to his parents in another ſon they had, whom *Eve* named *Seth*, that is, *appointed*, be-
e cauſe he was *appointed inſtead of* Abel, *whom* Cain *ſlew* [z].

As Seth *born.*

[t] Geneſ. iv. 9.—15. [u] Ibid. ver. 16, 17. [w] See WELL's Geogr. of the old Teſtament. [x] See RALEIGH's Hiſt. of the World, book I. c. 6. § 4. [y] JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 2. See BAYLE Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain, Rem. D. [z] Geneſ. iv. 25.

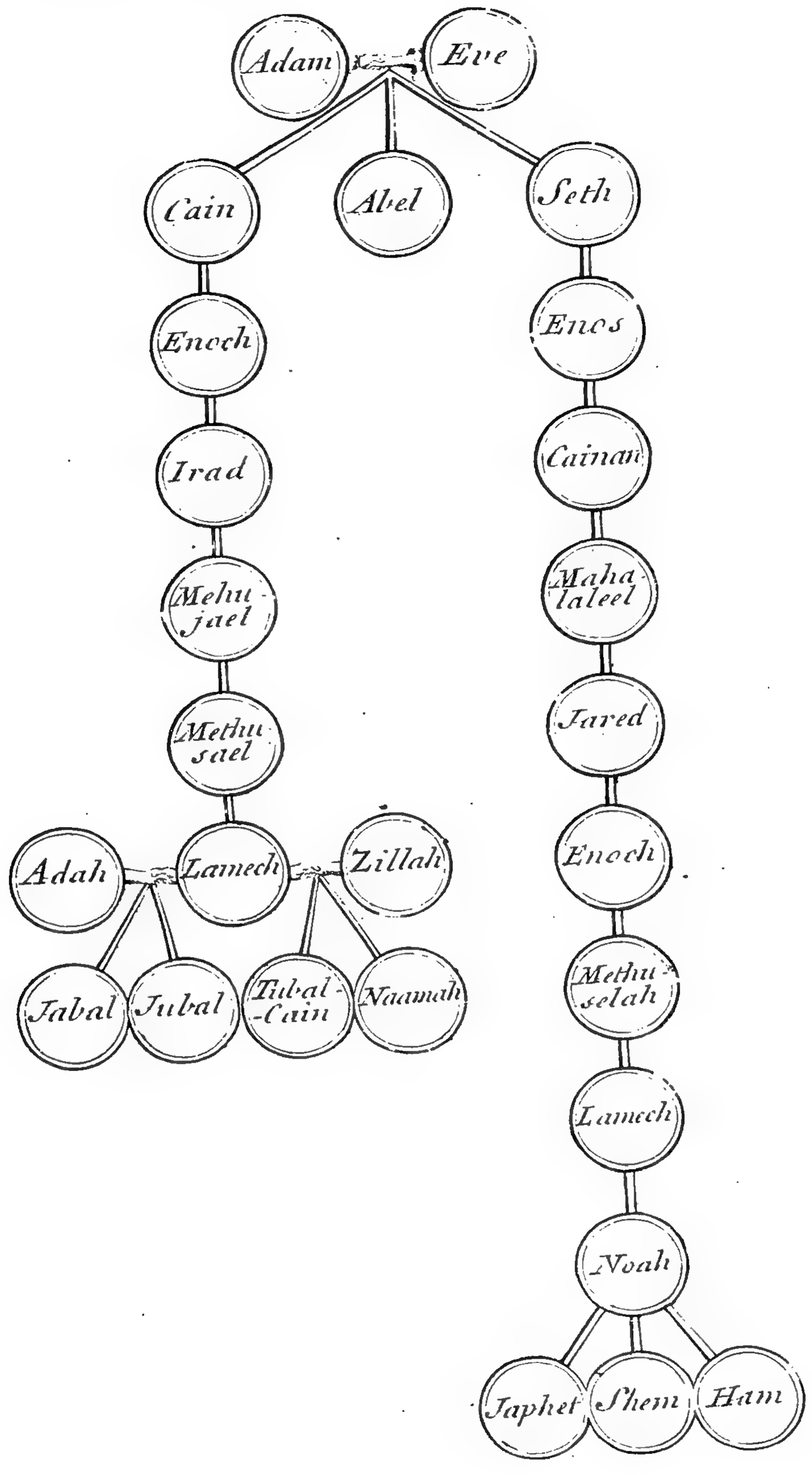
* This is the true ſenſe of this paſſage, and not that GOD *ſet a mark upon* Cain (1), according to the common expoſition; in purſuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some ſay, that GOD ſtigmatized *Cain* on the forehead with a letter, which was to ſerve him as a paſsport, being taken either from the name of *Abel* (2), or the ineffable name of GOD (3), or from the word *repentance*; that every one might perceive *Cain* had repented. Others ſay this mark conſiſted of three letters, which compoſed the name of the *Sabbath* (4), or elſe that it was the ſign of the croſs (5). Others ſuppoſe, that *Abel*'s dog was given him as a conſtant companion, either to warn people not to attack him (6), or to prevent his taking any dangerous road (7). Others ſay, that his face was covered with leproſy (8). Others, that the mark was nothing but a wild aſpect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner (9). Moſt of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth (10). The *Septuagint* verſion favours this opinion; for inſtead of *a fugitive and a vagabond*, they have tranſlated στένων καὶ τρέμων, *lamenting and trembling*; and the *Hebrew* words do indeed import a reſtleſsneſs and uneaſineſs of mind, with which *Cain* is ſuppoſed to have been afflicted all his life (11). Some ſay, that where-ever he ſtopped, the earth ſhook and trembled around him (12). Others pretend, that GOD inſpired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that *Cain* had a horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him (13).

(1) *Vid.* SUCKFORD, p. 8. (2) *Veteres Hebræi apud Genebrard.* (3) R. SOLOM. YARHI. *Vid.* SALDEN. *Otia Theol.* p. 345. (4) *In Tanchuma*, fol. 4. (5) SALDEN. *ubi ſup.* (6) *Ibid.* (7) CORN. *à* LAPIDE *in Geneſ.* iv. (8) SALDEN. *ubi ſup.* (9) *Vid.* SALIAN. *annal.* tom. 1. p. 192. (10) PROCOPIUS *in Geneſ.* iv. *Vid. etiam* HIERONYM, *Epiſt.* CXXV. *ad Damas.* (11) *Vid.* EUTYCH. p. 16. (12) *Apud* SALDEN. *ubi ſup.* (13) *Apud* SALIAN. *ubi ſup. Vid.* BAYLE *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain. Rem. B. &* HEIDEGG. *Hiſt. Pat.* tom. 1. p. 129.

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The genealogy of the antediluvians.

As the whole progeny of *Adam*, of whom we have any mention in scripture, were a the descendants of *Cain* and *Seth*, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians.



Of the line of Cain.

THE sacred historian, confining himself chiefly to the line of *Seth*, from whence *Noah* was descended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of *Cain*; nor can we thence form any conjectures how long he *, or any of his descendants, lived. All

* There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by several christians in St. *Jerom*'s time (1), that *Cain* was accidentally killed by *Lamech*, one of his own posterity: for they say, that *Cain*, being old and dimsighted, and in continual terror on account of the murther he had committed, used to wander up and down in the woods, and one day sat down in a thicket to rest himself; and that *Lamech*, who was also blind, being a hunting, attended by a youth (whom some will have to be his son *Tubal-cain*) either himself heard a rustling, or was informed by the lad, that there was something in the bushes which he took to be a wild beast, and thereupon letting fly an arrow, he struck *Cain* (for it proved to be him) to the heart; when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor, and killed him also (2). Others relate

(1) *Vid.* HIERONYM, *in Epist. ad Damas.*

(2) R. GEDALIAH *in Shalsheleth hakkab.* p. 92. *Vid.* EUTYCH. p. 22.

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a All that we have recorded is, that *Lamech*, the fifth in descent from him, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah* [a], which is observed to be the first known instance of polygamy; that by the former he had two sons, *Jabal*, who was the first that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle * ; and *Jubal*, the inventor of musick : and by the other, a son named *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working of metals † ; and a daughter *Naamah* [b], supposed by some [c] to have invented spinning and weaving ‡. And that on some occasion or other, *Lamech* made a speech to his wives [d], the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters **.

HOWEVER, we are assured by other historians [e], and it is highly probable, that the posterity of *Cain* were enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villanies ; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and b becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by *Moses* under the designation of *men*, and the *daughters of men*, as the other family of *Seth* is by that of the *sons of* GOD [f].

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Seth had this year a son named *Enos* ; about which time it is thought that his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of *Cain* were for the reverse, had the appellation we have just mentioned given them. For it is conceived, that those words [g], which in our translation are rendred, *then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD, properly signify, *then men began to be called by*, or *after the name of*

Enos *born.*

[a] Genes. iv. 19. [b] Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22. [c] R. LIPOMAN. in catena, & GENEBRARD in Chron. Vid. VOSSIUM de Idolol. l. 1. c. 17. [d] Genes. iv. 23, 24. [e] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 2. EUTYCH. p. 25. EBN AL AMID, &c. [f] Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi supr. p. 136. [g] Genes. iv. 26.

late the latter circumstances differently, and say, that he killed *Cain* with a stone which he flung at him, and the youth ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in sorrow for what he had done (1). And this, they say, was the occasion of those words of *Lamech* to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident some place in the seven hundred and thirtieth year of *Cain*'s age (2), others in the years of the world seven hundred and one, or eight hundred seventy five (3) : According to *Tostatus*, *Cain* lived near eight hundred years (4). There are some who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty one, and pretend, that he was knocked on the head by the fall of a house (5). *Paul de Burgos* makes him perish in the deluge (6) ; and there are others who say he killed himself (7).

* This seems to be understood, as *R. Solomon Yarhi* explains the passage, of feeding cattle in the desart, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found pasture, which is the way of life of the *Arabs*, thence called *Scenitæ* : for others, and in particular *Abel*, followed a pastoral life before *Jabal* (8).

† *Josephus* (9) commends *Tubal-Cain* (whom he calls *Tholel*) for his great strength and skill in war ; to the perfecting of which art, he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

‡ Some imagine *Naamah* to have been the wife of *Noah* (10), others of *Ham* (11) ; and that she being saved from the destruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by *Moses*. Her name signifies *delightful* or *beautiful* ; and her person is said to have been so charming, that *Aza*, and *Azael*, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her *Demons* called *Gedim* (12).

Many authors from some affinity in the names and inventions of these children of *Lamech*, have thought *Jubal* to have been the *Apollo*, *Tubal-Cain* the *Vulcan*, and *Naamah* the *Venus*, or *Minerva* of the heathens. And not to omit *Jabal*, it has been imagined he was their *Pales* (13). But these are at best suppositions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be shewn in a more proper place.

Josephus makes the whole number of *Lamech*'s issue by his two wives, to be seventy seven (14).

** His words, according to our translation, are ; *Hear my voice ye wives of* Lamech, *hearken unto my speech : for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *shall be avenged sevenfold, truly* Lamech *seventy and sevenfold.* Almost to the same purpose are the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions ; and they are commonly explained by the above-mentioned tradition of *Lamech*'s unfortunately killing *Cain*, and the youth that attended him ; which being an undesigned act, he had reason to think, he deserved a much less punishment than *Cain* (15).

Others take these words to be a thrasonical menace of *Lamech*, (whom they suppose to be a vindicative impious person) spoken on occasion of some quarrel he had with his wives ; and that the sense is, *I will*, or *would kill a man if he wounded me, and a young man if he hurt me*, &c. (16)

The *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan Ben Uziel*, and the *Arabic* translation read the passage interrogatively, or negatively, *Have I slain a man?* that is, *I have not slain a man, that I should bear the guilt or be punished for it ; nor have I killed a young man, that my seed should be destroyed for it.* And it is thought, *Lamech* spoke them, on occasion of some terror, or apprehension his family were in, lest *Abel*'s murther should be revenged on them ; which fear he shews to be groundless, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment (17). This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on ; the speech being introduced by *Moses* very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes, or follows it.

(1) ELMACIN. *or rather* EBN AL AMID. p. 7. (2) EUTYCH. *ubi supr.* (3) *Apud* SALIAN. *annal.* t. 1, p. 214. (4) *Ad eund.* Ibid. (5) ST. ROMUALD *Abbrege Chronol. citing* CEDRENUS. SYNCELL. p. 11. (6) *Apud* PEREIUM *in* Genes. iv. v. 23, 24. (7) ARMENI *apud Guidon. Carmelitam citante Pratcolo, in elencho hæres.* p. 63. (8) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 141. (9) *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 2. (10) BERESCHIT RABB. R. SOL YARHI. (11) CUMBERLAND's *Rem. on* SANCHONIATHO, p. 107. (12) *In libro* ZOHAR. (13) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 141. *& seq.* (14) JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. 1. c. 2. (15) *Vid.* PERER. *in locum.* (16) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *ubi sup.* p. 140. BAYLE *Dict. Hist. Art. Lamech, Rem. D. E.* (17) *See* SHUCKFORD's *Connection, Vol.* I. p. 10, &c.

Year of the World, 235. Year before Christ, 4071.

of the Lord, that is *the sons of* GOD [h]. But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean, that then the public worship of GOD was first set up, and proper ceremonies and stated times appointed for that service [i]: And others, particularly the *Jews*, suppose they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time; either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus; *Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the* LORD [k] *.

a

OF the three next descendants of *Seth*, *Cainan*, *Mahalaleel*, and *Jared*, and of *Methuselah* and *Lamech*, the grand-father and father of *Noah*, *Moses* has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do *Seth* and *Enos*, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children all intercourse with the race of cursed *Cain* [l].

b

Year of the World, 887. Year before Christ, 3419.

ENOCH, the son of *Jared*, and father of *Methuselah*, was a person of most extraordinary piety, *walking with* GOD, as the scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by GOD into heaven, without tasting death [m] †.

Enoch *translated.*

THAT

[h] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom, 1. p. 148. SHUCKFORD's Connect. Vol. I. p. 41. [i] PERER. DRUSIUS, MERCERUS, &c. Vid. SIMSON Chron. col. 56. [k] Vid. SELDEN de diis Syris proleg. c. 3. [l] Vid. EUTYCH. p. 20, &c. ELMACIN. [m] Genes. v. 22, & 24.

* The interpretation of *Onkelos* is, *Then men left off calling upon the name of the* LORD; as if the worship of GOD began then to be neglected.

Some of the *Jews* (particularly *Maimonides*) have gone so far as to charge *Enos* himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to GOD (1).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels, is by the *Sabians*, the professors of it, referred to *Seth* itself. They give him also a son called *Sabi*, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from צבא *Saba*, or *the host of heaven*, the objects of their worship: of this sect we shall take occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, observing only in this place, that they call the book which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, *the book of* Seth, and reckon the patriach *Enoch* also among the propagators of *Sabiism* (2).

† *Moses* expresses it thus; *and* Enoch *walked with* GOD, *and he was not: for* GOD *took him.* Which passage the writer of the epistle to the *Hebrews* paraphrases in this manner; *By faith* Enoch *was translated, that he should not see death; and was not found, because* GOD *had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God* (3). By which words it seems plain, that *Enoch* did not die, but suffered only such a change as was necessary to fit him for the place whither he was going (4). Yet several of the *Jews* believe he actually died (5).

The *Jewish* commentators suppose, *Enoch* was carried into the terrestrial paradise (6). Of the same opinion were some of the christian fathers (7). And it has been imagined, that both he and *Elias* will return from thence, at the coming of *Antichrist*, with whom they are to wage war (8.) But these notions are justly rejected by the most judicious interpreters. The vulgate translation of an apocryphal book says, indeed, that *Enoch* was translated into paradise, *Henoch placuit Deo, & translatus fuit in paradisum, ut det gentibus pœnitentiam* (9); but it has been observed, that the *Greek* says only, that he was *translated*, without making any mention of paradise.

The *Korân* mentions the assumption of *Enoch* (10), who is there called ادريس *Edris*, which name is derived from דרש, in *Hebrew to enquire into*, and in *Arabic, to read or study with attention*; and was given him for his supposed eminent learning and great knowledge. The *Mohammedan* commentators say, that *Edris* is now alive in one of the seven heavens, being carried thither after he had tasted death, but that GOD restored him to life (11).

The learning of *Enoch*, and particularly his skill in the mathematical sciences, has been celebrated by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*.

The *Jews* say, he first invented letters, and became acquainted with the signs of heaven (12) They call him *Metatron* (13) (though some take this to be a name of the angel *Gabriel*) (14), which the *Targum* of *Jonathan* seems to interpret by the following words, *the great scribe*: but *Buxtorf* (15) is rather inclined to think it signifies the *Ambassador*, or messenger of GOD, and is the same with the latin word *Metator* (16).

The *Greek* christians supposed *Enoch* to be the same with the first *Egyptian Hermes*, who dwelt at *Sais*, that he first discoursed of superior substances, and foretold the deluge; and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences, fearing, lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction (17). *Eupolemus* (18) also attributes the invention of astronomy to *Enoch*, and says, he was the same with *Atlas*, to whom the *Greeks* ascribe the same thing. *Origen* (19) mentions a book attributed to *Enoch*, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the *Ethiopians* in their tongue (20). The learned Mr. *du Peirese* used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose (21).

The

(1) *Vid.* HOTTINGER. *Smegma Orient.* p. 230. HEIDEGG. *ubi sup.* p. 148. (2) *Vid.* POCOCK. *Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 138. (3) Heb. xi. 5. (4) *Vid.* 1 Corinth. xv. 50. (5) ABEN EZRA, HISCUNI, &c. *apud* HEIDEGG. *ubi supr.* p. 169. (6) KIMHI *in lib.* 2. *Reg.* ii. 1. (7) IRENÆUS, PROCOP. GAZÆUS, JUSTIN MARTYR. *apud.* HEIDEGG. p. 171. *See also* ABULFARAG. p. 7. (8) HEIDEGG. *ibid.* (9) Eccles. xliv. 16. (10) AL KORAN *cap.* xix. v. 54, 55. (11) JALLALO'DDIN, &c. (12) *Vid.* HOTTING. *Smegma Orient.* p. 239. (13) JUCHASIN p. 5. ZOHAR *ex Midrash Ruth fol.* 81. (14) *Vid.* HYDE *de Rel. vet. Persar.* p. 263. (15) *In Lexico Talmud.* (16) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr. tom.* 1. p. 167. (17) ABU'LFARAG. p. 9. (18) *Apud Euseb. de præp. Ev.* l. 9. c. 17. (19) *Homil.* 28. *in lib. Numer & in Joseph.* l. *de princip.* (20) GENEBRARD. *Chronol.* p. 14. (21) D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 310.

a THAT *Enoch* was a prophet, and that some prophecy of his was preserved either in writing, or (as is most probable) by tradition, even to our SAVIOUR's time, appears from the passage quoted thence by St. *Jude* [n]. However the piece under the title of *the scripture, or prophecy of* Enoch, of which we have some fragments extant *, is allowed to be a manifest forgery; though several of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deserves [o]. Many passages are quoted thence in that very antient writing, the Testament of the twelve patriarchs, and it is also cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [p]. St. *Austin* makes mention of the scripture of *Enoch*, but denies it to be genuine [q]. And when *Celsus* objected its authority to *Origen*, he replied, that the books attributed to *Enoch* were not looked upon by the church as divine writings [r]. That there was b a book, under the name of *Enoch*, in the hands of the *Jews*, appears from its being referred to in their antient book *Zohar* [s].

Year of the World, 887. Year before Christ, 3419.

ADAM, having seen a numerous posterity issued from his own loins †, after a life of nine hundred and thirty years ‡, paid that natural debt, to which he had by his disobedience subjected himself and them [t]. That he repented of his sin, and made his peace with GOD, is very reasonable to believe **, notwithstanding the uncharitable opinions of some to the contrary †*.

Year of the World, 930. Year before Christ, 3376.

Adam *dies.*

[*] WHERE he was buried cannot be collected from scripture. St. *Jerom* [u] seems to approve of the opinion of those who imagine he was buried at *Hebron* ‡*, in the cave of

Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.

[n] Jude v. 14. 15. [o] TERTULLIAN de habitu mulier. IRENÆUS, CYPRIAN, LACTANTIUS, &c. [p] In Eclogis ex prophet. p, 801, 808. [q] De civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 23. & l. 18. c. 38. [r] ORIGEN. contr. Cels. l. 5. [s] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 176. [t] Genes. v. 5. [u] HIERON. in Matth. xxvii.

The *Mohammedan* authors say, that *Edris* received thirty books of revelations from GOD, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle, (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade) arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us, he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of GOD; for being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of *Cain*, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that *Enoch* was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends missing him after his assumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration (1).

Father *Bartolocci* has endeavoured to shew from the testimony of the more antient *Jews*, that *Enoch*, surnamed *Edris*, was a different person from the antediluvian *Enoch*, and that he lived many ages after him (2).

* These fragments were first published by *Joseph Scaliger*, in his notes on the *Greek Chronicon* of *Eusebius* (3); and afterwards more correctly by *J. Goar*, in his edition of the Chronography of *George Syncellus* (4). We shall give the reader the substance of them by and by.

† Besides *Adam*'s three sons named by *Moses*, and the supposed twin sisters of *Cain* and *Abel* (5), we are told he had two daughters, one named *Asuam*, or *Saué*, who married *Cain*, and the other *Azûra*, who was the wife of *Seth* (6).

‡ The oriental authors are so exact as to fix the very day and hour of the death of *Adam*, and also of several of the other patriarchs (7). But we presume our omitting those niceties will not be judged a fault.

** The *Jews* say, both *Adam* and *Eve* were very penitent (8), and that he in particular was so exceedingly afflicted for his sin, that he had died of grief had not GOD sent the angel *Raziel* to comfort him (9). They even acknowledged him to have been favoured with the gift of prophecy, and that he foretold the flood (10). The *Mohammedans* also do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the six (the others being *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Jesus*, and *Mohammed*) who introduced a new dispensation; and say, that GOD gave him ten books of revelations, containing laws, promises, threatnings, and prophecies (11): which notion perhaps they borrowed of the *Jewish* authors, who pretend, that *Adam* wrote the book intitled *Sepher Jesira*, or *the book of the Creation* (which others attribute to *Abraham*), and certain treatises *of the Deity* (12). Some *Rabbins* make him to have been the author of the ninety second *Psalm*; and in some manuscripts the *Chaldee* title of that *Psalm* imports it to be the Hymn, which the first man sang on the Sabbath-day (13). *Eusebius Nieremberg* (14) has been credulous enough to give us two hymns, faithfully copied from the revelation of *Amadeus* in the library of the *Escurial*, as the genuine compositions of *Adam*; one being that which he repeated on his first interview with *Eve*, and the other the penitential *Psalm* sung by them after the fall.

†* A certain heretical sect, named *Tatianites*, affirmed he was damned (15).

‡* This is offered to be proved by this passage of scripture, according to the vulgate translation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariath arbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est* (16). But the name *Adam* is unwarrantably inserted in the text, the *Hebrew* plainly signifying (as the other versions render it) that *Hebron* was formerly called *Kirjath Arba*, or *the city of* Arba, who had been a great man among the *Anakims*. There is however another origin of that antient name of *Hebron* given by

(1) *Vid.* RELAND. *de Relig. Moham. p.* 22. D'HERBELOT *ubi sup.* ABU'LFARAG. p. 10. (2) *Bibl. Rabbin.* t. 2. p. 845. (3) p. 404, &c. (4) p. 11. &c. *and* p. 24, &c. (5) *See before*, p. 73. *in the Notes.* (6) SYNCELLUS *ex parva Genes.* p. 11. & SETHIANI *Haretici, apud Epiphan.* l. 1. p. 287. (7) *Vid.* EUTYCH p. 19, &c. ELMACIN. p. 6, &c. (8) *Vid.* R. ELIEZER *Pirke*, c. 20. R. GEDAL. p. 92. (9) *Lib.* JESIRA. *Vid.* REUCHLIN. *de arte cabbalistica*, p. 8. (10) JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. 1. c. 2. (11) *Vid.* HOTTING. *Hist. Orient.* p. 15. RELAND *de rel. Moham.* p. 21. (12) *Vid.* HEIDEGG *Hist. Patr.* tom. 1. p. 31[illegible]. (13) GASPAR SCHOTTUS *Techn. curiosa*, p. 55[illegible]. (14) *Apud* SCHOTTUM *ibid.* (15) *Vid.* EPIPHAN. *Haeres.* 46. EUSEB. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 4. p. 27. (16) Josh. xiv. 15.

Year of the World, 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376.

of *Machpelah*, or the double cave, which *Abraham*, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himſelf and family [w]. The oriental chriſtians ſay, that when *Adam* ſaw death approaching, he called *Seth*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, and *Mahalaleel* to him, and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincenſe, and caſſia, and depoſite it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had choſen for the repoſitory of his remains, thence named the cave of *al Konûz* [x]**. The primitive fathers generally believe that he died in the place where *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built, and that he was interred on mount *Calvary* [y], in the very ſpot whereon Christ was crucified †; which opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flouriſhes and alluſions [z]. The *Mohammedans* will have *Adam*'s ſepulchre to have been on the mountain *Abu-kabis*, near *Mecca*; and the antient *Perſians* in *Serendib*, or *Ceylon*, where it was for ſome time, as they pretend, guarded by lions [a]. a b

The time of the death of *Eve*, the mother of all living ‡, is not intimated in ſcripture, but there are ſome who venture to tell us, that ſhe out-lived her huſband ten years [b].

After the death of *Adam*, the *Eaſtern* writers ſay, that *Seth* with his family ſeparated themſelves from the profligate race of *Cain*, and removed to the mountain where *Adam* was buried, which they choſe for their habitation; *Cain* and his family remaining below in the valley where *Abel* was ſlain [c]. But how this near neighbourhood is conſiſtent with ſcripture, which plainly intimates *Cain*'s baniſhment into a country at ſome conſiderable diſtance from the reſidence of *Adam* and his poſterity by *Seth*, we cannot conceive: unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that *Cain*, or his deſcendants, left their own ſettlements to diſpoſſeſs *Seth* and his offspring; or elſe, that the poſterity of both were by this time ſo greatly encreaſed, that after gradually extending their borders on both ſides, they at length met, and ſtraitned each other. However this be, the *Eaſtern* tradition is, that the progeny of *Seth* lived in the ſaid mountain in great ſanctity and purity of manners **. Their conſtant employment was praiſing God, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountain, ſo that they had no occaſion to undergo any ſervile labours, c

[w] Geneſ. xxiii. 3, &c. [x] Eutych. Annal. p. 19. Elmacin. p. 6. [y] Vid Saliani Annal. tom. 1. p. 225. [z] See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Adam, Rem. L. [a] Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 56. [b] Apud Salian. t. 1. p. 231. [c] Eutych. p. 19.

by ſome writers, who taking the word *Arba*, which alſo ſignifies *four*, in that ſenſe; and not for a proper name, ſay, that city was ſo called, becauſe four couple were there buried, *viz. Adam* and *Eve*, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* and *Leah* (1).

* From the *Arabic* كنز *kanaza*, *to lay up privately*, as treaſure, &c. Some *Jews* ſay, that this precaution was ordered by *Adam* to be taken, leſt his poſterity ſhould make his relicks an object of idolatry (2).

The *Eaſtern* chriſtians add, that he farther directed his family, that when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of paradiſe, they ſhould take his body with them, and place it in the midſt of the earth, becauſe thence ſhould come his ſalvation, and that of all his poſterity (3). Which order, it is ſaid, was repeated by *Lamech* to his ſon *Noah*, with this addition, that he ſhould take with the body gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, as offerings, and appoint one of his ſons to attend the corps to, and at, the new ſepulchre, who was to be a religious perſon, and unmarried; was to ſhed no blood, nor offer any ſacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be cloathed in ſkins, and ſhould neither cut his hair, nor pare his nails, and was to be called the prieſt of God; meaning thereby *Melchizedek* (4). And this *Noah* and *Melchizedek* are ſaid to have performed.

† This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we ſuppoſe the body was removed to *Golgotha* after the flood, in purſuance of the abovementioned orders. *Jacobus Edeſſenus* ſays (5), that *Noah* carried the bones of *Adam* with him into the ark, and when he came out of it, he divided them among his ſons, giving the ſcull to *Sem*, who coming into *Judæa*, repoſited it in the ſepulchre of *Adam* on mount *Calvary*.

A commentator has an odd ſtory, which is abſurdly enough fathered on ſome *Jews*; that *Seth*, at the command of an angel, put into *Adam*'s mouth, when he was interred, a ſeed of the tree of knowledge, which afterwards grew to be a tree, and that Christ's croſs was made of it (6).

To accompany this ſtory, we ſhall add two more of the ſame ſtamp, though not ſo properly belonging to this place. One is, that *Eve* broke a branch from the tree of knowledge, of which ſhe made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her huſband to eat of the forbidden fruit (7). The other, that *Seth* planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to *Adam* by an angel, or begged by *Seth* at the gate of paradiſe; and that the ſame becoming a tree, *Moſes* afterwards from that tree took his rod, with which he performed ſo many miracles, the bough, with which he made ſweet the bitter waters of *Marah*, and the pole whereon he fixed the brazen ſerpent (8).

‡ From whence ſhe had her name, which is properly written *Hawwah*, and derived from the root חיה *Haya*, *to live* (9).

** Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradiſe was ſo little higher than the mountain, that the children of *Seth* could hear the voices of the angels celebrating the praiſes of God, and even join them in that ſervice (10).

(1) R. Eliezer *Pirke*, c. 20. *Vid.* Heidegg. *ubi ſup.* p. 106. (2) R. Eliezer *ubi ſup.* Juchasin p. 5. (3) Eutych. p. 19. (4) *Idem* p. 32. (5) *Apud* Barcepham *de Parad.* part 1. c. 14. (6) Corn. *à* Lapide *in* Geneſ. ii. 9. *citing* Pinedo. (7) *Apud* Salden, *Otia Theol.* p. 607. (8) *Vid. eund.* p. 608. & Moebium *de æneo ſerpente.* (9) Geneſ. iii. 20. (10) Elmacin. p. 6. Eutych. p. 20.

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a labours, nor the trouble of ſowing or getting in harveſt; they were utter ſtrangers to envy, injuſtice, or deceit. Their only oath was by *the blood of* Abel; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worſhip GOD, and to viſit the body of *Adam*, as a means of procuring the divine bleſſing [d].

HOWEVER, what time they had to ſpare in theſe happy circumſtances, they ſeem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in ſublime ſpeculations; while the children of *Cain*, ſeeking no farther than preſent convenience and pleaſure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and muſical inſtruments. For it is ſaid, that the offspring of *Seth*, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the ſcience of aſtronomy, and leſt their inventions ſhould be forgot-
b ten, or loſt before they were publickly known, underſtanding from a prediction of *Adam*'s, that there would be a general deſtruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, and engraved their inventions on each of them; that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of ſtone might remain; which, *Joſephus* [e] tells us, was to be ſeen in his time in the land of *Siriad* *.

The defection of the ſons of Seth.

How long the deſcendants of *Seth* continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. *Moſes* ſays, *That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the ſons of* GOD *ſaw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they choſe* [f]. By which
c it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was their marrying into the wicked family of *Cain*, by which means their manners were ſoon debauched, and at length degenerated ſo far, that *the wickedneſs of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually* [g]. *Joſephus* writes, that the family of *Seth* perſevered in the true worſhip of GOD, and in the purſuit of virtue for ſeven generations; after which, in proceſs of time, they neglected both, ſhewing twice as much eagerneſs after wickedneſs, as they had formerly ſhewn zeal for virtue; by which means they drew down on themſelves the indignation of GOD [h].

THE oriental writers place the beginning of this defection ſomewhat ſooner, in the days of *Jared* [i], and in his fortieth year [k]; when they ſay one hundred of the ſons of
d *Seth*, hearing the noiſe of the muſic, and riotous mirth of the *Cainites*, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain. And on their arrival among them were ſo captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themſelves with them [l]. And ſo theſe ſons of *Seth* periſhed by whoring with the daughters of *Cain*; for when they offered to return again to their former abode, the ſtones of the mountain (it is ſaid) became like fire, and permitted them to paſs no farther [m]. The lubricity of the *Cainites* is deſcribed in very ſtrong terms. The men neighed after the women like horſes, and the women in the ſame manner after the men, committing

[d] EUTYCH. p. 20. ELMACIN. p. 6. [e] JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 2. [f] Geneſ. vi. 1, 2. [g] Ibid. v. 5. [h] JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 3. [i] ELMACIN. p. 9. EUTYCH. p. 27. [k] ABU'LFARAG. p. 8. Vid. etiam EPIPHAN. Hereſ. l. 1. [l] Idem, ibid. [m] EUTYCH. p. 27.

* Where this land of *Siriad* was, is a great diſpute. The name is variouſly written in the manuſcripts, κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σιριάδα, & Συριάδα; by others Σιριάδα (1), and by *Euſtathius* Σηιριάδ, which laſt ſeems the more correct. Some place it in *Syria*; others (2), with a little more probability, have taken it to be the ſame with *Seirath* mentioned in ſcripture (3), and ſuppoſe the פסילים *peſilim*, which the *Engliſh* tranſlation renders the *quarries*, near *Gilgal*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, were the ruins of *Seth*'s ſtone pillar. Yet others (4) underſtand thoſe *peſilim*, or τὰ γλυπτὰ, *the ſculptures*, as the *Septuagint* tranſlate the word to have been certain idols, lately ſet up there by *Eglon*.

But the more certain opinion (5) is, that the *Syriadic* land was in *Egypt*; for we are told, that *Manetho* extracted his hiſtory from certain pillars there, whereon inſcriptions had been made by *Thoth*, or the firſt *Mercury*, in the ſacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, tranſlated from the ſacred dialect into the *Greek* tongue, but written in the ſacred letters, and laid up in books by the ſecond *Mercury* in the ſacred receſſes of the *Egyptian* temples (6). Theſe pillars were in ſubterraneous caverns near *Thebes*, and beyond the *Nile*, not far from the ſounding ſtatue of *Memnon*, in a place called *Syringes* (7), which are deſcribed to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is ſaid) thoſe who were ſkilled in antient rites, foreſeeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing leſt the memory of their ceremonies ſhould be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vaſt labour in ſeveral places; cutting on the walls many ſorts of birds, and beaſts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters (8). And that *Seth* was not a name unknown to the *Egyptians*, appears from *Plutarch*, who tells us, that they conſtantly called *Typhon*, which was a *Greek* name, *Seth* (9); and hence, it is probable, *Joſephus* was led into the miſtake of aſcribing theſe pillars to the ſon of *Adam*.

(1) MALELA, GLYCAS, CEDRENUS, & VETUS INTERPR. (2) VOSSIUS *de* LXX *Interpr.* p. 271. & *de ætat. mundi*, c. 10. MARSHAM *Canon. Chron.* p. 39. (3) Judg. iii. 19, 26. (4) CHYTRÆUS, &c. (5) *Vid.* DODWELL. *Diſſert. de Sanchun.* p. 26, 36. FABRIC *Biblioth. Gr.* l. 1. c. 11. STILLINGFLEET *Orig. Sacr.* l. 1. c. 2. & *alios*. (6) SYNCELL. p. 40. (7) PAUSAN. l. 1. p. 78. (8) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 22. p. 232. (9) PLUT. *de Iſid. & Oſyr.* p. 351, & 357.

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committing whoredom and all manner of filthineſs promiſcuouſly with one another in a public; the old women being, if poſſible, more brutiſh and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers, ſo that the children could not diſtinguiſh their parents, nor the parents their children.

The opinion of thoſe who ſuppoſe angels defiled themſelves with women.

THE appellation of the ſons of GOD, given by *Moſes* to the children of *Seth*, led *Joſephus* [n], *Philo Judæus* [o], and ſeveral of the fathers [p] into a ſtrange interpretation of this paſſage, as if the angels, who are alſo called in ſcripture the ſons of GOD [q], were thereby aſſerted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten on them the inſolent and impious race we ſhall mention immediately *. This ſuppoſition we think needs

[n] JOS. ubi ſup. [o] PHILO JUD. de gigant. p. 284. [p] JUSTIN M. TERTULLIAN, ATHENAG. CLEMENS ALEXANDR. EUSEB. LACTANTIUS, AMBROSIUS, & alii apud Sixtum Senenſ. Bibl. S. l. 5. annot. 77. SULP. SEVER. Hiſt. Sacr. l. 1. p. 8. [q] Job. i. 6. ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.

* This opinion ſeems to have been originally occaſioned by ſome copies of the *Septuagint*, which, in the days of St. *Juſtin*, had in this place *the angels of God* (1). *Lactantius* ſuppoſes the angels, who were guilty of this enormity, had been ſent down by GOD to guard and take care of mankind, and, being endued with free will, were charged by him not to forfeit the dignity of their celeſtial nature, by defiling themſelves with the corruptions of the earth; but that the devil at length enticed them to debauch themſelves with women. He adds, that being not admitted into heaven, by reaſon of the wickedneſs into which they had plunged themſelves, they fell down to the earth, and became the devil's miniſters. But that thoſe who were begotten by them, being neither angels nor men, but of a middle nature, were not received into hell, no more than their parents were into heaven. Hence aroſe two kinds of dæmons, celeſtial and terreſtrial. Theſe are unclean ſpirits, the authors of whatever evils are committed, and whoſe prince is the devil (2). From hence very probably proceeded the notions of *Incubi*, or dæmons, who are ſuppoſed to have carnal knowledge of women (3).

But the fancy of angels defiling themſelves with women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery we have mentioned above, entitled the prophecy of *Enoch*. The fragments we have ſtill exiſtant of which give a more particular hiſtory of theſe imaginary tranſactions; wherefore we ſhall here inſert an extract of thoſe fragments, though ſome particulars might perhaps be more properly reſerved for another place.

When men were greatly encreaſed, they had daughters of ſuch excellent beauty, that the *Egregori*, or watching angels (4), fell in love with them, and propoſed to one another, that they ſhould go down, and chooſe themſelves wives of the daughters of men: to which *Semiazas*, their prince, replying, that he was apprehenſive they would not go through with the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they all ſwore and bound themſelves under imprecations, that they would not recede from their reſolution. The number of theſe *Egregori* was two hundred, who, in the days of *Jared*, deſcended on the top of mount *Hermon*, which was ſo called from the oath they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whoſe names (if the readers have any curioſity to know them) follow:

Semiazas, their chief	*Zaciel*,	*Samiel*,
Atarcuph,	*Balciel*,	*Sarinas*,
Araciel,	*Azalzel*,	*Eumiel*,
Chobabiel,	*Pharmarus*,	*Tyriel*,
Orammame,	*Amariel*,	*Jumiel*,
Ramiel,	*Anagemas*,	*Sariel*.
Sampſiee.	*Thauſael*,	

Theſe, and the reſt of them, in the year of the world one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy, took themſelves wives, and began to commit lewdneſs with them, which they continued to do until the flood; and the women bore to them three generations. The firſt generation were the giants, the giants begat the *Nephilim*, and the *Nephilim* thoſe named *Eliud*, and they were multiplied according to their ſtature, and taught themſelves and their wives magic and enchantments. The tenth of their princes, named *Azalzel*, taught them to make ſwords, breaſt-plates, and inſtruments of war; as alſo the working of metals, particularly gold and ſilver, and faſhioning various ornaments for the women: he alſo inſtructed them in the preparing of coſmetics, the poliſhing of precious ſtones, and the art of dying. Theſe things the ſons of men provided for themſelves and their daughters, and they tranſgreſſed; and alſo ſeduced thoſe that were virtuous among them, and wickedneſs prevailed greatly in the earth. *Semiazas*, the chief of theſe angels, taught the force of poiſonous roots and herbs; *Pharmarus* the eleventh, charms and incantations; the ninth aſtroſcopy; the fourth aſtrology; the eighth aeroſcopy; the third the ſigns of the earth; the ſeventh thoſe of the ſon; the twentieth thoſe of the moon; and in like manner each of them revealed certain ſecrets to their wives and children. Afterwards the giants began to devour human fleſh: by which means the number of men daily decreaſing, thoſe that remained cried to heaven againſt their cruelty, and beſought GOD to remember them. This the four arch-angels hearing, looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great deal of blood-ſhed thereon, and that all manner of impiety and diſorder was committed, made their report thereof to GOD, and at his command bound the princes of thoſe tranſgreſſors, and threw them into the abyſs, there to be kept to the day of judgment (5). *Uriel* in particular was ſent to *Noah*, the ſon of *Lamech*, to acquaint him, that the whole earth was to be deſtroyed by a deluge, and inſtruct him by what means to eſcape it. *Raphael* was ordered to bind *Azael* [*Azalzel*] hand and foot, and to throw him into darkneſs, in the deſart of *Dudael*, and to lay him upon ſharp ſtones, and cover him with darkneſs, that he might dwell therein for ever, being deſtined to the puniſhment of fire on the day of judgment. The words which follow, directing him to heal the earth of the wounds cauſed therein by the ſecrets revealed by the *Egregori*, are ſomething dark, and deſerve not the trouble of an explication. *Gabriel*'s charge was to deſtroy the giants, the ſons of the *Egregori*, by exciting them to mutual and inteſtine wars, that they might fall by each others hands; and *Michael* was commanded to bind *Semiazas*, and the reſt of his companions, and to lead them, after they had ſeen the ſlaughter of their beloved ſons, to the utmoſt parts of the earth, where they were

(1) AUGUST. *de civit. Dei.* lib. 15. c. 23. (2) LACTANTIUS *de orig. err.* l. 2. c. 15. (3) *Vid.* AUGUST. *ubi ſup.* cap. 65. (4) *See* p. 48. *before, in the notes.* (5) *Ex primo libro* ENOCH *apud Syncellum*, p. 11, 12, 13. *Vid.* 2 Pet. ii. 4.

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a needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to the notions we have of the nature of those spiritual beings, who are neither married nor given in marriage[r]; though it be hard to accuse, as some have done[s], those who have fallen into this mistake, of heresy and blasphemy. Others indeed, and particularly several of the *Jewish* writers, by the sons of GOD, understand the fallen angels *, who seeing the daughters of *Cain* walking in the nakedness of the flesh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them[t].

WHILE we are on this head, it may not be amiss to mention another opinion, more reasonable than the last, which is embraced by the *Jewish* interpreters[u]; they suppose, that by the sons of GOD in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magi-
b strates of those times, who, instead of using their authority to punish and discountenance vice, were themselves the greatest examples and promoters of lewdness and debauchery, taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaner sort of people, and debauching them by force †.

The issue of the Sethites *and the daughters of* Cain, *and their impiety.*

THE example of these sons of *Seth*, who tempted by the allurements of the daughters of *Cain*, first left their seat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time descended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives in like manner of that profligate and abandoned race[w]. From these unhappy marriages issued a generation, which seem to have been no less extraordinary for their great stature and strength, than for their monstrous impiety and injustice. *There*
c *were in those days giants* ** *in the earth*[x], who being most probably of *Cain*'s race, both by

[r] Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 34, 35. [s] PHILASTRIUS BRIXIENSIS adv. Hær. cap. 108. CHRYSOST. Homil. 22 in Genes. c. v. [t] R. ELIEZER, c. 23. [u] TARGUMIM ONKELOS & BEN UZZIEL. R. SOL. YARHI, ABEN EZRA, &c. [w] EUTYCH. p. 27. [x] Genes. vi. 4.

were to be confined for seventy generations, till the consummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulph of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of spirit and flesh, were condemned to become evil spirits, doing mischief upon the earth, appearing as spectres, and taking no food; but were to rise with mankind at the general resurrection. Therefore from the day of the slaughter of the giants, the *Nephilim*, the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the spirits which went forth from their souls, as from flesh, were to continue their mischievous employments till the last day. It was also decreed, that mount *Hermon*, where those angels mutually bound themselves by an oath, should never be without snow and cold till the day of judgment, when it should melt like wax. Mankind are also threatned with a general destruction, and that their life should be but one hundred and twenty years (6).

This is the substance of these fragments, many parts of which are so greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make sense of them; but the best is, the loss is not great.

* Two of them were *Aza* and *Azael*, mentioned before (7). *Shambozai* (whose name comes very near that of *Semiazas*) was another; he was the companion of *Azael*, and begat on some woman *Hiyah* and *Hhiyah*, who begat *Sibon* and *Og*. *Shambozai* is said to have repented of his crime, and in penance for the same to have hung himself up between heaven and earth, in which posture he still remains; but *Azael* continuing impenitent, presides over the womens toilets (8), and is the same with the goat *Azazel* mentioned by *Moses* (9). A fourth of these debauched angels, named *Mahzael*, is said to have lain with *Ham*'s wife about the time of the flood, and *Sibon*, it is pretended, was the issue of that adultery (10).

These antient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to *Mohammed*. The *Korân* (11) mentions two, named *Harût* and *Marût*, who taught magic at *Babel*. These, the commentators say, were sent down to be judges on earth, which office they executed with integrity for some time, till *Zohara*, or the star *Venus*, descended, and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was really a woman). As soon as they saw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a certain man, they were allowed to choose, whether they would be punished in this life or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in *Babel* (12). This story was taken directly from the *Persians*, who make mention of two rebellious angels of the same Names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of *Babel* (13).

† To support this interpretation, they tell us that the verb לקח, which is generally rendred *to take*, signifies also to *ravish*, or *take by violence*.

** The *Hebrew* word is נפילים *Nephilim*, from נפל *Naphal*, to *fall*; which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate spirits, or the fallen angels, under the shape of men (14). The targum of *Ben Uzziel* agrees with this interpretation, and names two of those angels then conversant on earth, *viz. Shamhazai* and *Uziel*. But the root signifies also to *fall upon*, to *rush with violence*, &c. According to which sense *Symmachus* translates *Nephilim* βιαστας, & *Aquila* επιπτωτας. The other translations generally rendering it *Giants*.

Some take these *Nephilim* to have been men of ordinary stature, and so called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciousness, and insolence (15), which, as it seems, was the opinion of *Josephus* (16). But others, with greater reason, believe

(6) *Ex cod.* ibid. p. 24, 25, 26. (7) *Pag.* 77. *in notis.* (8) BERESHI RABBA *in Genes.* vi. 2. (9) Levitic. xvi. 8. (10) JUCHASIN. (11) *Cap.* ii. v. 102, &c. (12) *Vid.* MARACC. *in Alcor.* p. 44. (13) *Vid.* HYDE *de rel. vet. Persar.* cap. 12. (14) *Vid.* PAUL. BURGENS. *in loc.* (15) PHILO JUD. *de Gigant.* GOROP. BECANUS *in Gigantomach.* TEMPORARIUS. (16) *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 3.

by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families *, made use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the new mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and *became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown* [y]. a

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The 120 years of God's forbearance.

MANKIND running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of *Seth*, who had for some ages retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of *Cain*, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sorts of wickedness began to overspread the earth; and this, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by persons from time to time sent by GOD; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation: but GOD, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer, his spirit should *strive with man* [z], or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life †. b

Noah *preaches.*

AMIDST this general corruption, one man however was found to be just and perfect in his generation ‡, walking with GOD [a]. This extraordinary person was *Noah*

[y] Genes. vi. 4. [z] Ibid. v. 3. [a] Ibid. v. 9.

believe they were also of extraordinary stature and strength (1); the word *Nephilim* being manifestly used elsewhere in scripture (2) to denote men above the common size. Not but that it may also signify those that *fall away, apostates* (3).

That there were in these antient times men of a gigantic size and strength, is a thing very credible, both from later instances, in historians, both sacred and prophane, and modern instances in our own times (4). But we must not hence conclude, as some have done, that mankind in general were in the first ages of a much larger stature than they are at present (5); giants being manifestly spoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number seems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of *J. Bolduc* (6), the *Capucine*, is too singular to be omitted. He supposes, that the different words by which giants seem to be intended in scripture, as *Nephilim, Raphaim, Zuzim, Gibborim, Enakim, Zamzummim, Elim*, &c. do not, for the most part, denote the uncommon size, but the strength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the first propagators of mankind and divine worship. The *Nephilim*, in particular, he imagines to be those who were distinguished from others, in that they worshipped GOD by *falling down*, or prostration; in the same manner as the fathers of the order of St. *Francis* of *Assise* are remarkable for adoring in the same posture, and kissing the earth, before the host.

Some authors have enquired into the original cause of this monstrous stature of the giants; St. *Cyrill* thinks it a judgment of GOD on the lust of their parents (7). They who suppose them to be the issue of the fallen spirits, say, it was by their artful promoting and raising the lechery and pleasure of the women with whom they had to do (8), some attribute it to the vigour of the sons of *Seth* (9); while others make *Seth*'s descendants in general to have been of a very large size, and those of *Cain* on the contrary of a less (10).

* This the words of *Moses* seem to imply; *There were giants* (says he) *in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of* GOD *came in unto the daughters of Men, and they bare children to them*, &c. So that there appear to have been two distinct races of *Nephilim*; one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of *Cain*; and another, which began some ages after, being the issue of the sons of *Seth* by the daughters of *Cain* (11); and both of them probably continued to the flood.

† This passage of scripture is variously interpreted; the *English* translation seems to give the true sense of the *Hebrew*; but the *Septuagint, Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions render the word דין (which we translate *strive with*) *continue, or dwell in*; supposing the meaning to be, either that GOD's spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else that the spirit, or breath of life, should not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of *Onkelos*. The *Jews* have much useless learning in their comments on this text (12). But they who infer from hence, that the standard of man's life was now reduced and limited to one hundred and twenty years (13), are manifestly mistaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after the flood; nor till the days of *Moses*; and St. *Peter* plainly approves the other sense, when he observes, that *the long suffering of* GOD *waited in the days of* Noah, *while the ark was preparing* (14): yet this notion spread even among the heathen writers (15).

‡ From this expression some *Jews* would infer, that *Noah* was a good man comparatively speaking only, in respect of the great wickedness of the rest of the world: but that had he lived in *Abraham*'s time he would have had but a small share of reputation for virtue (16). But this unjust surmise, had it any foundation in the words of *Moses*, is refuted by the testimony of *Ezekiel* (17), who names him as one of the three that had been most eminent for righteousness, and should save their lives by their own merits in the most universal calamities. It is true, they give another reason for their opinion, *viz.* because *Noah* did not intercede for the old world, as *Abraham* did for *Sodom*.

(1) *Vid.* AUGUST. *de civit. Dei*, l. 15. c. 4. CHRYS. *in loc.* THEODORET. *quæst.* 48. *in* Genes. R. SOL. YARHI, ABEN EZRA. (2) Numb. xiii. 33, 34. (3) *See* 2 Kings xxv. 11. Jerem. xxxvii. 13. *and* xxxviii. 19. (4) *Vid.* DERHAM's *Physico-Theol.* b. v. c. 4. GREW's *Cosmol. Sacr.* b. 1. c. 5. § 25. (5) *Vid.* HOMER. VIRGIL. (6) *In tract. de ecclesia ante legem.* (7) Lib. 3. *in* Genes. (8) *Vid.* FR. VALES. *de Sacra Philos.* c. 8. (9) *Vid.* HEID. *Hist. Patr.* t. 1. p. 202. (10) CHRYSOST. *in loc.* EUTYCH. (11) *Vid.* HEID. *ubi supr.* p. 185. (12) *Vid. eundem ibidem*, p. 343, &c. (13) JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 3. PHILO *de gigant.* PROCOP. *in locum.* (14) 1 Pet. iii. 20. *Vid.* AUGUSTIN. *de civit. Dei.* l. 15. c. 24. (15) *Vid.* TREB. POLLION. *in Claud.* (16) PHILO JUD. *de Abraham*, p. 354. R. SOL. YARHI *in locum.* (17) Ch. xiv. 14, 18.

a *Noah* *, the son of *Lamech*, who, not thinking it sufficient to be righteous himself, unless he did his utmost to turn others likewise to righteousness, by admonition as well as example, became a preacher [b] to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to restore the true religion among them †. But all he could do was to no purpose, for they continued incorrigibly obstinate; so that at length (as *Josephus* [c] tells us) finding himself and family in imminent danger of some violence, in return for his good will, he departed from among them with his wife and children. Year of the World 1287. Year before Christ, 3019.

Mankind incorrigible.

On his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater disorders than before, having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. *Moses* assures us, that *the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil* [d], and that *the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all flesh* ‡ *having corrupted his way upon the earth* [e]. Which words leave no room to enquire into the particular crimes of the antedeluvian world, which seems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedness, and above all with violence and injustice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practised before the flood, is a question we shall discuss elsewhere; but the eastern authors are for the affirmative, and say, the children of *Seth* were seduced to it by the *Cainites* [f].

b

Things being in this state, God, as the sacred historian pathetically expresses it, *repented, that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart* [g]. And the time of forbearance being elapsed, he passed the sentence of their utter destruction by a flood of waters, and not only of them, but of the beasts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air [h], which became involved in the calamity of their masters. But *Noah found grace in the eyes of the* Lord [i], who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and as a means to preserve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or vessel of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family (for he had three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, who were all married before the flood), but such numbers of animals of all sorts, which were liable to perish in the flood, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them [k]. All which *Noah* performed, and so, by God's peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him escaped this tremendous and, otherwise, general destruction; which event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, and deserving our greatest attention, must be the subject of a future discourse, after we shall have taken a view of what the prophane writers offer us towards the history of this period.

c

Year of the World, 1306. Year before Christ, 2998.

The whole world destroyed by a flood, except Noah *and his family.*

d

SECT.

[b] 2 Peter. ii. 5. [c] Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. [d] Genes. vi. 5. [e] Ib. v. 11, 12. [f] Eutych. Annal. p. 31. [g] Genes. vi. 6. [h] Ib. v. 7. [i] Ib. v. 8. [k] Ib. v. 14, &c.

* *Lamech* gave his son this name, which signifies *comfort*; for *this same*, says he, *shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the* Lord *hath cursed.* Which words, not expressing the means by which *Noah* was thus to comfort his friends, some writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and instruments of husbandry (1).

† The eastern christians say, that when God ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of in the *East*, at this day, instead of bells to call the people to church, and named in *Arabic* ناقوس *Nâkûs*, which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge (2).

The *Mohammedans* likewise agree to make *Noah* a prophet, and, as has been observed, one of the six principle ones (3), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (4). The *Korân* mentions his preaching to those of his time in several places (5). Some of their writers pretend he was sent to convert *Zohâk*, one of the *Persian* kings of the first race, who refused to hearken to him. He then went to preach God's unity publickly, but could make no more proselytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark (6).

‡ The oriental writers agree in making this defection so universal, that at last, they say, there was none left in the holy mountain of all *Seth*'s race, except only *Noah* and his wife, and his three sons and their wives (7).

(1) Yarhi *in locum.* Zohar, *parash.* 1. (2) Eutych. *Annal.* p. 37. (3) *See before* p. 79. *in the notes.* (4) *Vid.* Reland *de rel. Moham.* p. 34. (5) *Cap.* 11. v. 26. *cap.* 26. v. 105, *&c.* (6) *Vid.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 675. (7) Eutych. *Annal.* p. 35.

SECT. V.

The prophane history before the flood.

Accounts of antediluvian affairs besides that of Moses.

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding section, taken from the writings of *Moses*, the only records to be depended on in these early times, we have some farther accounts relating to this period, transmitted to us by antient writers; particularly those of the *Phœnician*, *Babylonian*, and *Ægyptian* antiquities, which we must not omit; leaving, however, the reader to judge of their credibility. a

Sanchoniatho's Phœnician *history.*

SANCHONIATHO, who wrote the *Phœnician* antiquities *, began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry [l], instead of deducing the history (as *Moses* has done) from *Adam* in the line of *Seth*, the worshippers of the true GOD, he has, according to the most probable hypothesis †, given us that of the idolatrous line of *Cain*; that the religion which this author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which they might think, gave it no small lustre and reputation. b

IN the following extract from the remaining fragments of this author, we might justly be surprized to find not so much as the least mention of the deluge, did we not consider, that destruction was a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the professors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, to bury, if possible, the very memory of so extraordinary a monument of divine vengeance and their own shame.

Generation I.

SANCHONIATHO having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world [m], begins his history of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals [n], whom *Philo*, his translator, calls *Protogonus* and *Æon* ‡, the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees. c

Generation II.

THEIR issue were called *Genus* and *Genea* *†, and dwelt in *Phœnicia*: but when great droughts came, they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun **; for him they thought the only GOD and Lord of heaven, calling him *Beelsamen*, which in *Phœnician*

[l] See the introd. p. 12, a. [m] Vid. ibid. p. 11, d. [n] Vid. ibid. p. 46, a.

* The credit of the fragments we have remaining of this work and the age of its author, are enquired into in the preface.

† *Viz.* That of bishop *Cumberland*, the substance of whose remarks the reader will find in the following notes.

‡ That these two were *Adam* and *Eve*, appears not only from their being the first of human kind, but also from their names, Πρωτόγονος *the first produced*, and Αἰών *life* (which is the signification of that word in the feminine gender, the masculine article τὸν, prefixed to it in the original, being a mistake of the transcribers;) the latter of them bearing a near resemblance to *Eve* both in sense and sound. What our author immediately mentions of the woman's first gathering food from trees, seems to allude to *Eve*'s first eating the forbidden fruit (1).

*† *Genus*, abating the termination, makes a fair approach in sound to the name of *Cain*; and by its signification seems very proper to denote the man who was the first-begotten in the ordinary course of nature. The *Greek* word γενάω, whence the *Latin gено* comes, being also probably derived from קָנָה *Kana* (*K* and *G* being letters of the same organ, and consequently easily changed into each other), the root from which the name of *Cain* was formed. *Genea* may signify only the wife of *Genus*, as *Caia* does the wife of *Caius* in the civil law (2).

As to what follows, that *Cain* and his wife dwelt in *Phœnicia*, this seems repugnant to the *Mosaic* history, where *Nod* is said to be on the east of *Eden*. But it may not be impertinent to add, what has been observed, that there was a city in *Canaan* called *Cain*, within the bounds assigned to the tribe of *Judah* (3). In the best maps it is situated not far from the sea, on a promontory lying within the country, which the *Philistines* kept long in their possession; and it is not likely, that any who owned themselves derived from *Seth*, should build a city, and then brand it with the odious name of *Cain*; but it is possible, it might be either built by some of his family before the flood, and its ruins be repaired afterwards still keeping his name; *Joppa*, another city in that neighbourhood, being also said to be more antient than the deluge (4). Or it might be built by the old *Philistines* before *Joshua*'s time; and they being descended from *Mizraim*, might, though falsely, believe, as *Sanchoniatho* reports that he was of *Cain*'s line, and thence might call this city by his name (5).

** This seems to have been the first introduction of idolatry, which began with the worship of the sun; several of *Cain*'s descendants added other methods of idolatrous worship, distinctly set down by this author; they proceeded to deify the several parts of nature and men after their death, and even to consecrate plants shooting out of the earth, which the first men, or those in the elder ages, judged to be gods, and worshipped, as those that sustained the lives of themselves and their posterity, as well as of their ancestors: to these they made their meat and drink offerings; which *Sanchoniatho* says, were the devices of worship agreeing with the weakness and want of boldness in their minds (6).

(1) *Vid.* GROT. *de veritate Rel. Christ. in notis ad* lib. 1. § 16. CUMBERL. *on Sanchon.* p. 215, &c. (2) CUMBERL. *ibid.* p. 219, &c. (3) Josh. xv. 57. (4) PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* l. 5. c. 13. (5) CUMBERL. *ubi supr.* p. 229, &c. (6) SANCHON. *apud. Euseb. ubi infra.*

a *Phœnician* is *Lord of heaven*, and in *Greek Zeus*. For we, says our author, not vainly, have frequently distinguished those names, but with respect to the later signification of names accruing to them from later things; which the *Greeks* not knowing, have construed otherwise, being deceived with the ambiguity of their significations.

AFTERWARDS from *Genus*, the son of *Protogonus* and *Æon*, other mortal issue was begotten, whose names were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, that is, *Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame* *. These found out the way of generating fire, by the rubbing of pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof. These begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were given to the mountains on which they seized: so from them were named mount *Cassius*, and *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and *Brathys* †. *Generation* III.

Generation IV.

b OF these last were begotten *Memrumus* and *Hypsuranius* ‡, but they were so named by their mothers, the women of those times, who without shame lay with any man they could light upon **. *Hypsuranius* inhabited *Tyre*, and he invented the making of huts of reeds, and rushes, and the *papyrus*. He also fell into enmity with his brother *Usous* *†, who first invented a covering for his body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when violent tempests of winds and rains came, the boughs in *Tyre* being rubbed against each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And *Usous*, having taken a tree and broke off its boughs, first was so bold as to venture upon it into the sea. He also consecrated two rude stones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worshipped them, and poured out to them the blood of such

c wild beasts as had been caught in hunting *†**. But when these were dead, those that remained consecrated to them stumps of wood and pillars, worshipping them, and kept anniversary feasts unto them *_*.

Generation V.

MANY years after this generation, came *Agreus* and *Halieus* †*†, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen are named. *Generation* VI.

OF

* *Hebrew* names like these, though unusual among us, are mentioned in after times in scripture; as, *Ur*, *Uri*, *Beor*, and *Lehabim*, which signify *fire* and *flames*, and answer *Philo*'s well enough. It is supposed, they were so called from their inventing the method of kindling and using fire (1).

† This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So *Seir*, a name of *Esau*, is supposed to have been given to the mountain which he possessed, though it be proleptically given to that country before his birth (2).

‡ *Bochart* makes these two but one person, reading, Memrumus, *who is also called* Hypsuranius, the latter name seeming to be a translation of the first, which *Bochart* thinks has lost a Syllable, *Mem* being left instead of *Samen*, or שמים *Shamaim*, signifying *heaven*, to answer Οὐρανιος in *Philo*'s translation, as *Rum* does ὑψος, or *high*. *Scaliger* thinks it only put instead of מנרום *Minrum*, *from on high*. Bishop *Cumberland* derives it with less change from רום *Rum*, and מים *Maim*, signifying *waters from on high*, or issue from above (3).

** The immorality of the womens prostituting their bodies, so plainly confessed by our author, agrees with the intimation which *Moses* gives concerning the debauchery of these ages, and the general corruption of the world which insued upon it.

*† *Usous* is thought to be the same with עוץ *Ous*, i. e. *strong*, a name long after given to the son of *Aram*, whom *Josephus* calls *Ouses*, and we write *Uz*; the termination in *Josephus* only differs from *Philo*'s *Ousous* (4).

† The wind and fire, to which these two pillars were consecrated, seem to have been those violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldest instance of worshipping these lower sort of naturally immortal gods; which it is probable were worshipped because the fire and winds are of kindred to celestial or æthereal matter. The *Greek* does not expressly say, that the blood of the wild beasts was poured out, but it is conceived necessary so to understand the words σπένδειν ἐκ βαρβάρων, because there is nothing else in them, besides their blood, which can be poured out as a libation. This is therefore observed to be the first offering of blood to inferior deities. And because this was that of hunted wild beasts, of whose blood no great quantity could be gotten to be poured out of vessels; we may infer, that *Usous* offered some part of their flesh, with their blood dropping out of their limbs. And since there is no reason to doubt, but he eat part of what he had taken in hunting, as he offered part; this is the first example of eating flesh before the flood; and the restriction under which it was afterwards granted to *Noah*, seems to intimate, that the wild antediluvian sons of *Cain* had fallen into the barbarity of eating raw and bloody flesh, forbidden therefore to *Noah* and his posterity, both in the case of sacrifice and of ordinary diet, to prevent all correspondence with their savage practices (5).

_ Here is the connection of the worship of men after death, with that of the parts of nature. But it does not appear, any sacrifice or prayer was as yet made to them as gods, as is expressly said hereafter of *Vulcan*.

†*† These names are *Greek*, and therefore *Philo*'s translation of some eastern names of like import. All that can be understood of this age is, that the arts or employments here mentioned, were then much improved, for *Usous* was a huntsman before.

Though the connection of this generation with the preceding, be expressed more ambiguously than any other in the whole pedigree, by the words, *after much time*; which may occasion a doubt, whether this generation was the immediate offspring of the last or not; yet if we consider, how far some of the antediluvians were advanced in years before their children were born, we must allow, that no argument can be built thereon for the negative. And an interpolation of other generations cannot be admitted without owning so many more generations in *Cain*'s line before the flood, which would make his line to have more links in it than *Seth*'s, a circumstance we have no reason to believe (6).

(1) CUMBERL. *ubi sup.* p. 237. (2) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (3) *Idem ibid.* p. 231. (4) *Idem ibid.* p. 238. (5) *Idem ibid.* p. 239, 240. (6) *Idem ibid.* p. 242, &c.

Generation VII.

Of theſe were begotten two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging thereof: one of theſe, called *Chryſor* †, the ſame with *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, exerciſed himſelf in words, and charms, and divinations; and he found out the hook, bait, and fiſhing line, and boats ſlightly built, and he was the firſt of all men that ſailed. Wherefore he alſo was worſhipped after his death for a god, and they called him *Zeus Michius*, or *Jupiter* the engineer ‡; and ſome ſay, his brothers invented the way of making walls of brick. a

Generation VIII.

Afterwards from this generation came two brothers, one of which was called *Technites*, or *the Artiſt*, the other *Geïnus Autochthon* **, *the home-born man of the earth*. Theſe found out to mingle ſtubble, or ſmall twigs, with the bricky earth, and to dry them in the ſun, and ſo made tiling. b

Generation IX.

By theſe were begotten others, of which one was called *Agrus* [Field] and the other *Agrouerus*, or *Agrotes* *† [huſbandman] who had a ſtatue much worſhipped, and a temple carried about by one, or more yoke of oxen in *Phœnicia*: and among thoſe of *Byblus* he is eminently called the greateſt of the gods. Theſe found out how to make courts about mens houſes, and fences, and caves, or cellars. Huſbandmen, and ſuch as uſe dogs in hunting, derive from theſe; and they are alſo called *Aletæ*, and *Titans*.

Generation X.

Of theſe were begotten *Amynus* and *Magus* *†*, who ſhewed men to conſtitute villages and flocks.

In theſe mens age there was one *Eliun* **, which imports in *Greek Hypſiſtus* [the moſt high], and his wife was named *Beruth*, who dwelt about *Byblus*; and by him was begotten one *Epigeus*, or *Autochthon* ††, whom they afterwards called *Uranus* c

† *Bochart*'s origination of this name from חרש-אור *Chores-ur*, which he renders Πυρίτεχνίτης, *an artificer by fire*, is not improbable. Yet Biſhop *Cumberland* rather derives it from a ſimple root, חרץ *Charas*, *to beſtir one's ſelf vigorouſly*, *to cut*, &c. from whence χρυσὸς, *beaten*, *or cut gold*, is allowed to come, and why not *Chryſor*? ſince it differs only in termination, and compoſitions muſt not be admitted in eaſtern words without neceſſity.

This *Chryſor* is the firſt man our author informs us of, who was worſhipped as a god after his death, a plain confeſſion that ſuch worſhip was not from the beginning. It is remarkable, that as this ſort of idolatry began in the eight generation, and the flood was drawing near in the next generation but one, ſo it is more than probable, that all, or moſt of thoſe who were concerned in this firſt deifying of men, if they lived to be any thing near the age of their contemporaries of *Seth*'s line, were drowned therein (1).

‡ The original is *Diamichius*. But our learned biſhop chooſes to divide the word, and derives *Michius* from מוכי *Muchi*, *a machine* (2).

** *Technites* ſeems to be a tranſlation of the eaſtern name *Muchi*, from מלאכה *Malâca*, *workmanſhip*, *art*. The other, *Geïnus*, ſignifying *earthy* has ſome affinity with *Ephar*, and *Ephron*, *Canaanitiſh* names, and probably uſed by *Sanchoniatho* (3).

*† This generation is remarkable, becauſe to the men thereof, the firſt ſtatue, or idol to be worſhipped, and the firſt temple we read of, was erected in *Phœnicia*; a ſmall temple, or rather tabernacle, it was, like that of *Moloch* and his ſtar *Chiun*, or *Remphan* (4), and drawn by oxen, in the ſame manner as the ark, or epitome of God's tabernacle, was ſent home by the *Philiſtines*, ſucceſſors to the old *Phœnicians* in their religion and abode, upon a new cart, drawn by milch kine (5).

The names of theſe men import gods of huſbandry, as *Pan*, *Pales*, and *Sylvanus* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Biſhop *Cumberland* gueſſes that in *Sanchoniatho*, the perſon whom *Philo* expreſſes by *Agrus*, might be called *Siddim*, or *Sedid*, a name whereby one of *Cronus*'s ſons is afterwards called; either of which will anſwer the *Greek* (6).

The *Egyptians*, whoſe religion and deſcent was the ſame with that of the old *Phœnicians*, beſides *Pan*, had an antient deity, named *Aroueris*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, and by ſome taken to be *Apollo*, by others *Orus Senior*, and by *Scaliger* (7) *Anubis*. But biſhop *Cumberland* thinks, he was the ſame that is here called *Agrouerus*; and if the *g* is allowed to melt away, as it often does, or if we take Ἄρης and Ἄρεια as *Synonyma*, the name is the ſame, for the termination is arbitrary (8).

† *Amynus* ſeems to import in this place a *defender from enchantment*, and *Magus* a *ſorcerer*; though both words are capable of a more favourable interpretation. Yet in the loweſt dregs of *Cain*'s race, we may believe the worſt the words will bear (9).

This generation being the tenth from *Adam* incluſive, was that generation which, excepting *Noah* and his family, was entirely deſtroyed by the flood, together with their children. But thoſe idolaters, from whom *Sanchoniatho* took his genealogies, ſuppreſſed all mention of the flood, as he does; and pretended, that the line, in which their idolatry began, was continued on to ſucceeding ages. And this being impoſſible to be done, in inſtances of men that ever had any being in the earth, any other way than by taking men out of *Noah*'s line, and annexing them as ſons to the laſt men of that family, which in truth was wholly extinguiſhed in the flood, they proceed to carry on the genealogy with *Miſor* and *Sydyc*, two perſons who in reality, as it will be attempted to ſhew, were deſcendants of *Noah* (10). Wherefore we reſerve the hiſtory of them and their poſterity until after the deluge.

*** In *Hebrew* עליון *Elion*. This perſon, as will appear when we conſider his deſcendants, muſt be *Lamech*, the father of *Noah*, of the line of *Seth*, which is here introduced abruptly and imperfectly, as being that of the profeſſed enemies of the falſe religion which our author patronizes (11).

†† Theſe two *Greek* names having ſome relation to the earth, it is likely they tranſlate the title

(1) *Idem ibid.* p. 244, &c. (2) *Idem ibid.* p. 232. (3) *Ibid.* p. 246. (4) Amos v. 26. Acts. vii. 43. (5) 1 Sam. vi. (6) Cumberl. *ubi ſupr.* p. 247, &c. (7) *De emend. temp.* (8) Cumberl. *ubi ſup.* p. 249. (9) *Idem ibid.* p. 250. (10) *Idem ibid.* p. 177. (11) *Idem ibid.* p. 152.

a *Uranus* * [heaven], ſo that from him that element which is over us, by reaſon of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a ſiſter of the ſame parents called *Ge* † [the earth], and by reaſon of her beauty the earth had her name given to it.

HYPSISTUS, the father of theſe, dying in fight with wild beaſts, was conſecrated, and his children offered ſacrifices and libations to him. But *Uranus* taking the kingdom of his father, married his ſiſter *Ge*, and had by her four ſons, *Ilus*, who is called *Cronus* [or *Saturn*] *Betylus*, *Dagon*, who is *Siton*, or the god of corn, and *Atlas* ‡; but by other wives *Uranus* had much iſſue.

THUS far *Sanchoniatho*; the thread of whoſe hiſtory we break off here, and ſhall reſume in the next period. But before we diſmiſs this author, we ſhall in the follow-

b ing table compare the pedigree of *Cain*'s line given by him, with that given by *Moſes*; firſt obſerving, that though *Moſes* hath not recorded ten generations in this line, as *Sanchoniatho* has, yet it does not thence follow, that there were not ten generations in this line before the flood; for *Moſes* does not tell us that thoſe he has named were all the deſcents before the flood, nor that the laſt generation which he mentions was drowned, though probably it was ſo. However, it is very improbable, that eight generations in *Cain*'s line ſhould live as long as the ten in *Seth*'s, eſpecially conſidering that *Cain* in all likelihood had children before *Seth* was born: wherefore it is more reaſonable to believe, that *Moſes* has paſſed over two generations of *Cain*, as not wor-

c thy of mention; and the rather, becauſe he does not ſay, that *Enoch begat Irad*, but only, *unto Enoch was born Irad* **; which will be true if he was not his ſon, but his grandſon, or great grandſon; ſkipping over two generations, which added to the eight mentioned will make ten, as in *Seth*'s line before the flood °, thus:

A TABLE *of the Deſcendants of* CAIN,

According to MOSES.	According to SANCHONIATHO.
1. *Adam*, *Eve*,	1. *Protogonus*, *Æon*,
2. *Cain*,	2. *Genus*, *Genea*,
3. *Enoch*,	3. *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox*,
4. ———	4. *Caſſius*, *Libanus*, &c.
5. ———	5. *Memrumus*, *Uſoüs*,
6. *Irad*,	6. *Agreus*, *Halieus*,
7. *Mehujael*,	7. *Chryſor*, or *Hephæſtus* *†,
8. *Methuſael*,	8. *Technites*, *Geïnus*,
9. *Lamech*,	9. *Agrus*, *Agrouerus*,
10. *Jabal*, *Jubal*, *Tubal-Cain*.	10. *Amynus*, *Magus*.

THE

° Vid. CUMBERL. on SANCHON, p. 303, &c.

title which *Moſes* gives *Noah*, who is here meant, *viz. a man of the earth* (1), which we render *an huſbandman*; and that may alſo be the reaſon why his wife's name is ſaid to be *Ge*, *the earth* (2).

* This name, and that of *Eliun*, are ſuppoſed to have been given to *Noah* and his father, by *Thoth* and other idolaters by way of ſneer, becauſe they worſhipped the only ſupreme GOD in heaven, in oppoſition to their earthly gods, which had been men (3). But a better reaſon is, that it was the conſtant cuſtom to give new and magnificent names to perſons deified (4), as *Eliun* and *Uranus* both were; though they had no conſiderable part of the idolatrous worſhip, which was chiefly employed in ſerving *Cronus*, and his wives, and children (5).

† The *Atlantian* theology, which ſeems to agree with *Sanchoniatho*, in ſaying that *Uranus* gave his name to the heavens, to imprint a greater idea of himſelf in the minds of the people, tells us however, that his wife's firſt name was *Titæa* (perhaps from טיט *Tit*, *mud*) and that ſhe being, after her death, conſecrated into a goddeſs, was called *Ge* (6).

‡ The firſt of theſe four ſons was *Ham*, the arguments to prove which will be produced hereafter in a more proper place; who the other three ſons here named were, will alſo be conſidered elſewhere: we ſhall only obſerve here, that none of them are either *Shem*, or *Japhet*, who according to the biſhops hypotheſis, are found under other names, *viz.* thoſe of *Sydyc*, and *Nereus*.

** The like expreſſion to the ſame ſenſe is found in another paſſage (7), where it is foretold, that *Joſiah ſhould be born to the houſe of* David, or be of the poſterity of *Reboboam* then reigning, though he was many generations after him.

*† *Sanchoniatho* here places his chief artiſts in the ſeventh and eight generation, whereas *Moſes*, according to this table, places them in the tenth. If we ſuppoſe the two laſt generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be thoſe omitted by *Moſes*, they will come much nearer. Dr. *Cumberland*, to obtain a fuller agreement, conjectures, that theſe two links in *Sanchoniatho*, have been tranſpoſed, and that *Chryſor* ſhould be in the eighth place, and *Technites* in the ſeventh; or elſe, that the father in the ſeventh generation might invent thoſe arts,

(1) Geneſ. ix. 20. (2) CUMBERL. *ubi ſup.* p. 151. (3) *Idem ibid.* p. 182, &c. (4) *Ibid.* p. 291, &c. (5) *Ibid.* p. 152. (6) DIODOR. SICUL. l. 3. p. 189, &c. (7) 1 Kings xiii. 2.

Berosus's Babylonian antiquities.

THE *Babylonian* antiquities were collected by *Berosus* *, a *Chaldean* by birth, who a
lived in the time of *Alexander* the Great [p]. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, the substance of which, so far as comes within the present period, we here subjoin.

The manner of mens acquiring the knowledge of arts and sciences.

AFTER a description of *Babylonia*, he writes, that in the first year there appeared out of the red Sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational animal †, whose name was *Oannes*. He had his whole body like that of a fish, but beneath his fishes head he had another head grew; he had also feet like a man, which proceeded from the fishes tail, and a human voice, the picture of him being preserved to that very day. This animal conversed with men in the day-time without eating any thing; he delivered to men the knowledge of letters and sciences, and skill in va- b
rious arts; he taught them to dwell together in cities, to erect temples, to introduce laws, and instructed them in geometry; he likewise shewed them how to gather seeds and fruits; and in short, imparted to mankind whatever was necessary and convenient for a civilized life. But after this time there was nothing excellent invented. When the sun set, this animal retired into the sea again, and stayed there in the night-time, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared several other animals of the same form, mentioned in the ensuing history. This *Oannes* did not deliver his instructions by word of mouth only, but, as our author assures us, wrote of the origin of things [q], and of political œconomy [r].

OTHER authors have also made mention of this *Oannes*, *Helladius* calls him *Oes* (if c
it be not rather the scribes way of abbreviating *Oannes*), and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had the hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported, he was produced from the primigenial egg (as his name testified ‡) and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he seemed to be a fish, because he was compleatly dressed in a fishes skin [s]. *Hyginus* likewise writes, that *Euahanes*, a name not very distant from *Oannes*, came out of the sea in *Chaldea*, and explained astrology [t].

The antediluvian kings of Chaldea.

BEROSUS proceeds to give us a series of ten kings who reigned in *Chaldea* before the flood; but as there are some small variations in the authors who have transcribed that historian, we shall here exhibit them to the readers view. d

A TABLE *of the* Chaldean *Kings before the Flood, from* BEROSUS.

According to *Africanus* [u]	Sari.	Years.	According to *Abydenus* [w].	Sari.	According to *Apollodorus* [x].	Sari.
1. *Alorus* reigned	10		1. *Alorus* reigned	10	1. *Alorus* reigned	10
2. *Alasparus*	3		2. *Alaparus*	3	2. *Alaparus*	
3. *Amelon*	13		3. *Amillarus*	13	3. *Amelon*	
4. *Amenon*	12		4. *Ammenon*	12	4. *Ammenon*	
5. *Metalarus*	18		5. *Megalarus*	18	5. *Megalarus*	18
6. *Daonus*		99	6. *Daos*	10	6. *Daonus*	10
7. *Euedorachus*	18		7. *Euedoreschus*		7. *Euedoreschus*	18
8. *Amphis*	10		8. *Anodaphus*		8. *Anempsinus*	10
9. *Otiartes*	8		9.		9. *Otiartes*	8
10. *Xixuthrus*	18		10. *Sisithrus*		10. *Xisuthrus*	18
	110	99		120		120

THE

[p] ALEX. POLYHIST. apud Syncell. p. 28. [q] See before, p. 14. c. [r] ALEX. POLYHIST. ex Berosso apud Syncell. p. 28. [s] HELLAD. apud Photium, Bibl. Cod. CCLXXIX. col. 1594. [t] HYGIN. fab. 274. The printed editions of *Hyginus* have *Euhadnes*. [u] Apud SYNCELL. p. 18. [w] Apud eund. p. 38. C. [x] Apud eund. p. 39. B. Vid. Chron. Græc. EUSEB. p. 5.

arts, and on that account be celebrated by *Thoth*, or his scribes; and the sons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and for that reason be rather taken notice of by *Moses* (1).

* Of this author, the reader will find a more particular account in the preface.

* The *Greek* is ζῶου ἄφρενου; but the sequel plainly shews him to have been nothing less than *irrational*: some corruption may therefore very justly be supposed.

As to the names of *Oannes* and *Annedotus* given to this person, and those of the same appearance who are mentioned below, it may seem a folly to offer at any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the sea, it is most probable, they were strangers, and arrived in *Chaldea* by shipping (2). The *Syriac* word ܥܘܕܐ *Onŭdo*, signifies a *traveller*, or *foreigner*, and might without much violence be converted into either of the said names.

‡ An egg in *Greek* is called *Oon*.

(1) CUMBERL. *ubi sup.* p. 232, &c.

(2) *Vid.* NEWTON's *Chronol.* p. 210, 211.

a THE reigns of these kings *Berosus* computes by *Sari*, or decads of years**, which seems to be a very convenient method in those times, when the lives of men were at least ten times as long as they have been in latter ages. According to which way of reckoning, the sum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or more nicely eleven hundred and ninety nine years; which offers no violence to the *Mosaic* chronology. *The length of their reigns.*

As these ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the first king *Alorus* has been supposed to be the same with *Adam* [y], as *Xisuthrus* plainly appears to be *Noah*. *Alorus* gave out, that GOD himself had declared him the pastor of the people [z]; and, indeed, if any man could pretend to dominion by b divine right, it must have been *Adam*. *Remarkable events under them.*

OF *Alasparus*, the second king, nothing remarkable is related. His successor *Amelon*, or *Amillarus*, was of the city of *Pantibibla* *†: in his reign, according to *Abydenus*, a second *Annedotus*, or animal resembling the demi-god *Oannes*, arose out of the sea, twenty six *Sari*, or two hundred and sixty years after the beginning of this monarchy [a]; but *Apollodorus* writes, that he appeared under the next prince *Amenon*, after forty *Sari*, or four hundred years: which if they be computed from the creation (according to the *Samaritan* chronology) will end in that king's reign; but if from the first year of *Alorus*, will reach twenty years within that of *Metalarus*. Others, supposing this *Annedotus* was the hateful *Oannes* himself, blame *Polyhistor* for anticipating c the time of his coming, by placing him in the first year [b].

AFTER *Amenon* and *Metalarus*, who were both of *Pantibibla*, succeeded *Daonus*, who was of the same city, and a shepherd. In his time four animals ††, of a double form, half man and half fish, came out of the sea to land, whose names were *Euedocus*, *Eneugamus*, *Eneubulus*, and *Anementus* [c].

UNDER the next prince, *Euedoreschus*, who was likewise of *Pantibibla*, there appeared another animal, like the former, named *Odacon*. All these explained more particularly what *Oannes* had summarily and concisely delivered [d].

THE eighth and ninth kings were both of another city called *Laranchi* [e]. When the latter of them *Otiartes*, or, as *Polyhistor* calls him, *Ardates* was dead, he was d ceeded by his son *Xisuthrus*.

IN his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: *Cronus*, or *Saturn* appeared to *Xisuthrus* in a dream, and warned him, that on the fifteenth of the month *Daesius* mankind would be destroyed by a flood; and therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate state, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in *Sippara*, the city of the sun; that he should *The* Chaldean *account of the flood.*

[y] PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. c. 2. [z] ABYDEN. ex Berosо apud Syncell. p. 38. [a] Idem ib. & p. 39, C. [b] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 39, C. [c] ABYDEN. ib. [d] APOLLODOR. ex Berosi. ib. [e] Idem ib.

** *Berosus* wrote his chronology by the computation of *Sari*, *Neri*, and *Sosi*; which being antient measures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation in those records. But *Berosus*, or some later writers, have either out of ignorance, or design, magnified these measures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the *Sarus* contained the interval of three thousand six hundred years, the *Nerus* of six hundred years, and the *Sosus* of sixty (1). However, other authors have taken those years for days only, and blame *Eusebius* for not perceiving them to be days (2); and, as it seems, with great reason: for not to insist on the incredible length of the reigns of those princes, on the first hypothesis, which no writer of common sense or modesty could offer to impose on the world, it plainly appears, they were no more than days, from the reign of the sixth king, which is more exactly expressed in the first table to be ninety nine years, but in the others, by the round number of ten *Sari*, or 100 years; and the word *Sarus*, throwing away the termination, is no other than the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac* ܫܪ *'Sar*, *ten*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thousand six hundred days, or just ten old *Chaldean* years of three hundred and sixty days each: and that before the deluge, not only the civil year, but also the tropical solar, and lunar year consisted of just twelve months of thirty days a-piece, or three hundred and sixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a very learned gentleman (3).

*† Of this city of *Pantibibla*, as *Scaliger* observes (4), the antients have taken no notice. It seems to be the same with *Sippara*, hereafter mentioned (probably the *Sipphara* of *Ptolemy*), where *Xisuthrus* deposited the records he wrote before the flood. This latter name may be derived from the *Chaldee* ספר *Sephar*, or *Sphar*, a *book*, or *record*; and *Pantibibla* is the translation of that name into *Greek* (5). Sir *Isaac Newton* (6) takes it to be the *Sepharvaim* of the scripture (7).

†† *Apollodorus* says only that the fourth *Annodotus* appeared at this time (8); but the reading of *Abydenus* seems the more correct.

(1) *Vid.* SYNCELL. p. 17. & ABYDEN. *apud eundem*, p. 38, C. (2) ANNIANUS & PANODORUS *apud* SYNCELL. p. 35. *Vid. eund.* p. 17. (3) *Mr.* ALLIN's *Disc. of the antient year, in Mr.* WHISTON's *Theory*, Book II. p. 144. *Vid. etiam* SCALIGER. *in Græc Eusеb.* p. 406. (4) *Ubi supra*, p. 407. (5) *See* CUMBERLAND *on Sanchon.* p. 255. (6) Chronol. p. 275. (7) 2 Kings xix. 13. (8) *Apud* SYNCELL. p. 39.

ſhould alſo build a ſhip, and go into it with his relations and deareſt friends, having firſt furniſhed it with proviſions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beaſts; and that when he had provided every thing, and was aſked whither he was ſailing? he ſhould anſwer, *To the gods, to pray for happineſs to mankind.* *Xiſuthrus* did not diſobey, but built a veſſel, whoſe length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come and ſoon ceaſing, *Xiſuthrus* let out certain birds, which finding no food, nor place to reſt upon, returned again to the ſhip. *Xiſuthrus*, after ſome days, let out the birds again; but they came back again to the ſhip, having their feet daubed with mud: but when they were let go the third time, they came no more to the ſhip, whereby *Xiſuthrus* underſtood, that the earth appeared again; and thereupon he made an opening between the planks of the ſhip, and ſeeing that it reſted on a certain mountain, he came out with his wife, and his daughter, and his pilot; and having worſhipped the earth, and raiſed an altar, and ſacrificed to the gods, he and thoſe who went out with him diſappeared. They who were left behind in the ſhip, finding *Xiſuthrus*, and the perſons that accompanied him, did not return, went out themſelves to ſeek for him, calling him aloud by his name: but *Xiſuthrus* was no more ſeen by them; only a voice came out of the air, which enjoyned them, as their duty was, to be religious; and informed them, that, on account of his own piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods; and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the ſame honour. It alſo directed them to return to *Babylon*, and that, as the fates had ordained, they ſhould take the writings from *Sippara*, and communicate them to mankind; and told them, that the place where they were was the country of *Armenia*. When they had heard this, they offered ſacrifice to the gods, and unanimouſly went to *Babylon*; and when they came thither, they dug up the writings at *Sippara*, built many cities, raiſed temples, and rebuilt *Babylon* again [f]. a b c

The antediluvian kings of Egypt.

The *Egyptians*, who would give place to no nation in point of antiquity, have alſo a ſeries of kings, who, as is pretended, reigned in *Egypt* before the flood; and, to be even with the *Chaldeans*, began their account the very ſame year that theirs does, according to *Beroſus* [g]. d

There was an antient chronicle extant among the *Egyptians*, not many centuries ago [h], which contained 30 dynaſties of princes who ruled in that country, by a ſeries of 113 generations, through an immenſe ſpace of 36,525 years *: during which *Egypt* was ſucceſſively governed by three different races; of whom the firſt were the *Auritæ*, the ſecond the *Meſtræi*, and the third the *Egyptians* †.

But this extravagant number of years *Manetho* ‡ (to whoſe remains we muſt chiefly have recourſe for the antient *Egyptian* hiſtory) has not adopted, however in other reſpects he is ſuppoſed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle [i], which yet ſeems to have been a compoſition ſince *Manetho*'s time. That writer [k] began his hiſtory with the following 16 dynaſties, or reigns of princes; the firſt of whom

[f] Alexand. Polyhistor. ex Beroso, apud Syncell. p. 30, 31. & apud Cyril. contra Julian. l. 1. Abydenus, ex eodem, apud Syncell. p. 38, 39. & apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 12. [g] Syncell. p. 17. [h] Vid. eund. p. 51. & Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 6. [i] Syncell. ibid. [k] Manetho apud Syncell. p. 18. & Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 7.

* This number appears manifeſtly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious aſtronomical calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, ſo famous in the *Egyptian* and *Greek* fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, *viz.* the firſt minute of the firſt degree of *Aries* (1).

From ſome ſuch computation, it is probable, *Diodorus* took the numbers he mentions of 18,000 years, the ſpace which the gods and heroes reigned, and 15,000 from *Orus*, the ſon of *Iſis*, the laſt of them, to the 180th olympiad, during which time *Egypt* was governed by men (2); or thoſe, which he elſewhere tells us were the number of years from *Iſis* and *Oſiris* to *Alexander* the Great, *viz.* above 10,000, or ſomewhat leſs than 23,000 (3). Other extravagant numbers were alſo by the *Egyptian* prieſts impoſed on *Herodotus* and *Plato*, as we may obſerve elſewhere.

† Theſe three races, if there be any ſhadow of truth in this account, ſeem moſt probably to have been the gods, demigods, and mortal men, which are by other authors ſaid to have reigned ſucceſſively in *Egypt*: the *Auritæ* (which name *Goar* (4) derives from *Abaris*, or *Avaris*, though that city was built long after the flood by the *Paſtors*, and *Perizonius*, more probably, from אור *Our, light*) being the gods, or antediluvian princes; the *Meſtræi*, the demigods, or poſtdiluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *Egyptians*, the mortal kings, the firſt of whom was *Menes* (5): and this hypotheſis, as will be obſerved by and by, accounts tolerably well for the chronology.

‡ This writer was ſomewhat later than *Beroſus*. See the preface.

(1) *Vid.* Syncell. *p.* 52. (2) Diod Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 41. (3) *Idem ib. p.* 20. (4) *In notis ad* Syncell. *Vid.* Marsham. *Canon. Chron. p.* 107. (5) *Vid.* Perizon. *Antiq. Ægypt. p.* 23, *&c.*

a whom were called gods, and the other nine demigods. These, he says, reigned one thousand nine hundred and eighty five years *; and the first of them, *Vulcan*, nine thousand †.

A TABLE *of the Gods and Demigods, who are supposed to have reigned in* Egypt *before the flood.*

GODS.

		Yrs.	Mon.	Days.
b	1. HEphæstus, or *Vulcan*, reigned	724	6	4
	2. *Helios*, or the *Sun*, the son of *Vulcan*,	86		
	3. *Agathodæmon*,	56	6	10
	4. *Cronus*, or *Saturn*,	40	6	
	5. *Osiris* and *Isis*,	35		
	6.			
	7. *Typhon*,	29		

DEMIGODS.

	8. *Orus*,	25		
c	9. *Ares*, or *Mars*,	23		
	10. *Anubis*,	17		
	11. *Hercules*	15		
	12. *Apollo*,	25		
	13. *Ammon*,	30		
	14. *Tithoes*,	27		
	15. *Sosus*,	32		
	16. *Zeus*, or *Jupiter*,	20		

As to this table it must be observed, that the numbers were no part of the original
d record, but added by some moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies [l], and therefore deserve no regard; though we have transcribed them as we found them in *Syncellus*.

THOUGH the transcribers of *Manetho* [m] have generally taken it for granted, that this succession of princes were supposed by *Manetho* himself to have reigned before the

The first seven of them only reigned before the flood.

[l] See the note †. [m] AFRICANUS, EUSEBIUS, PANODORUS, & SYNCELLUS.

* This number of years in *Manetho* (which the modern chronologers unjustly correct to eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty five, or eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty eight, to make them agree with the larger numbers in the old chronicle, or in some other interpolators of *Manetho*) plainly shews the nine thousand years, if it be not a corrupted number, [or if those years were not lunar years] allowed here to the reign of *Vulcan* alone, did not belong to those dynasties themselves, but rather to that immense interval of time before the reigns of the antediluvian gods, or kings were reckoned, or before the present settlement of the world began. Accordingly the old chronicle, as will be seen by and by, ascribes no number of years to this *Vulcan*, but thirty thousand to the *Sun*. *Diodorus* also assures us, that some reckoned *Vulcan* as the first of those gods, and others the sun (1); which agrees well with the inscription on the *Egyptian* obelisk, to be produced hereafter, which calls *Vulcan* not an ordinary god himself, but the *father of the gods* (2).

† This exorbitant number of years has been taken by several of the later *Greek* historians not for solar, but lunar years or months; and accordingly, dividing the number of days of so many lunar revolutions by three hundred and sixty five, the number of days in a year, they reduce the nine thousand to seven hundred twenty four years and a half and four days; which way of reckoning though *Syncellus* ridicules (3), yet it should seem from the testimony of antient writers, to omit those of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* (4), to be the original computation; excepting only a small mistake which we shall mention presently. For *Diodorus* says, some of the most antient kings of the succession of the gods reigned above twelve hundred years apiece; and that this appearing incredible, some supposed, that the motion of the sun being not known in the first times, the year was described by the revolution of the moon (5); and with this do other authors of good credit (6) agree, who assure us, that the old *Egyptian* year was lunar. It must only be observed, that the antediluvian year containing but three hundred and sixty days (7), the abovementioned calculation must be rectified in that respect; and then the nine thousand years of *Vulcan*'s reign will make just seventy five sari, or seven hundred and fifty years; which seems indeed a little disproportionate to the reigns of his six successors, which together can amount to no more than four hundred and fifty years. However, this way of computation will reduce this and the other extravagant numbers we meet with in the *Egyptian* history within some bounds of credibility.

(1) DIODOR. SIC. *l.* 1. *p.* 13. (2) WHISTON's *Appendix to his Essay to restore the true text, &c. p.* CXC. (3) SYNCELL. *p.* 18. (4) *Apud eund. p.* 17, & 40. (5) DIODOR. SIC. *l.* 1. *p.* 22. (6) PLUTARCH. *in Numa, p.* 72. PLIN. *Hist. nat. l.* 7. *c.* 48. MACROB. *Sat. l.* 1. *c.* 14. LACTANT. *Instit.* 2. 12. EUDOXUS *apud Proclum, in Tim. l.* 1. *p.* 31. (7) *See before, p.* 91. *in the notes.*

the flood; yet we very much doubt, whether that hiſtorian really made the nine laſt, called demigods, to be antediluvians. For it appears from the ſum of the years, which theſe gods and demigods are ſaid to have reigned, that all of them could not poſſibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the *Hebrew* account; and if the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom began the ſame year with that of the *Babylonians*, as is expreſly ſaid, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Beſides, the number of ſixteen kings ſeems too large in proportion to that of the *Babylonian* kings, and of the generations of *Moſes* in the ſame period. It is therefore more conformable to *Manetho*'s chronology, to ſuppoſe the firſt ſeven only, whom he calls *Gods*, and the old chronicle *Auritæ* [n], were antediluvians; and that they reigned twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty five*, the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypotheſis ſeems to be confirmed from the conſideration of the laſt of theſe gods *Typhon*, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and periſhed therein. For ſeveral circumſtances of the deluge are mentioned in the hiſtory of *Oſiris* and *Typhon*; particularly the very day when it began, or when *Oſiris* (who is taken for *Noah*) was ſhut up in the ark [o]: the name of *Typhon*, according to ſome learned men, ſignifies alſo a deluge, or inundation †; whence the *Egyptian* prieſts called the ſea *Typhon* [p]: and *Typhon*, or, as the *Latin* poets call him, *Typhœus*, is repreſented as a monſtrous giant, warring againſt heaven, and at laſt overcome by *Jupiter*, and ſubmerſed in water [q]. From all which it appears probable, that he was one of thoſe mighty men which were of old, whoſe wickedneſs was ſo exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them [r].

THE firſt of theſe gods, *Vulcan*, from his inventing the working of metals, and inſtructing mankind therein, which is on all hands attributed to him, has been thought to be the ſame with the *Tubal-cain* of *Moſes*, and to have been contemporary with *Noah* [s]. But it ſeems a little inconſiſtent, that a perſon in the eighth generation from *Adam*, and the laſt recorded by *Moſes* in the line of *Cain*, ſhould have no leſs than ſix ſucceſſors, whoſe reigns, together with his own, amounted to no leſs than twelve hundred years; when it cannot be ſuppoſed that *Tubal-cain* could be born at the ſooneſt before the year of the world four hundred, according to the *Samaritan*, or five hundred according to the *Hebrew* chronology.

BY theſe gods *Manetho*, as he elſewhere explains himſelf, meant no more than mortal men, who for their wiſdom and goodneſs were ſeverally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal [t]. Their particular inventions, and prudent inſtitutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently conſider, when we enter on the hiſtory of the *Egyptian* nation: ſince, beſides the interruptions which muſt be occaſioned by attempting it in this place, there are ſo great diſagreements throughout concerning theſe gods [u], that it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the *Greek* authors, which ſeem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the *Greeks* were very liberal in beſtowing the names of their gods, with, or without, foundation; and frequently gave the ſame name to ſeveral perſons; which has introduced a confuſion that might have been avoided, had they given us the true *Egyptian* names, inſtead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is this the only inſtance in which thoſe writers, eſpecially the later *Greek* chronographers, have corrupted and confounded *Manetho*'s hiſtory, as will be obſerved hereafter.

HAVING

[n] See the note † in p. 92. [o] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 356. [p] Idem. ibid, p. 363. [q] APOLLON. Argon. l. 2. ver. 1215, &c. [r] Vid. Mr. ALLIN's Diſc. of the ancient year, in Mr. Whiſton's Theory, p. 169, &c. [s] TZETZES, Chiliad. 10. ver. 492, &c. [t] MANETHO, apud Euſeb. de. præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 1. p. 45. Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 8. [u] DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 21.

† Mr. *Whiſton* (1) ſays that this very number nineteen hundred and eighty five, for the antediluvian gods and ſemigods of *Egypt*, will not be at all too large for the preſent chronology, if we ſuppoſe it to extend from the beginning of the world to the death of the laſt of theſe ſemigods, *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ham*; it only implying that he then outlived the deluge either three hundred and twenty nine, or four hundred and twenty nine years, [that is, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, or the *Samaritan* of Mr. *Whiſton*] which exactly agrees with the length of men's lives at that time. But this cannot be allowed by us, who follow the chronology of the preſent *Samaritan* copy; for then *Ham* would live ſix hundred and ſeventy eight years after the flood, which would be above one hundred and fifty more than *Shem*. Beſides, it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe the firſt of theſe reigns commenced at the creation, and directly contrary to the original author, who makes the *Babylonian* and *Egyptian* kingdoms coeval, and to Mr. *Whiſton*'s own way of reckoning elſewhere (2): nor is it reaſonable to continue *Ham*'s reign (if he was *Jupiter*) immediately from the flood.

† The *Arabs* at this day expreſs the general deluge by the word طوفان *al tûfân*.

(1) *Appendix, ubi ſupra, p.* cxci.

(2) *In his Cronological Table.*

a HAVING mentioned the old *Egyptian* chronicle, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that, according to that record, *Vulcan* has no time aſſigned him, as appearing both night and day: the *Sun*, who was the ſon of *Vulcan*, reigned thirty thouſand years: after him *Saturn* and the other twelve gods reigned three thouſand nine hundred and eighty four years: then the eight demigods two hundred and ſeventeen years; after whom began the thirty dynaſties [w].

THUS have we put together the moſt material pieces of hiſtory to be found in prophane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which, though there be ſome which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deſerve little credit: however, as every thing which has the leaſt b pretence to ſo great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as uſeleſs.

SECT. VI.

Of the Deluge.

THIRTEEN hundred and odd years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and deſtroyed in a deluge of water. Not a deluge that was national only, or over-run ſome particular region, but over-ſpread the face of the whole c earth, from pole to pole, and from eaſt to weſt, and that in ſuch exceſs, that the floods over-reached the tops of the higheſt mountains; the rains deſcending after an unuſual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broke open; ſo as a general deſtruction and devaſtation was brought upon the earth and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only *Noah* and his family, who, by a ſpecial providence of GOD, was preſerved in a certain ark, or veſſel, with ſuch kinds of living creatures as he took in to him. After theſe waters had raged for ſome time on the earth, they began to leſſen and ſhrink, and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyſs, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their channels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole d habitable earth in that form and ſhape wherein we now ſee it. Then the world began again, and from that little remnant preſerved in the ark, the preſent race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus periſhed the old world, and the preſent aroſe from the ruins and remains of it [a].

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A ſhort hiſtory of the flood.

THIS is a ſhort ſtory of the greateſt event that ever yet happened in the world; the greateſt revolution, and the greateſt change in nature; which therefore juſtly deſerves to be more particularly conſidered in all its circumſtances.

THAT there was ſuch an univerſal deſtruction by water, as is related by *Moſes*, is confirmed by the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral of the moſt ancient writers and nations in the world. What account the *Chaldean* records give of it, we have already e ſeen [b]. The *Indian* and *Perſian* traditions we may mention hereafter. That the *Egyptians* were no ſtrangers to this event, appears, not only from thoſe circumſtances in the ſtory of *Oſiris* and *Typhon* mentioned above [c], but from the teſtimony of *Plato*; who ſays, that a certain *Egyptian* prieſt recounted to *Solon*, out of their ſacred books, the hiſtory of the univerſal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the *Græcians* [d]. The inhabitants of *Heliopolis* in *Syria* ſhewed a chaſm, or cleft in the earth in the temple of *Juno*, which, as they ſay, ſwallowed up the waters of the flood [e]*. Nay, the very *Americans* are ſaid to acknowledge

Prophane teſtimonies of this cataſtrophe.

[w] CHRON. VETUS apud Syncell. p. 51. & Euſeb. Chron. Gr. p. 6. [a] Vid. BURNET'S Theory, Book 1. c. 2. [b] Pag. 91, 92. [c] Pag. 94. [d] PLATO, in Timæo. [e] LUCIAN. de Dea Syria. t. 2. p. 882.

* The author, who mentions this, ſays, the *Greeks* gave an account of the univerſal deluge, [which they and others (1) have confounded with that of *Deucalion*] too curious to be omitted. The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the preſent race of men was not the firſt, for they totally periſhed, but is of a ſecond generation, which, being deſcended from *Deucalion*, encreaſed to a great multitude. Now of theſe former men they relate this ſtory: They were very inſolent, and addicted to unjuſt actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hoſpitable to ſtrangers, nor gave ear to ſuppliants; for which reaſon this great calamity befel them. On a ſudden the earth poured forth a vaſt quantity of water, great ſhowers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the ſea aroſe to a prodigious height; ſo that all things became water, and all men were deſtroyed: only *Deucalion* was left unto a ſecond generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was ſaved in this manner; he went into a large ark, or cheſt [λάρναξα] which he had, together with his ſons and their wives; and when he was in, there entered ſwine, and horſes, and lions, and ſerpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs. He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendſhip among them; ſo they ſailed all in one cheſt while the water prevailed.

(1) *Vid.* OVID *Metam. l.* 1. v 260, *&c.*

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knowledge, and speak of it in their continent [f]: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the *Chinese*, that *Puoncu*, with his family, escaped out of the general deluge [g]; though another expressly asserts, the *Chinese* annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a mistake in those who imagine they do [h]: however, it seems their historians do speak of a flood, which some suppose to be that of *Noah* [i], but they do not make it universal *. Most nations have some tradition of a deluge, which happened in their respective countries: but it must be owned at the same time, that several of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be distinguished from that of *Noah*; though ancient and modern writers frequently confound them together †, and relate circumstances of the one, which belong only to the other. a

Whether topical.

SOME difficulties, which seem to attend the *Mosaic* account of the deluge, such as the finding out waters sufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all sorts of animals being preserved in the ark, have induced some, even men of learning, to suppose, that *Noah*'s flood was not universal, but national only, and confined to *Judæa* and the regions thereabouts ‡, or perhaps to that tract of land which lies between the four seas, the *Persian*, *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Mediterranean* [k], or at most reached no farther than the continent of *Asia* [l]. And to support this presumption they alledge, that since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited: and though in this case all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been destroyed, yet it is conceived, that it was necessary to save some in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their use presently after the flood, which could not otherwise have been [m]. One author indeed has gone so far as to suppose, that all mankind did not perish in the deluge, and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar exposition of the curses of *Cain* and *Lamech*, that the *Africans* and *Indians* are of their posterity [n]. But as he has elsewhere himself confuted this opinion by the strongest arguments [o], we shall say no more of it. And it is easy to shew, against those who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was universal in its extent as well as effect. b c d

FOR,

[f] J. DE LAET, de orig. gent. Americ. p. 115. Vid. etiam ACOSTAM, HERRERAM, &c.
[g] VOSSIUS, Ep. ad Andr. Colvium, p. 409. [h] COUPLET, Præf. ad Tab. Chronol. p. 3, 8.
[i] Vid. MARTINII Hist. Sinic, l. 1. p. 12, & 39. [k] See LE CLERC's dissertations.
[l] STILLINGFLEET, Orig. Sacr. Book 3. c. 4. p. 540. Vid. VOSSIUM, de æt. mundi. p. 283.
[m] STILLINGFLEET, ibid. [n] See BEDFORD's Scripture chronol. p. 39. [o] See WHISTON's Theory, &c. p. 258, 388, &c.

prevailed. These things the *Greeks* relate of *Deucalion*. But as to what happened after this, there is an antient tradition among those of *Hierapolis* which deserves admiration; *viz.* that in their country a great chasm opened, and received all the water: whereupon *Deucalion* erected altars, and built the temple of *Juno* over the chasm. This same chasm, says our author, I have seen, and it is a very small one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and since lessened, I cannot tell, but that which I have seen is little. In commemoration of this history they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the sea to the temple, and not by the priests only, but all *Syria* and *Arabia*; many come from beyond *Euphrates* to the sea, and all carry water, which they first pour out in the temple, and afterwards it sinks into the chasm, which, though it be small, receives abundance of water. And when they do this, they say, *Deucalion*, instituted the ceremony in that temple as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it (1).

* An *Arab*, who travelled into *China* about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a conversation he had with the emperor, among other things, says; that mentioning the flood to that prince, on occasion of a picture of *Noah* which he shewed him, and telling him, that that prophet, and those who were saved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed, and said, "Thou art not "deceived as to the name of *Noah*; but as to "the universal deluge we know nothing of it. "It is true, that the deluge did drown a part of "the earth, but it did not reach so far as our "country, nor yet to the *Indies* (2). *Ebn Shoknah* ranks the *Chinese* among those who deny the flood.

† Not only *Deucalion*'s flood in *Thessaly*, but those of *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and *Prometheus* in *Egypt*, have been thought the same with that of *Noah* (3). Those spoken of by the *Americans* seem to have been national; as was that of *Asia minor*, mentioned by *Diodorus* (4), from the *Samothracian* tradition; which yet they pretended was the most antient of all: to omit several others enumerated by Sir *W. Raleigh* (5), some of which he has taken from the spurious *Xenophon* of *Annius*.

‡ *Melo*, who wrote a book against the *Jews*, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached *Armenia*. His words are these: "At the time of the deluge, a man who "had escaped with his sons, went from *Armenia*, "being driven out of his possessions by those of "the country; and passing over the intermediate "region, came into the mountainous part of "*Syria*, which was then desolate (6).

(1) LUCIAN. *de Dea Syria. tom.* 2. *p.* 822. *Ed. Frondiz.* (2) *Anciennes relations des Indes & de la Chine, p.* 67. (3) *Vid.* HEIDEGGER. *Hist. Patr. tom.* 1. *Exerc.* 18. §. 52. (4) *Lib.* 5. *p.* 322. (5) *History of the world, part* 1. *b.* 1. *c.* 7. § 6. (6) MELO *apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l.* 9. *c.* 19. (7) *Genes.* iv. 15. (8) *Ibid.* *and* v. 24.

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a For, 1. The scriptures put this matter out of doubt, expressly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all flesh died that moved upon the earth, except only *Noah*, and those that were with him in the ark *. Nor will the terms of *Moses* allow the word *earth* in this place to be restrained, as it may in some others, to *Judæa* †, or any other particular tract of land: for, unless the laws of nature were miraculously suspended, before the waters in one region, much less a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the highest mountains, they would certainly diffuse themselves, and overflow the rest of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; *Noah* and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more ease and in less time than build so vast a
b vessel; the beasts might have saved themselves by flight, or their loss, especially those of the unclean kinds, have been replenished from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood, was vastly superior to what the present earth is, perhaps, capable of sustaining, as will appear hereafter; and the waters must therefore have overspread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited; and consequently the whole globe, that none might escape the divine vengeance, must have been overflowed. 4. The earth itself seems to offer us a demonstrative argument of the universality of the deluge, from the vast numbers of the shells, and teeth of fish, bones of animals, entire, or partial vegetables, and other strange things, which are to
c be found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great distance from the sea, and were probably left by the flood [p] ‡.

Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.

It is now time to consider, by what means this terrible devastation was brought on the earth, and in what manner those that escaped it were preserved.

If the deluge were universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extreamly difficult, if not impossible, to say, whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans [q]; but a person well able to make the calculation, says, that there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty two

[p] Le Clerc's Dissert. Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 3. and Whiston's Theory ubi supra, & p. 275, &c. [q] Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 2.

* The words of *Moses*, one would think, are too plain to admit any subterfuge. God *looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And* God *said unto* Noah, *the end of all flesh is come before me—and I will destroy them with the earth* (1). *Behold, I, even I do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die* (2).—*Every living substance that I have made, will I destroy from off the face of the earth* (3). — *And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beasts, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth; and* Noah *only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark* (4).

† *Peyrerius*, one part of whose præ-adamite system is, that the flood extended no farther than *Judea*, which he supposes to be all that *Moses* meant by *the earth*, would also persuade us, that writer by *mankind* which were to be destroyed, intended the posterity of *Adam*; by *the living creatures*, the *Gentiles* or præ-adamites, mixed with the race of *Adam*; and by the *great deep*, the sea of *Palestine* (5).

‡ This argument is offered with some diffidence: for though the most experienced philosophers now agree, that these shells, &c. are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found by some plastic power of salts, or other minerals, (which was the conjecture of Dr. *Plot* (6), and other naturalists) inasmuch as they are not to be distinguished from real shells, teeth, &c. by the nicest examination of the eye, and even the microscope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all tophaceous, or stony substances do, but first into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony, or fleshy nature; yet they do not agree, that these things were brought in by the universal deluge, for this reason, among several others, that living animals, or fish, have been found in some of those fossil shells (7), and that such marine substances are sometimes formed and generated in human bodies (8); and therefore it is supposed, they were formed by a spermatic principle, as fish spawn received into the chinks, and other *meatus's* of the earth, and falling down in rains, &c. (9); which may be allowed, indeed, of the several kinds of shell-fish, whose shells might preserve them in the earth, but can hardly be admitted as to others of those fossils, such as the *Glossopetræ*, or teeth of the shark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the subterraneous woods, and fossil trees, there seems to be no great reason to believe, they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever since; it being much more probable, that they either were occasioned by inundations of the sea, or were felled by men in the places where they now lie; as is undeniable of many of them, which still shew the marks of the ax (10).

(1) Genes. vi. 12, 13. (2) Ibid. v. 17. (3) Genes. vii. 4. (4) Ibid. v. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. (5) Peyrer. *præ-adamit.* (6) *Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire.* (7) *See Mr.* Llwyds *letter in Mr. Ray's Phisiol. Disc. p.* 181. (8) *Ibid. p.* 185. (9) *Ibid. p.* 190, &c. (10) *Vid.* Ray's *Physiol. Disc. p.* 225.

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two oceans [r]. And where to find this is the queſtion. There are the clouds above, a
and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and theſe are all the ſtores we have
for water *: and *Moſes* directs us to no other for the cauſes of the deluge; *The foun-*
tains of the great deep, ſays he, *were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened*;
and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights [s]. By the *great deep* ſome un-
derſtand the ocean [t], but others, with more reaſon, the ſubterraneous abyſs, or vaſt col-
lection of waters in the bowels of the earth †. But it is thought, the waters, which
either the abyſs or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiouſly ſhort of the proportion
required. According to the obſervations made of the quantity of water that falls in
rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very in-
conſiderable part of what was neceſſary for a deluge [u]. If it rained forty days and forty b
nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be ſufficient to lay all the lower
grounds under water, but it would ſignify very little as to the overflowing of the
mountains; ſo that it has been ſaid, that if the deluge had been made by rains only,
there would have needed not forty days, but forty years to have brought it to paſs [w].
And if we ſuppoſe the whole atmoſphere condenſed into water, it would not at all
have been ſufficient for this effect; for it is certain, that it could not have riſen above
thirty two foot, which is well known to be the uſual height to which water can be
raiſed by the preſſure of the atmoſphere [x]; for the weight of the whole air, when con-
denſed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural ſtate, and muſt
become no leſs than eight hundred times denſer, for that is the difference between the c
weight of the heavieſt air and that of water [y]. And as to the abyſs, if by it we intend
the ſea, that is not higher than the land, as ſome have formerly imagined, and there-
fore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and
take up the ſame place: and if we underſtand the ſubterraneous waters, they would
be quiet in their cells, and not aſcend otherwiſe than by force; and if force were uſed
to draw them out on the ſurface of the earth, their places muſt be filled again with
other waters, ſo as this turns to no account upon the whole [z].

THIS being the caſe, ſome cut the knot which they cannot looſe, and ſhew us the
naked arm of omnipotence; ſaying, that GOD created waters on purpoſe to make the
deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to ceaſe. But our bu- d
ſineſs is not here to enquire what GOD could work by his almighty power, but to ac-
count for this event in the beſt manner we can from natural cauſes; nor are we raſhly
to fly to the divine omnipotence, eſpecially for the creation of new matter. *Moſes*
plainly aſſigns natural cauſes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the diſruption of the
abyſs; and St. *Peter* has aſſigned a cauſe alſo, the natural conſtitution of the world [a];
and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others therefore,
inſtead of a creation, ſuppoſe a tranſelementation, and ſay the air was changed into
water, and that was the great inſtrumental cauſe of the deluge [b]. But this opinion
agrees as little with the philoſophy of *Moſes*, or St. *Peter* as the laſt, and renders the
opening of the abyſs perfectly needleſs [c]: beſides, ſuch a tranſmutation would in effect e
be no more than a condenſation, the inſufficiency of which has been already ſhewn.
According to a third expedient, the rain and ſea-waters were rarefied ſo as to reach
the determined height: but if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally
are (as in that caſe they muſt have been) it is hard to ſay how they could either drown
man or beaſt, keep alive the fiſh, or ſupport the ark [d]. A fourth opinion is, that
the

[r] Dr. KEILL, in his Remarks on Whiſton's Theory. Vid RAY's Diſc. p. 118. [s] Geneſ. vii. 11, 12. [t] Vid. CLERIC. Comment. in loc. [u] Vid. MERSENN. Cogit. Phyſico-mech. p. 221. [w] Auct catenæ in Geneſ. vii. 4. [x] VOSSIUS in epiſt. ad And. Colvium, p. 385. [y] See Dr. HALLEY's Diſſert. in the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. XVI. p. 104. [z] BURNET ubi ſup. [a] 2 Pet. ii. 6. [b] KIRCHER. de Arca Noe. l. 2. [c] Vid. BURNET ubi ſup. & c. 3. [d] Vid. Voss. ubi ſup.

* *Moſes*, in his account of the creation, ſpeaking of *waters above the firmament* (1), though it be generally underſtood of the clouds and aqueous vapours ſuſtained in the middle region of the air (2), yet ſome have fancied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make uſe of them for a ſupply, when they could not find enough under the heavens, to make up the maſs of the deluge; though if theſe imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not eaſy to tell. But ſince the ſyſtem of the world has been better known, and the nature of the heavens, it is preſumed, there are none that would aſſert theſe ſuper-celeſtial waters much leſs make that extravagant uſe of them, as to bring them down hither for a cauſe of the deluge (3).

† Notwithſtanding the word תְּהוֹם *Tehom*, *depth*, in ſome paſſages (4) is ſuppoſed to ſignify the ſea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of ſubterraneous waters, as it manifeſtly muſt in other places (5). And being here joined with the epithet רַבָּה *rabbah*, *great*, it ſeems *Moſes* intended, that vaſt collection of waters, which the moſt ſagacious naturaliſts place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greateſt part of that *deep*, which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation (6).

(1) Geneſ. i. 6, 7. (2) *See the Introd. p. 42. b.* (3) BURNET's *Theory*, *Book* 1. *c.* 2. (4) Pſal. xxxiii. 7. Prov. viii. 27, 28. (5) Deut. viii. 7. Ezek. xxxi. 4. (6) Geneſ. i. 2. *V.* BURNET, *ubi ſup. c.* 7.

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a the antediluvian earth, with all its ſtones, metals, mineral concretions, and all foſſils whatſoever that had obtained any ſolidity, was totally diſſolved in the deluge, the cohæſion of its parts perfectly ceaſing: that the corpuſcles of theſe ſolid foſſils, together with the corpuſcles of thoſe which were not before ſolid, ſuch as earth, ſand, and the like; as alſo animal bodies and parts of animals, bones, teeth, ſhells; vegetables and parts of vegetables, trees, ſhrubs, herbs; in ſhort, all bodies whatſoever which were either in the earth, or that conſtituted the maſs of it, if not quite down to the abyſs, yet at leaſt to the greateſt depth we ever dig, all theſe were promiſcuouſly taken up into the waters, and made one common maſs: that at length they ſubſided downwards together, generally, and as near as might b be expected in ſuch a confuſion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the *ſtrata* of ſtone, marble, coal, and the reſt, of which the earth manifeſtly conſiſts; and there being bodies of different kinds and conſtitutions, which are nearly of the ſame ſpecific gravity, it thence happened that bodies of quite different kinds ſubſided at the ſame inſtant, and fell together with the ſame *ſtratum*; for which reaſon the ſhells of cockles, eſcallops, and the reſt, which have a greater degree of gravity, were encloſed and lodged in the *ſtrata* of ſtone and marble, and the heavier kinds of terreſtrial matter, the lighter ſhells not ſinking down till afterwards, and ſo falling among the lighter matter, as chalk and the like [d]. But this ſtrange and bold hypotheſis, to which the author was driven to ſolve theſe phænomena of the interior parts of the earth, (which c yet might poſſibly be otherwiſe accounted for [e]) is ſo little conſiſtent with the *Moſaic* hiſtory of the deluge, takes ſo little notice of the *opening the windows of heaven*, and is ſo contrary to the univerſal law of mutual attraction, and the ſpecific gravities of bodies, accounts for ſo few of the phænomena of the deluge, implies ſuch a new ſort of formation, or creation of the earth at the deluge without warrant for the ſame, and is ſo much more than his obſervations require, or will ſupport, that it cannot engage the aſſent of any conſidering perſon [f]. A fifth opinion is, that though the rains might afford a vaſt quantity of water towards a deluge, yet the chief cauſe was the changing the center of the earth, and ſetting it nearer to the center, or middle of our continent; whereupon the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* oceans muſt needs preſs upon the ſubd terraneous abyſs, and ſo by mediation thereof force the water upwards, and compel it to run out at thoſe wide mouths and apertures, made by the divine power breaking up the fountains of the great deep. Theſe waters thus poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the center, could not flow down to the ſea again, but muſt needs ſtagnate upon the earth, and overflow it, and afterwards, the earth returning to its old center, return alſo to their former receptacles. This hypotheſis gives a fair and eaſy ſolution of all the phænomena of the deluge, ſave only the generality of it, making it topical, and confining it to our continent: for which reaſon a very ſagacious naturaliſt, who otherwiſe approves it, propoſes a ſixth way of ſolving them; and that is, by ſuppoſing, that the e divine power might at that time, by the inſtrumentality of ſome natural agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo depreſs the ſurface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyſs through the before-mentioned channels and apertures, and ſo make them a partial and concurrent cauſe of the deluge. And it appears from inſtances, that there are, at ſome times, in the courſe of nature, extraordinary preſſures on the ſurface of the ſea *, which force the waters outwards upon the ſhores to a great height [g]. But this we fear is too occult a cauſe to give much ſatisfaction to a philoſophic enquirer.

We have ſtill to conſider the hypotheſes of two perſons well known in the republic of letters, whoſe theories we have conſulted on other occaſions; Dr. *Burnet* and Mr. *Whiſton*.

f To have a compleat idea of that of the former, we muſt remember, that he conceives the firſt earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a ſmooth and even ſurface, without mountains, and without a ſea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly encloſed within, or under its upper cruſt, *Dr.* Burnet's *Theory.*

[d] Woodward's Nat. Hiſt. of the earth. [e] See before, p. 97. and after § 7. [f] See Whiston's Theory, p. 276, &c. and Ray's Diſc. p. 165, &c. [g] Ray, ibid. p. 117, &c.

* We had upon our coaſts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water roſe ſo high as to overflow all the ſea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houſes of many villages that ſtood near the ſea, ſo that the inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be affected, but by an unuſual preſſure on the ſuperficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive (1).

(1) Ray, *Diſc. c. 2. p.* 119.

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cruſt, which formed a ſtupendous vault around them [h]. This vaſt collection of waters a
he takes to have been the great deep, or abyſs of *Moſes* [i], and that the diſruption of
it was the chief cauſe of the deluge. For he ſuppoſes, that the earth being for ſome
hundreds of years expoſed to the continual heat of the ſun, which, by reaſon of the
perpendicular poſition he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the
ecliptic, was very intenſe, and not allayed by that diverſity of ſeaſons, which now keeps
our earth in an equality of temper [k], its exterior cruſt was at length very much dried;
and when the heat had pierced the ſhell, and reached the waters beneath it, they
began to be rarefied and raiſed into vapours, which rarefaction made them require more
ſpace than they needed before, and finding themſelves pent in by the exterior earth,
they preſſed with violence againſt that arch to make it yield to their dilatation. And as b
the repeated action of the ſun gave force to thoſe encloſed vapours more and more,
and made them more ſtrong and violent, ſo on the other hand it weakened more and
more the arch of the earth that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the moiſture that was
the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry places; and there being
no winter to cloſe up its parts, it grew more and more diſpoſed to a diſſolution, and
at length, when GOD's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the
frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and thoſe great portions,
or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyſs, ſome in one poſture,
and ſome in another [l].

THIS hopotheſis, the author thinks, not only agrees with the narration of *Moſes*, c
and anſwers the aſſertion of St. *Peter*, that the firſt earth was obnoxious to a deluge
from its conſtitution [m], but ſupplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of
thoſe prodigious fragments would raiſe a vaſt commotion in the abyſs, and throw its
waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now firſt formed,
for ſome time: for after the firſt violent ſhock, he imagines there were ever and anon
ſome ſecondary ruins which broke, and made new commotions, till at length, when all
the ruins were ſettled and fixed, the waters began to ſettle too, and the dry land to
appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into ſea and land;
the greateſt part of the abyſs conſtituting our preſent ocean, and the reſt filling up the
lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, iſlands in the d
ſea, and rocks upon the ſhore. And ſo providence at one ſtroke diſſolved the old
world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit [n].

BUT though it be reaſonable to believe, the firſt earth had its axis inclined to the
plane of the ecliptic as well as the preſent, and had the ſame viciſſitudes of ſeaſons;
yet allowing the theoriſt's ſuppoſition of its parallel poſition to be true, it is not con-
ceivable, the heat of the ſun would even then have had the power he imagines, or affect
the earth in ſuch a degree as to cauſe great cracks or fiſſures in it, or to raiſe the wa-
ter under it into vapours, ſince we find no ſuch effects in the hotteſt country or ſeaſon;
nor is it probable, ſuch rarefaction, were it poſſible, ſhould be ſo extream as to break
through an arch of ſome hundred miles thick. Beſides, it is to be feared, that if the e
action of the ſun was ſo ſtrong, the abyſs, the only ſtore-houſe of waters in the firſt
earth, would have been near exhauſted * before the time of the deluge. This account
alſo ſeems not very conſonant to the *Moſaic* hiſtory, which deſcribes a gradual riſe
and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent tranſient ſhock, which
would not have laſted many days, if hours [o]: not to mention the little uſe our author
makes of the rains, which he ſuppoſes indeed to have fallen throughout the earth
(though he does not know how that could proceed from natural cauſes), and to have
contributed to the diſruption of the abyſs, by weakening the arch of the earth, and
ſtopping its pores, which would make the vapours ſtruggle the more violently; and
that nothing but a miracle could ſave the ark in ſo prodigious a ſtorm and convulſion f
of nature [p].

THE

[h] See the Introduction, p. 37. b. [i] BURNET's Theory, b. 1. c. 7. [k] See before, p. 66. d.
[l] BURNET ubi ſup. c. 6. p. 95, &c. [m] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7. [n] BURNET ubi ſup. p. 101, &c.
[o] Vid. KEILL's Examination of Burnet's Theory. [p] BURNET ubi ſup. p. 133, 136, &c.

* Dr. *Keill* has made a plain calculation of this matter, and concludes that, ſince none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theoriſt, returned into the abyſs again, it muſt needs follow, that in eight hundred and twelve years it would be quite empty, upon ſuppoſition that there were as many rivers in the primitive earth, as are in ours: but as there was then twice the land, if there were no ſeas, ſo there muſt be allowed twice as many rivers, to water it; and by ſuch a double quantity, the abyſs would be emptied in half that time (1).

(1) KEILL's *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory*, p. 164.

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Mr. Whiston's *Theory.*

a THE expedient of the other learned theorist is the trajection of a comet *, which he supposes passed so close by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmosphere and tail. On which hypothesis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

HE says, that when the earth had passed through the tail and atmosphere of the comet, which he supposes to consist of vapours rarefied, and expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on calculation, for about two hours, it must have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whose basis were somewhat larger than one of the earth's greatest circles, and whose altitude were equal to the diameter of the comets atmosphere: that these vapours would be impeded from descending towards
b the sun by the earth's interposition and attractive power, and so would fall down with great violence on its surface; a great part of which being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condensation, descend in violent and outragious rains on the face of the earth, and very naturally occasion the forty days and forty nights rain mentioned by *Moses*.

THAT the presence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cause a double tide, as well as in the seas above, as in the abyss below; that in the seas would be less considerable, but the other would be vastly great, and produce mighty effects. For on the neareſt approach of the comet, the surface of the abyss would put on an elliptic, or oval, instead of its former spherical figure, and the orb of
c earth which rested on it would be obliged to accommodate itself to that larger oval surface; which being impossible for it to do while it remained solid, it must of necessity enlarge it self, and by the violent force of the increasing surface of the abyss be stretched, cracked, and have innumerable fissures made quite through it; or rather the tide must open and enlarge those fissures, which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and sufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyss below and the surface of the earth above; which was no sooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crouded the air with vast quantities thereof; which waters being adventitious, and of a prodigious weight, must press downwards with a
d mighty force, and endeavour to sink the orb of earth deeper into the abyss according as the entire weight of each column of earth and its incumbent water together did now require, agreeably to the laws of hydrostatics; which laws he supposes not to have been exactly complyed with at the earth's first subsiding into the abyss, otherwise he could scarce have expected any elevation of the subterraneous waters. But since the lower strata of the earth were, according to him, in a good measure settled, and consolidated together before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would archwise sustain itself much higher than the law of specific gravity would otherwise require; and so, upon the disruption of the upper earth, its several columns, as there was room, would settle themselves lower than they were at first, and their weight, augmented by
e the additional waters of the comet, would squeeze and press on the surface of the abyss; which being a fluid mass, and incapable of sustaining a pressure on one part without equally communicating it to all the rest, must burst out wherever such pressure was wanting, and throw itself up the fissures, through which it would ascend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth, or water, and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a fresh augmentation of that deluge, which began already to overwhelm and destroy the inhabitants thereof[q].

THE abatement and decrease of the waters of the deluge, our author supposes, was first by a wind, which dried up some; and secondly, by their descent through those
f breaches and fissures, (at which part of them had ascended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the rest. To which latter also the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and so promoting their lighting into the beforementioned fissures, was very subservient. The air he grants could sustain a very inconsiderable quantity in comparison of the entire mass; but as he supposes the antediluvian earth, though it was not destitute

[q] WHISTON's Theory, p. 376, &c. 380, &c.

* That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is attested by several authors (1): *Pliny* (2) mentions one which appeared in the reign of *Typhon*, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and speaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the last most remarkable comet, which was seen in these parts in the year 1680, (whose revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whose trajectory Sir *Isaac Newton* has delineated) was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of *Noah*'s deluge, and which was the cause of the same (3).

(1) *Vid.* HEVELII *cometograph. l.* 12. *p.* 794.
(2) *Hist. nat. l. ii.* 25.
(3) WHISTON's *Theory, p.* 187.

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deſtitute of leſſer ſeas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean, ſeparating one continent from another, and covering ſo large a portion of it, as the preſent earth has [r]; he conceives, the upper region of the earth being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickneſs, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water, than was on the earth at the time of the deluge [s]. a

To this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former; for, though there are ſome ſurprizing coincidents, which make it indeed probable, that a comet did really come very near, and paſſed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cauſe a prodigious tide in the ſea, and in the abyſs; yet it has been thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſwelling of the abyſs ſhould have ſuch an effect as to make convenient fiſſures in the ſolid cruſt of earth which encloſed it, without ſhattering its whole frame. Nor has the theoriſt's account of draining off the waters from the ſurface of the earth been judged ſatisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that thoſe ſubterraneous cavities, which he ſuppoſes could contain but a ſmall proportion of the waters requiſite to make the deluge, ſhould yet be capable of receiving the greateſt part of them when it was over. Theſe difficulties however might poſſibly receive a ſolution: but the greateſt objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmoſphere of a comet be a watery ſubſtance or no; or if it were, that it ſhould afford ſuch a vaſt quantity of water as the theory has occaſion for, on the earth's bare paſſing through it. For it is ſaid the obſervations of the moſt curious enquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the ſmoak, riſing at firſt to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is oppoſite to the ſun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by paſſing through the atmoſphere of the comet, ran a greater riſque of a conflagration than a deluge [t]. b c

The moſt rational account of the deluge.

It ſeems therefore, after all, that the divine aſſiſtance muſt be called in on this occaſion. For though the waters which covered the earth at the creation, might be ſufficient to cover it again, yet how this ſhould be effected by meer natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were ſuſpended in the clouds, might indeed deſcend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or ſpouts of water (as the *Septuagint* interpret the *windows of heaven*) like thoſe in the *Indies*, where the clouds frequently, inſtead of dropping, fall with a terrible violence in a kind of torrent [u]; and this alone might cauſe a great inundation on the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would ſoon be exhauſted at this rate, it ſeems from the length of the rains continuance, that the ſhowers were rather moderate and gradual. The ſubterraneous ſtores would afford a much more plentiful ſupply to compleat the deluge, and probably contain more water than enough to drown the world to a greater height than *Moſes* relates *: the only difficulty is to draw it out of the abyſs on the ſurface of the earth. And here, ſince we can aſſign no natural cauſe, we apprehend, we may, not unphiloſophically, reſolve it into the divine power, which might on this occaſion ſo far controul (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) the uſual courſe of nature, as to effect its purpoſe. And indeed the event was ſo extraordinary, and the conſequences thereof ſo conſiderable, that it is very reaſonable to believe, GOD did in an eſpecial manner interpoſe therein. The *Stoics*, who ſuppoſed alternate deſtructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the poſſibility of a general deluge. "There are vaſt lakes, ſays *Seneca*, which we do not ſee, great part "of the ſea lies hidden and concealed, and many rivers glide in ſecret; ſo that there "may be cauſes of a deluge on all ſides, when ſome waters flow in under the earth, "others flow round about it, and being long pent up, overwhelm it; and as our bo- "dies ſometimes diſſolve into ſweat, ſo the earth ſhall melt, and, without the help "of e d

[r] WHISTON's Theory, p. 374. See alſo p. 61. on Whiſton's Theory, and NICHOLL's Conference, and RAY ubi ſup. 116.

[s] Ibid. p. 401, &c.

[t] Vid. KEILL's Remarks Vol. I.

[u] Vid. PATRICK's Comment.

* Though Sir *W. Raleigh* (1) allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the higheſt in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. *Olympus*, whoſe height is ſo extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and a half perpendicular, and about ſeventy paces. Mount *Athos*, which is ſaid to caſt its ſhade into the iſle of *Lemnos* (according to *Pliny* eighty ſeven miles) is not above two miles in height; nor *Caucaſus* much more (2); nay, the pike of *Teneriff*, reputed the higheſt mountain in the world, may be aſcended in three days, (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey) which makes it about the height of a *German* mile perpendicular (3). And the *Spaniards* affirm, that the *Andes*, thoſe lofty mountains of *Peru*, in compariſon of which, they ſay, the *Alps* are but cottages, may be aſcended in four days compaſs (4).

(1) *Hiſt. of the World. Book* 1. *c.* 7. § 6. (2) *Vid.* VOSS. *in Mela. l.* 2. *c.* 2. (3) *Vid.* VAREN. *Geogr. l.* 1. *c.* 19. *prop.* 3. (4) STILLINGFLEET's *Orig. Sacr. p.* 544, *&c.*

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a " of other cauſes, ſhall find in itſelf what ſhall drown it, there being in all places, " both openly and ſecretly, both from above and from beneath, an eruption of wa- " ters, ready to overflow and deſtroy it [w].

HAVING thus conſidered the efficient cauſes of the deluge, we muſt next take a view of the ark, whereby *Noah* and his family were delivered from this deſtruction.

Of the ark.

Its ſize and figure.

WE might preſume, if *Moſes* had not told us ſo, that a veſſel proportionable and adapted to the uſe deſigned, muſt have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of GOD himſelf. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact meaſure of the cubit here mentioned is diſputed. Some fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwiſe too ſmall for the b intended purpoſe, have enlarged the dimenſions even to extravagance *: but the gene- ral opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits [x], one of which, though formerly ſuppoſed equal to eighteen of our inches [y], is now allowed to contain almoſt 22, or more exactly 21.888 [z]. According to which meaſure the ark muſt have been 547.2 *Engliſh* feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high, and the ſolid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet, almoſt double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong ſquare, or parallelopiped, with a flat bottom, and a ſloped roof raiſed a cubit in the middle [a]; it had neither ſails nor rudder, nor was it made ſharp ſo as to cut the water; which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying ſteadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within c it, ſo it was very unfit for ſwimming to a great diſtance, or for riding in a boiſterous ſea. It conſiſted of three ſtories, each of which, abating the thickneſs of the floors, might be about eighteen foot high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms, or apartments [b]. This veſſel was without doubt ſo contrived as to have the benefit of the air and light on all ſides †, though the particular conſtruction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole ſeems to have had another covering beſides the roof, probably made of ſkins, like that of the tabernacle ‡.

THAT the ſpace in the ark was abundantly ſufficient to contain both *Noah*, and his family, and the animals, and all neceſſary proviſions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men **, who have yet generally ſuppoſed the

[w] SENEC. Nat. quæſt. l. 3. c. 27. [x] Vid. BUTEON. de Arca Noe POOL's Synopſis, in loc.
[y] Vid. BERNARD. de menſuris & ponder. antiq. l. 3. [z] See the preface. [a] Geneſ. vi. 14, 15, 16.
[b] Ibid. v. 14, 16.

* When *Celſus* objected, that the ark was a monſter with all things in its belly (1), *Origen* anſwered that the ark was like a great city, whoſe baſe was 90-000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad (2); but in another place he is more moderate, and without encreaſing the number of the *Moſaic* cubits, ſuppoſes they were geometrical cubits, each containing ſix ordinary cubits (3); which laſt opinion is approved by St. *Auſtin* (4). Some, who cannot digeſt theſe geometrical cubits, ſuppoſe, the ark was meaſured by a larger cubit of three foot (5), or by the ſacred cubit, which was larger by a hand's breadth than the common cubit (6), all without the leaſt ground or intimation to that purpoſe in the ſacred hiſtorian. Sir *Walter Raleigh* (7) ſuppoſes, the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was after in uſe, becauſe as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger ſtature: but this gains no room in the ark, becauſe the bulk of its cargo muſt have been encreaſed in proportion.

† There are various tranſlations of the word צֹהַר *Sohar* (8), which is found but once in the whole bible in this ſenſe. Our verſion renders it *window*, as it ſeems very properly; for the root in the *Chaldee* ſignifies to *ſhine*, or to *give light*; wherefore one of the paraphraſts (9) imagines *Sohar* to have been a precious ſtone, or carbuncle, which *Noah* was to fetch from the river *Phiſon*, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, *and in a cubit ſhalt thou finiſh it above*, ſome have ſuppoſed the window was to have been a cubit ſquare, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too ſmall; but the relative *it*, being in the *Hebrew* of the feminine gender, and *Sohar* of the maſculine, thoſe two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent ſeems to be *the ark*, which was to be covered with a Roof raiſed a cubit high in the middle.

‡ *Noah* is ſaid, after the flood, to have removed *the covering of the ark* (10), which cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been the roof, but ſomething flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expreſſed by the ſame *Hebrew* word; and the uſe of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

** Biſhop *Wilkins* has reduced the number of ſpecies of animals, which at firſt view may ſeem almoſt infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons, they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of theſe muſt be excepted ſuch as live in the water, ſuch as proceed from a mixture of different ſpecies, and ſuch as change their colour, ſize, and ſhape, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, ſeem to be of different ſpecies, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food neceſſary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough and to ſpare: whereupon he obſerves, that had the moſt ſkilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to conſult what proportions a veſſel deſigned for ſuch an uſe ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of it, they could not have pitched

(1) [illegible] (2) ORIGEN. cont. Celſ. l. 4. *Vid.* KIRCHER, *de arca Noe*, c. 8. (3) *Idem*, *Homil.* 2. *in* Geneſ. (4) *De Civit. Dei*, l. 15. c. 27. (5) CAPPELL. *Hiſt. Sacr. p.* 30. (6) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hiſt. Patr. Tom.* I. *Exerc.* 17. § 10. (7) *Ubi ſup.* § 9. (8) Geneſ. vi. 16. (9) JONATHAN. (10) Geneſ. viii. 13.

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the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches [c]; whereas, if we take the a
dimensions according to the larger measure abovementioned, the whole capacity will
be nearly doubled [d], as may be easily proved.

BUT another objection has been raised against the preservation of animals in the ark,
which may not be so easily answered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of serpents
in *Brasil*, the slow bellied creature of the *Indies*, and all those strange species of ani-
mals seen in the *West-Indies*, should either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of
it into those countries, which are divided from that continent where *Noah* was, by so
vast an ocean on one side, and at least so large a tract of land on the other (supposing a
passage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet discovered), and
some animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are [e]. But to this b
it may be answered, that it is probable, that the temperature of the air, before the
deluge, was so equal and serene, that all kinds, even of the *American* animals, might
live and be found in those parts of *Asia*, when *Noah* went into the ark, though none
of them could bear the climate since, by reason of the change in nature. The great
difficulty is how to get them into *America* after the flood was over; and here we
confess we cannot tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means
America was peopled; and yet even those who contend for a partial deluge, allow the
inhabitants of that country to be the descendants of *Noah* *.

Its materials. THE timber of which the ark was framed, *Moses* call *Gopher* wood [f]; but what tree c
the *Gopher* was †, is controverted; some will have it the cedar [g], others the pine [h],
some the box [i], and others, particularly the *Mohammedans*, the *Indian* plane tree [k]; but
they seem to be in the right who suppose it to be the cypress [l]; which, besides the re-
semblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper sort of timber for the building of
ships [m], and not subject to rot [n]. To preserve it from leaking, *Noah* was directed to pitch
it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, some have
supposed it to be not pitch but bitumen, such as was used in the building the tower of
Babel; which is probable enough, though *Moses* uses a different word in that place.

Where built. NOR is there less disagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time
spent therein. One supposes it was built in *Palestine*, and that *Noah* planted the cedars d
of which he made it in the plains of *Sodom* [o]; another takes it to have been built near
mount *Caucasus*, on the confines of *India* [p]; and a third in *China*, where he imagines
Noah dwelt before the flood [q]. But the place seems rather to have been somewhere
near *Eden*; from whence, it is to be presumed, *Noah* would not remove far, though not
for the reason alledged by some [r], *viz.* because he was the eldest son in a lineal descent
from *Seth*, which is no way certain from scripture; nor can we think it was far from
Ararat where the ark rested, that being a vessel which could not be driven to a great
distance. It was therefore probably built in *Chaldea*, in the territories of *Babylon* [s];
where there was so great a quantity of cypress in the groves and gardens in *Alexander*'s
time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber [t]. And this
conjecture

[c] BUTEO, de Arca Noe. Bishop WILKIN's Essay towards a real character. [d] Vid. PELETIER Dissert. sur. l'arche de Noe. [e] STILLINGFLEET's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. p. 542. [f] Genes. vi. 14. [g] Targum of ONKELOS, and most of the old Rabbins. [h] MUNSTER. [i] Scholiast. Græc. BOCHART. Phaleg. [k] EUTYCH. p. 34. D'HERBEL. p. 675. [l] FULLER Miscell. l. 4. c. 5. PLATO, de legib. lib. 1. c. 4. [m] Vid. PLUTARCH. Sympos. lib. 1. quæst. 2. VEGET. l. 4. c. 34. [n] VITRUV. l. 2. c. 9. PLIN. l. 16. c. 40. THEOPHRAST Hist. Plant. l. 5. c. 5. [o] JACOB. EDESSEN, apud Barcepham, de parad. part. 1. c. 14. p. 38. [p] TEMPORARIUS Chronol. Demonst. l. 1. [q] WHISTON's Theory, p. 387, &c. [r] Dr. WELL's Geogr. of the old Test. vol. I. p. 65. [s] Vid. BOCHART, ubi supra. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. Exerc. 17. § 20. [t] STRABO, l. 16. p. 1072, & 1076. ARRIAN. de Exped. Alex. l. 7.

pitched on any more suitable to the purpose than those mentioned by *Moses* (1). It is not to be expected, we should here examine the several plans given of the ark, which may serve indeed to shew us the possible, but not the real disposition of it; however, for the readers satisfaction we have inserted a view of the ark, according to that plan which seems to us most likely to be the true one.

* Mr. *Whiston* thinks it most probable, that some were preserved from the deluge in the *American* continent as well as in this, though we have no records left among them to give us notice of it. The silence of the sacred historian as to that world he takes to be no objection, because he supposes the *whole earth* of *Moses* comprehends no more than the then known parts of the world (2).

† *Aben Ezra* and *Kimhi* only say it is a sort of wood so called, which is light, and swims on the water. The *Vulgat* and *Septuagint* take the word *Gopher* not to denote the species of timber, but for an adjective, the first translating it *ligna lævigata, smoothed*, or *planed timber*, and the other ξύλα τετράγωνα *square timber* (3); *Vossius* endeavours to prove, that the expression of this last version signifies not timber squared by the workman, but such sort of trees whose branches shoot quadrangularly, or by four and four at equal distances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, firr, cedar, and some others; but not the cypress (4).

(1) WILKIN's *Essay, &c. See also* TEMPORARIUS, *Chronolog. Demonstr. lib.* 1. *p.* 32. (2) WHISTON's *Theory, p.* 409, *&c.* (3) *Vid.* EUTYCH. *p.* 24. (4) VOSS. *de Sept. Interp. c.* 11.

a conjecture is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition, which makes *Xisuthrus* sail from that country [u].

As to the time, a *Rabbin* says, the ark was fifty two years in building [w]: the fathers and oriental authors a hundred [x], because *Noah* is said to be an hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark [y]. Some, from the words of St. *Peter*, *that the long-suffering of* God *waited while the ark was preparing* [z], suppose, *Noah* was employed therein the whole time of forbearance [a], which was one hundred and twenty years [b]: and others think the time much shorter, because *Noah*'s three sons, the eldest of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the b ark in those very directions [c]; which seems to imply, they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unless they perished in the deluge. But there is no such connection, or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to establish any of these conjectures. All we can affirm is, that such a vessel as the ark, and the necessary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

Year of the World, 1307. Year before Christ, 2999. *And in what time.*

God's command, went into the ark with his wife, his sons, and his daughters-in-law *; and he took in to him, pursuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beasts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, the male and his female † [d]. *Noah* went into the ark in the six hundredth

Year of the World, 1308. Year before Christ, 2998. Noah, &c. *enter into the ark, and the flood begins.*

[u] See before, p. 61, &c. [w] R. Eliezer Pirke, c. 23. [x] Origen. Gregor. Augustin, &c. Elmacin. p. 11. [y] Genes. v. 32. [z] 2 Pet. iii. 20. [a] Bedford's scripture chronol. p. 21. Vid. R. Solomon. [b] Genes. vi. 3. [c] Ibid. v. 18. [d] Genes. vii. 7. and 2, &c.

* It is certain, both from the testimony of *Moses* and St. *Peter* (1), that eight persons and no more were saved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the *Mohammedans* to the same effect, which is said to have been received from their prophet himself, yet others of them report this number variously: some say, they were but six; others ten; others twelve; others seventy eight; others fourscore, half men and half women (2); and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* (3), the preserver, as some pretend, of the *Arabian* language. But it is still more extraordinary, that a christian writer should encrease the number of *Noah*'s family, by supposing he had daughters of his own, and their husbands, his sons-in-law, with him in the ark (4). The *Mohammedans*, on the other hand, also tell us, that the family of *Noah* were not all saved; but that one of his sons named *Yam* (5), or *Canaan* (6), whom some make his grandson, and the son of *Ham* (7), and others his wife's son by another husband (8), perished in the flood. The *Korân* says, *Noah* called to his son from the ark, saying, *Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers*: he answered, *I will get on a mountain which will secure me from the waters*; to which *Noah* replied, *There is no security this day against the decree of* God, *unless for them on whom he shall have mercy*. And immediately a wave separating them, he was drowned (9). Some commentators (10) add, that *Noah*'s wife likewise perished with her son.

The *Eastern* authors differ as to the name of *Noah*'s wife. Some of the *Jews* call her *Tisiah*, or *Arisisah* (11), others say she was *Naamah*, the daughter of *Lamech* (12), of the race of *Cain*. The *Gnostics* called her *Noria*, for which *Epiphanius* (13) reprehends them, and says, her name was *Barthenos*. *Eutychius* tells us *Noah*'s wife was *Haical*, the daughter of *Namusa*, the son of *Enoch*; and that *Shem*'s wife was named *Salit*; *Ham*'s, *Nahlat*; and *Japhet*'s *Arisisah*; and that they were all three the daughters of *Methuselah* (14). But these deserve the same credit as the *Sibyl*, who pretends she was in the ark with *Noah*, being one of his daughters-in-law (15).

The *Eastern* authors add, that *Noah*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam*, handed to him for that purpose (16), took the body of that patriach with him into the ark, and placed it in the midst of the vessel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge (17).

† It is a doubt, whether there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or fourteen of the first, and four of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition (18), and others to the latter (19), which seems to be the natural sense of the *Hebrew* words, *seven* and *seven*; and *two* and *two*; *the male and his female* (20). Besides, if there were but seven of the clean beasts, one must have been without a mate; and if we answer, that the odd one was for sacrifice (21), it is more than *Moses* tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs (22). If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what bishop *Wilkins* computes it, will be no more than necessary for double the number of animals; especially if we consider the birds all went in by sevens; unless the distinguishing word *clean*, which is inserted in the *Samaritan* text, and in the *Septuagint*, and *Syriac* versions, should be supplied in the *Hebrew* (23). If

(1) 1 Pet. iii. 20. (2) Al Zamakhshari & Jallalo'ddin *in Alcor. c.* 11. v. 40. Ebn Shohnah. (3) *Idem.* (4) Const. Manasses *apud* Heidegg. *Hist. Patr. Tom.* I. *Exerc.* 17. § 23. (5) Ebn Shohnah. (6) Jallalo'ddin. (7) D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 676. (8) Al Zamakhshari. (9) Al Koran, c. 11. v. 32. (10) Jallalo'ddin. & Al Zamakhsh. (11) *Shalshel. Hakkab.* p. 92. (12) *Bereshit Rabba, & Shalshel. Hakkab. p.* 7. (13) *Hæres.* 26. (14) Eutych. *p.* 34. (15) Sibylla Erythr. *l.* 3. (16) *See before, p.* 80. (17) Eutych. *p.* 38. *Vid.* Eliezer. *Pirke, c.* 23. Yahya, *in Al Korân. apud Maracc.* 340. (18) Joseph. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 3. August. *de civit. Dei*, l. 15. c. 27. Hieronym. *cont. Jovin. l.* 2, *&c.* (19) Justin. Martyr. Origen. Aben Ezra, *&c.* (20) Genes. vii. 2. (21) Theodoret *quæst.* 50. *in* Genes. R. Solomon. (22) Genes. vii. 9, 15, 16. (23) *Vid.* Cleric. *in loc.* Heidegg. *ubi sup.* § 25.

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hundredth year of his age, on the ſeventeenth day of the ſecond month [e], which a
anſwers to our ſecond of *December* *, while the reſt of mankind were in the height
of ſecurity, and contemning the repeated admonitions of *Noah*, did eat, and drink,
did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and deſtroyed them
all [f]. For on the ſelf-ſame day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up,
and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days
and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to encreaſe for five
months, till they reached their utmoſt height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards,
or twenty ſeven foot above the tops of the higheſt mountains; but they ſeem to have
been free from ſtorms, or violent commotions, and to have raiſed and carried the ark
gently along, that veſſel, as has been obſerved, being unable to abide a ſtormy ſea. b

The waters aſſwage.

At the end of the five months, God cauſed a wind to paſs over the earth, and the
waters began to aſſwage, the two ſources which fed them being ſtopped and reſtrained.
On the very firſt day of their decreaſe, *viz.* the ſeventeenth of the ſeventh month, or
the ſecond of *May*, they fell ſo much that the ark reſted on the mountains of *Ararat*:
and by the firſt of the tenth month, or fifteenth of *July*, the tops of the neighbour-
ing mountains began to appear. Forty days after, or about the twenty third of *Auguſt*,
Noah, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window, or lattice
of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven †, which flew to and fro
till the earth was dry, but gave *Noah* no ſatisfactory information; whereupon he ſent
out a dove ‡ three ſeveral times, ſtaying ſeven days between each; the firſt time the c
dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to reſt on; the ſecond time
ſhe came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off, which
ſhewed a conſiderable abatement of the waters; and the third time ſhe returned no more.

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On the firſt day of the firſt month, anſwering to our ſeventh of *October*, in the
ſix hundredth and firſt year of *Noah*'s life, that patriarch removed the covering of the
ark, to have a more extended view, and ſaw the ſurface of the earth was cleared of the
waters; however, he ſtayed ſometime longer in the ark, till the twenty ſeventh of the
ſecond

Noah, &c. leave the ark.

[e] Geneſ. vii. 6, 11, 13. [f] Matt. xxiv. 38. Luke xvii. 27.

If it be aſked by what means *Noah* got all theſe animals together into the ark, the beſt anſwer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a ſupernatural impulſe from God (1); which ſeems to be intimated by the words of ſcripture (2), though others ſuppoſe it was done by the aſſiſtance of angels (3).

* Several writers have fallen into miſtakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox. But ſince the antediluvian year indiſputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the ſeventeenth day of the ſecond month will fall about the time we have fixed it, according to the *Samaritan* chronology; and according to the *Hebrew* on the ſeventh of *December*, as archbiſhop *Uſher* computes (4); on the ſixth of *November*, as others reckon (5); or, more exactly, on the twenty eighth day of *November*, which is the calculation of Mr. *Whiſton* (6).

It is remarkable, that the day aſſigned by *Moſes* for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein *Plutarch* tells us *Oſiris* went into the ark, *viz.* the ſeventeenth of *Athyr*, which month is the ſecond after the autumnal equinox, the ſun then paſſing through *Scorpius* (7). Nor does it differ above a day or two from that ſet down by *Beroſus*, if we allow what probably may have been the caſe, that that writer, or his tranſcribers fell into the miſtake abovementioned, and ſuppoſed the flood began the ſecond month from the vernal equinox, which was *Dæſius* (8); whereas the true month was *Apellæus*, the ſecond from the autumnal equinox.

The *Mohammedans* ſay the flood began the tenth day of *Rajeb* (9).

† The raven is ſuppoſed to have been ſent out, becauſe *Noah* thought the ſmell of the carcaſes would tempt him to fly to ſome diſtance (10); inſtead of which he kept hovering about the ark, having ſome jealouſy, as the *Jews* pretend, of his mate (11). Though the *Hebrew* ſays the raven returned again, yet according to the *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and vulgat verſions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he periſhed in the waters (12). The *Rabbins* have framed a dialogue on this occaſion between *Noah* and the raven, who aſking, why he was picked out to be ſent on that errand, *Noah* told him, becauſe the world might well be without ravens, which were neither fit for food, nor for ſacrifice (13).

‡ The dove was probably ſent, becauſe of her tameneſs, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her neſt from the greateſt diſtance (14). Some of the *Jews* pretend, ſhe took the olive leaf from paradiſe, others from mount *Olivet*: for they imagine *Judæa* was not drowned in the deluge (15). From the olive leaf *Noah* might infer, that the lower hills, where thoſe trees chiefly grow, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally deſtroyed (16). The *Chaldean* tradition agrees with the *Moſaic* hiſtory in the circumſtance of the birds being ſent out by *Xiſuthrus* (17). And *Plutarch* ſays that according to the mythologiſts, a dove was let out of the ark, and that her going out was to *Deucalion* a ſign of fair weather, and her return of foul (18).

(1) *Vid.* Philon. *Jud. de vita Moſis, l.* 2. *p.* 663. Jallalo'ddin *in al Korán apud Maracc. ubi ſup.* (2) Geneſ. vi. 20. vii. 9. (3) Eliez. *Pirke*, c. 23. (4) *Annal. ad A. M.* 1656. (5) *Vid.* Cleric. *in loc.* (6) *Theory, p.* 218. (7) Plut. *de Iſide & Oſiride, p.* 356. D. (8) *Vid.* Galen. *Coment. in l.* 1. *Epid.* (9) Ebn Shohnah. (10) *Vid.* Bochart, *Hieroz. part.* 2. *l.* 2. *c.* 12. (11) *In Aguddah.* (12) *Vid.* Bochart. *ubi ſup.* (13) *Bereſhit rabbah.* § 33. (14) Bochart. *ubi ſup. l.* 1. *c.* 6. (15) *Bereſhit rabba. ubi ſup.* (16) Bochart. *ubi ſup.* (17) *See before, p.* 92. (18) Plutarch. *de ſolert. animal. p.* 968.

second month, or the second of *December*, when by GOD's direction he came forth out of the ark, with his family, and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days according to the antediluvian computation; and according to the present, a full year, or three hundred sixty five days [g].

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WE shall conclude this section with adding a word or two concerning the *Persian*, and *Indian* traditions relating to the deluge.

The Persian, and Indian traditions of the flood.

AN eastern writer tells us, that some of those who embrace the *Magian* religion, are said to deny the flood, or at least the universality of it, pretending, it reached no further than a cliff near *Hulwân* [h], a city of *Irâk*, bordering on *Curdestân*. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general destruction by water, wherein all mankind perished, except some few that were preserved by providence; and that it was sent by GOD to punish the crimes of mankind, one of whom, named *Malcûs*, was a monster of wickedness and impiety. One odd circumstance mentioned by them is, that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven * of a certain old woman named *Zala Cusa* [i].

WE are told, by the same author, that the *Indians* acknowledge no deluge; but this must not be understood of all, for the *Bramins* say, that the four tribes, or casts, of which the first race of men consisted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the priest neglecting his piety, the soldier becoming insolent and tyrannical, the merchant practising deceit in trade, and using false balances, and the artisan spending the profits of his inventions in riot and excess; their impiety and wickedness grew at length to so insufferable an height, that GOD's indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood, which destroyed all nations without exception; after which GOD, to repair mankind, created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named *Bremaw*, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called *Manow*, and the woman *Ceteroupa*, and by them was the earth repleniished [k]. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several alternate destructions and reparation of mankind: and some of them say, there have been already no less than three destructions by water, and that another is yet to be expected by the same element [l].

SECT. VII.

Of the state of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood.

Of the state of the old world.

THE religion, policy, arts, and sciences of these first men would be a very entertaining subject, if the greatest part of what can be said on these heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

THE only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, and that very early, both of the fruits of the earth, and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool were offered, is a dispute which we shall consider elsewhere. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from *Adam* had stated places, and annual, and weekly times set apart for divine worship, and also a separate maintenance for the priests: all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be made out from scripture. But what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian

The religion of the antediluvians.

[g] Genes. vii. and viii. [h] EBN SHOHNAH. [i] Vid. HYDE, de rel. vet. Persar, c. 10. and LORD's account of the religion of the Persees, p. 9. [k] LORD's Discourse of the Banian religion, c. 6 and 7. [l] Propag. of the gospel in the east. part. 1. lett. 3. See also the Introd. p. 33.

* *Mohammed* has borrowed this circumstance, and inserted it in his *Korân* (1). The commentators say, it was the sign by which *Noah* knew the flood was coming (2). And some pretend it was the same oven which *Eve* made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch till it came to *Noah* (3).

(1) *Al* KORAN. c. 11. v. 40. *and* c. 23. v. 28. (2) *Vid.* MARACC. *in Alc. p.* 340. (3) *Vid.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nouh.*

luvian ſabbath was kept, and that it was the ſame with the chriſtian ſabbath, or ſunday [a]; which notion we ſhall, in a proper place, ſhew to be very groundleſs and precarious. a

Their arts and ſciences. OF the arts and ſciences of theſe people we have not much more to ſay. They ſeem rather to have ſpent their time in luxury and wantonneſs, to which the abundant fertility of the firſt earth invited them, than in diſcoveries or improvements, which probably they ſtood much leſs in need of than their ſucceſſors. The art of working metals was found out by the laſt generation of *Cain*'s line; and muſic, which they might be ſuppoſed to practiſe for their pleaſure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the ſame generation. Some authors have ſuppoſed aſtronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a miſtake of *Joſephus* [b]: but it is to be preſumed, the progreſs they made therein, or in any other ſcience, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful whether letters were ſo much as known before the flood (as will be ſhewn in another place), whatever is pretended by ſome men, who have conceived ſo high an opinion of *Adam*'s knowledge, that they ſuppoſe it to have been almoſt univerſal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to *Seth*, and *Enoch* [c], which are forgeries too groſs to deſerve any conſideration. b

Their polity. As to their politics and civil conſtitutions, we have not ſo much as any circumſtances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable, the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the firſt, was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place, and much ſooner among the race of *Cain* than that of *Seth*. It ſeems alſo, that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood; or rather it is a queſtion whether, after the union of the two great families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there were any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, or diverſity of regular governments at all; it is more likely, that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural conſequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, ſo it was a circumſtance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwiſe perhaps could not have ſo univerſally overſpread the antediluvian world. And for this reaſon chiefly, as it ſeems, ſo ſoon as the poſterity of *Noah* were ſufficiently increaſed, a plurality of tongues was miraculouſly introduced, in order to divide them into diſtinct ſocieties, and thereby prevent any ſuch total depravation for the future. c d

THE ſtate of the natural world before the flood ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent.

The old world more populous and fertile than the preſent. THE antediluvian world was, in all probability, ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the preſent earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing, or ſupplying. This ſeems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the preſent ſtandard of life in the proportion, at leaſt, of ten to one, the antediluvians muſt accordingly in any long ſpace of time double themſelves, at leaſt, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themſelves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late in proportion as men do now, and the ſeveral children of the ſame father ſeem to have ſucceeded as quickly one after another as they uſually do at this day; and as many generations which are but ſucceſſive with us, were contemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once would be by that means ſufficiently encreaſed to anſwer any defect, which might ariſe from other circumſtances not conſidered. So that, if we make a computation on theſe principles *, we ſha[ll] find, that there were a conſiderable number of people in the world at the death of *Abel*, though their father *Adam* was not e

[a] SMITH's Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the LORD's day. Vid. BEDFORD's Scripture Chronol. p. 6. [b] See before, p. 81. [c] See before, p. 78, 79.

* It is now generally owned, and that from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves in about three hundred and ſixty, or three hundred and ſeventy years; or allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare caſes of general wars, famines, plagues, and ſuch like deſolations, in about four hundred years. So that allowing the period for the doubling of mankind from the creation to the deluge to be ten times ſhorter, by reaſon of their ſo much longer lives; if we have a ſeries of forty numbers beginning at two (for ſo many GOD created himſelf at firſt) and doubling themſelves in forty, or for convenience in forty one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we ſhall, in ſome degree, obtain the ſum total of mankind at the deluge, and alſo in the ſeveral ages before that time; though this period of doubling muſt ſtill have been much ſhorter in the earlieſt, and longer in the lateſt times of the interval. Which computation Mr. *Whiſton* (2), (to whom we are obliged for theſe obſervations) has given us in the following table.

(1) *See Sir* W. PETTY's *Eſſay on the multiplication of mankind; and the Philoſophical Tranſactions,* N° 196. *p.* 597, &c. (2) *Theory of the Earth, p.* 249.

a not then 130 years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would eaſily amount to above one hundred thouſand millions (even according to the *Samaritan* chronology) that is to twenty times as many as our preſent earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be ſuppoſed capable of maintaining in its preſent conſtitution [d]. From whence it follows, that to ſuſtain ſo much larger a number of inhabitants (beſides the brute animals which were very probably as numerous in proportion) the earth muſt have been much more fruitful before that deſolation than it has been ſince [e], though it was then barren in compariſon of its primitive fertility before the fall.

Of the longævity of the antediluvians.

ONE of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances which occurs in the antediluvian hiſtory, is the vaſt length of mens lives in thoſe firſt ages in compariſon of our own. b Few now arrive to eighty, or a hundred years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thouſand; a diſproportion almoſt incredible, were it not inconteſtably certain from the joint teſtimonies of ſacred and profane writers *; whoſe authority in this point being not to be eluded, ſome, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined, that the ages of thoſe firſt men might poſſibly be computed not by ſolar years, but months [f], which reduces the length of their lives rather to a ſhorter period than our own. But for this there is not the leaſt foundation; beſides the many abſurdities that would thence follow, ſuch as their begetting children at about ſix years of age, as ſome of them in that caſe muſt have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to conſiderably leſs than two c hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the *Septuagint*.

The cauſes of it.

THE cauſes of this longevity are variouſly aſſigned: ſome have imputed it to the ſobriety of the antediluvians, and the ſimplicity of their diet; that they eat no fleſh †, and had none of thoſe provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have ſince invented. This, were it true, might have ſome effect, but not poſſibly to ſuch a degree as we are ſpeaking of, ſince we have had many temperate and abſtemious perſons, in latter ages, who yet ſeldom have exceeded the uſual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and ſome peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of thoſe days; but as the earth was curſed immediately after the fall, its fruits we may ſuppoſe

[d] WHISTON's Theory, p. 246, &c. [e] Ibid. p. 256. [f] VARRO, apud Lactant. Inſt. divin. l. 2. c. 12. Vid. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 12.

Number of mankind.	*Years of the world.*	*Years of doubling.*	*Series.*
4	2	2	1
8	6	4	2
16	12	6	3
32	20	8	4
64	30	10	5
128	42	12	6
256	56	14	7
512	72	16	8
1024	90	18	9
2048	110	20	10
4096	132	22	11
8192	156	24	12
16,385	182	26	13
32,768	210	28	14
65,536	240	30	15
131,072	272	32	16
262,144	306	34	17
524,288	342	36	18
1,048,576	380	38	19
2,097,152	420	40	20
4,194,304	462	42	21
8,388,608	506	44	22
16,777,216	552	46	23
33,554,432	600	48	24
67,108,864	650	50	25
134,217,728	702	52	26
268,435,456	756	54	27
536,870,912	812	56	28
1,073,741,824	870	58	29
2,147,483,648	930	60	30
4,294,967,296	992	62	31
8,589,924,592	1056	64	32
17,179,869,184	1122	66	33
34,359,738,368	1190	68	34
68,719,476,736	1260	70	35
137,438,953,472	1332	72	36
274,877,906,944	1406	74	37
549,755,813,888	1482	76	38

* *Joſephus* reckons up the teſtimonies of *Menetho*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Heſtieus*, *Jerom* the *Egyptian*, and the writers of the *Phœnician* antiquities. He ſays alſo that *Heſiod*, *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicholaus* wrote, that the antients lived a thouſand years (1). Of all which teſtimonies we have none now extant, except only that of *Heſiod* (2).

† A learned phyſician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among ſeveral cauſes of the longevity of the firſt men enumerated by him, one is their eating of raw fleſh; the moſt nouriſhing and beſt parts whereof, he ſuppoſes are carried off in dreſſing by the action of the fire (3).

(1) JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 4. (2) *In oper. & dieb.* v. 130, *&c.* (3) BEVEROVICIUS *Theſ. Sanitat. l.* 3.

pose gradually decreased in their virtue and goodness till the flood; and yet we do not a
see the length of mens lives decreased considerably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of those inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the strength of their *stamina*, or first principles of their bodily constitutions; which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the sole and adequate cause of their longevity: for *Shem*, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian constitution, fell three hundred years short of the age of his fore-fathers, because the greatest part of his life was passed after the flood [g].

IT has therefore been more rationally supposed, that the chief cause of this longevity was the salubrious constitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholesome, breaking by degrees the pristine crasis of the body, b
and shortning mens lives, in a very few ages, to near the present standard. But how the flood should induce, or occasion such a change in the air is not easy to comprehend [h].

The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr. Burnet.

Dr. *Burnet*, as he attributes the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the direct, or parallel position which he supposes the earth then had to the sun; so he thinks the barrenness, of the present earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of seasons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and shattered, lost its poise, and fell into that oblique situation which it now has [i]. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of their air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightning, rain, snow, hail, ice, tem- c
pestuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter stranger, causing a sensible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life [k].

——*and Mr.* Whiston.

Mr. WHISTON is of the same opinion as to the different states of the air before and since the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well as on the productions of the earth; but assigns very different causes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, such as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and such as the generality of our fellow planets (especially our next neighbour the moon), as far as we can observe, are supposed to have had at first, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reason be desired, is to give a plain account d
of those opposite phænomena of the earth which we are now so sensible of, and by what means the deluge could occasion the same [l]. And this he endeavours to do by supposing; 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypothesis, was the cause of the deluge, in passing by the earth by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipsis [m]: and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vast quantities of the gross, heterogeneous, and indigested masses with which the chaotic atmosphere of the comet was crouded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, settled and formed a new crust over the surface of the earth, which was some- e
what encreased by the dirt and soil thrown up by the subterraneous waters, and washed from the mountains [n].

THESE two great changes in the natural world would have very considerable consequences. That made in the earth's orbit, besides altering the form of the year *, would by placing us at a greater distance from the sun, occasion a very sensible decrease in the heat of that luminary, which must (on calculation) have been a twenty fifth part greater before the flood than since [o]. The primigenial soil would lie buried under the sediment, or factitious crust, which he computes to be about one hundred and five foot thick [p], wherein the fertile mold would be much thinner spread than before the deluge; considering which circumstances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the consoli- f
dation of the adventitious sediment, it naturally follows, that the present earth could

be

[g] BURNET's Theory, Book 2. c. 2 and 4. See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 307, &c.
[h] RAY on the deluge, p. 122. [i] See before, p. 66, 67. [k] BURNET's Theory, Book 2. c. 2 and 3.
[l] WHISTON's Theory, p. 363. [m] Ibid. p. 207, &c. [n] Ibid. p. 275, 417. [o] Ibid. p. 363.
[p] Ibid. p. 418.

* The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in absolute space of time nearly equal to our present and antient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty eight minutes and an half shorter than our present solar year; yet it contained three hundred and sixty antediluvian days, which were equal to only three hundred and fifty five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes of our present days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days consequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cause (1).

(1) WHISTON's *Theory*, *p.* 208, 209, 220.

be nothing near ſo fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was [q].

a This ſuppoſition of a new cruſt acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way alſo accounts for the phænomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and ſhells of fiſh, and other marine, and vegetable productions ſo frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great diſtances from the ſea [r]. The heterogeneous compoſition of our preſent groſs atmoſphere, acquired likewiſe from the comet, muſt neceſſarily occaſion great irregularities and depravations in the temperature and conſtitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the ſun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to thoſe calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of ſulphureous and ſultry, and in the frib gid ones of nitrous and freezing effluvia, or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind, from one region to another; thoſe extremities of heat and cold, and ſudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now ſo ſenſible of, are thence eaſily accounted for; and the ſame nitro-ſulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewiſe occaſion thoſe coruſcations, meteors, thunder, lightening, clouds, rain, winds, and ſtorms, ſo common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free [s].

As both the theoriſts deny, there was any rain, at leaſt in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be aſked, what expedients they have found out to ſupply it with water. Mr. *Whiſton*, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and ſeas (though no great ocean) in the firſt earth, effects this with little difficulty; ſuppoſing the vapours elevac ted by the ſun in the day, which the purity and thinneſs of the air hindred from condenſing and falling down in rain, deſcended however in regular and gentle miſts in the night [t]. But Dr. *Burnet*, in whoſe antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor ſeas *, and the whole element of water was locked up in the abyſs, is obliged to have recourſe to a more extraordinary explication. He ſays that the action of the ſun being very ſtrong and conſtant in raiſing vapours, and the earth at firſt moiſt and ſoft, as it grew more dry the rays of the ſun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyſs which lay underneath, and was an inexhauſted ſtore-houſe of new vapours †. Thoſe vapours would be hindred by the heat from condenſing into clouds, d or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains, nor contrary winds to ſtop, or compreſs them, would bend their courſe where they found the leaſt reſiſtance, and that would be towards the poles, or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condenſed and fall down in a continual rain, or dew upon thoſe parts of the earth; ſo that there would be a conſtant ſource of waters, which would neither fail, nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal ſupply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of theſe waters on the even ſurface of the earth, and of their forming themſelves into rivers, which ſeems a difficulty not eaſily to be got over, he ſuppoſes, the earth was not exactly ſpherical but oval, the polar parts being higher than the equinoctial, that is more remote from the e center; by which means the waters which fell about the extream parts would have a continual deſcent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing into leſſer and leſſer ſtreams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the ſun, or drank up by the thirſty ſands of the torrid zone [u].

Whether any Rainbow before the flood.

If either of theſe hypotheſes be admitted, the diſpute whether there was any rainbow or not before the deluge muſt be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rain

[q] Ibid. p. 363, &c. [r] Ibid. p. 423, &c. [s] Ibid. p. 365, &c. [t] Ibid. p. 369. [u] Burnet's Theory, p. 310, &c.

* To this form of the primæval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr. *Burnet* (1) has met with a ſurprizing teſtimony from an *Ethiopian* tradition, delivered to the count *Balthaſar Caſtiglione* by a philoſopher of that nation then in *Spain*; which is to the following effect, *viz.* That the firſt earth was much more ſpacious than the preſent, and nearer to heaven; that it was perfectly round, without mountains or vallies, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a ſponge; that the inhabitants breathed a moſt pure air, and paſſed their lives happily; the earth ſpontaneouſly bringing forth moſt excellent fruits without plowing or ſowing: but after ſome ages, when mankind elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive innocence, the angry gods ſhook the earth with ſo vehement a concuſſion, that the greateſt part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before incloſed in thoſe hidden receſſes, was thereby violently forced out; and to this the fountains, rivers, lakes, and ſea owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but ſtood above reſt, appeared as mountains; and the iſlands and rocks in the midſt of the ſea, are nothing elſe but fragments of the hollow earth which remained after that ſudden diſruption and fall of the whole terreſtrial frame (2).

† Yet, if a calculation made be true, this ſtore-houſe would be quite exhauſted long before the deluge (3).

(1) See his *Theory*, p. 386. (2) Fr. Patricio, *della Rhetorica degli Antichi*, *apud* Ramazzin, *de fontium Mutinenſium ſcaturigine*, p. 41. (3) See the note, p. 100.

rain insensible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rain- a
bow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phænomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is somewhat hard to conceive, how it could be a sign, or confirmation of the covenant which GOD made with *Noah*, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promise. For if we suppose it even an arbitrary sign, and to have no connection with the effect, it seems, that to make it significant and satisfactory, it must be something new, otherwise it could not signify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promise. And accordingly it has been observed, that the signs by institution only, mentioned in scripture, have all something new and strange, as a mark of the hand of GOD: at least it must be acknowledged, that if *Noah* had never seen a rainbow before, that sign b
must have made a much more lively impression on him, and given him much greater comfort and assurance in GOD's promise, than if it had been no more than what he must have often observed before the late terrible devastation [v].

Whether flesh might be eaten before the flood.

WHETHER flesh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is also a question which has been much debated [u]. By the permission expressly given to *Noah* for that purpose after the flood [w], and GOD's assigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beast at the creation [x], one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have supposed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to *Adam* by GOD over the animal creation [y]; and the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood [z], is insisted on as a strong argument on c
this side, and which it is not easy to answer. To say that distinction was used proleptically, is a mere subterfuge; and to suppose it made solely to distinguish what was lawful or unlawful to be sacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the custom to offer to GOD such fruits and animals as were fit for food and sustenance, and not such as were of no use or benefit to mankind in that respect.

SECT. VIII.

An enquiry concerning the situation of mount Ararat, *and the various opinions about it.* d

IT may be proper before we close this chapter, to give some account of the mountains of *Ararat*, where on the ark rested, the situation of which is rendered, in some measure, uncertain by the different traditions concerning it.

THE *Sybilline* verses place mount *Ararat* in the borders of black *Phrygia*, near *Celænæ*, at the springs of the river *Marsyas* [a], which rises out of the same lake with the *Maeander*, and falls at length into it [b]. But it appears from good authorities, that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at least none near so high as *Ararat* must needs have been, but only a small hill, or eminence [c]. This fancy therefore seems to have taken its rise from *Apamea*, another city near *Celænæ* being sur-named *Cibotos*, or *the ark*; not, as *Bochart* observes [d], from any tradition of *Noah*'s ark, but from its situation, being shut up like an ark, or chest, by three rivers which encompassed it; as the port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was called *Cibotos* from the bay surrounding it: besides, *Cibotos* was a new name, which does not seem to have been known in those parts till given to *Apamea*, built by *Seleucus*, or *Antiochus Soter*; and *Celænæ* [e] had a prior right to it, if there had been any such tradition; so that what is farther alledged of the *Apameans* coining medals having on the reverse the impression of an ark, as may be seen on three severally struck in honour of *Adrian* [f], *Septimius Severus*, and *Philip* the *Arabian* [g], is of no weight.

BEN GORION seems to extend the name of *Ararat* to *Caucasus* [h]: but by the mountains of *Ararat* have been generally understood, both by antient and modern authors, those of *Armenia*. *Ararat* is by the *Septuagint* [i], and in the *Vulgat* [k], rendered *Armenia* * ; and there is actually a province of that country named *Ararat* [l], or *Airarat*, from a plain therein so called in memory of *Arai* the eighth king of that nation, who was slain in battle f

[v] BURNET's Theory p. 324, &c. Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 15. [u] Vid. Ibid. Exerc. 10. § 26, &c. [w] Genes. ix. 3, 4. [x] Genes. i. 29, 30. [y] Ibid. v. 26, 28. [z] Genes. vii. 2. [a] XENOPHON, LIVIUS, l. 38. [b] STRABO, l. 12. MAX. TYRIUS, Serm. 38. [c] STRABO ubi supra. PTOLEM. lib. 5. cap. 3. STEPHAN. in Πεσσινοῦς. [d] Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. [e] STRABO ubi supra. LIVIUS ubi sup. [f] CALMET Dict. de la Bible, Art. Apamée. [g] Vid. FALCONERII dissert. de num. Apam. apud Kircher. Arca Noæ. l. 2. c. 6. [h] Lib. 6. cap. 96. [i] Isa. xxxvii. 38. [k] Gen. viii. 4. 2 Kings xix. 37. [l] V. La Notice des Eglises qui dependent du Patr. d'Armenie publiée par le P. SIMON a la fin de son Histoire Critique de la Creance & des Coutumes des Nations du Levant, & SCHROEDER. dissert. de rebus Armenicis.

* The *Samaritan* version translates it *Serendib*, which is the name the eastern writers give to the island *Ceylon*. *See before, p.* 58.

battle there [m]; *Arayi arat* [n] signifying *the slain of* Arai. But though authors have generally agreed in placing *Ararat* in *Armenia*, yet they differ as to the particular ſituation of the mountain where the ark reſted, there being two opinions concerning it, each of which is ſupported by a tradition.

First tradition about mount Ararat.

THE firſt opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide *Armenia* on the ſouth from *Meſopotamia* and that part of *Aſſyria* inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom thoſe mountains took the name of *Curdu*, or *Cardu*, by the *Greeks* turned into *Gordyæi*, and other names *. It is called by the *Arabs Al Judi* [o], (if it be not a miſtake for *Gordi* [p], or a corruption of *Cordi*, or *Jordi* †, as it ought to be written by the *Arabs* [q];) and alſo *Thamanin* [r], probably from the town hereafter named, at the foot of it.

THE tradition which affirms the ark to have reſted on theſe mountains muſt have been very antient, ſince it is the tradition of the *Chaldeans* themſelves [s]: the *Chaldee* paraphraſts conſent to this opinion [t], which obtained very much formerly, but when we come to enquire into the particular part of theſe mountains, whereon the ark reſted, authors ſeem to place it out of *Armenia*, *Epiphanius* in the country of the *Cordyæans* [u], or between the *Armenians* and *Cordyæans* on the mountain *Lubar* [w]: the eaſtern authors, as well *Chriſtians* as *Mohammedans*, on mount *Thamanin*, or *Al Jûdi* [x], which overlooks the country of *Diyar Rabiah* [y] in *Meſopotamia*, near the cities of *Mauſol*, *Forda* ‡, and *Jazîrat ebn Omar* *† [z], which laſt one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark [a].

Remainder of the ark to be ſeen for a long time on the Cardu *mountains.*

TO confirm this tradition, we are told, that the remainders of the ark were to be ſeen upon theſe mountains: *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* both declare, there was ſuch a report in their time [b]; the firſt obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the inhabitants thereabouts ſcraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: and the latter ſays, they uſed the wood of the veſſel againſt many diſeaſes with wonderful ſucceſs. The relics of the ark were to be ſeen alſo in the time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him [c]; and we are told, the emperor *Heraclius* went from the town of *Themanin* up the mountain *Al Judi*, and ſaw the place of the ark [d]. This town of *Themanin* is, or was, ſituate at the foot of the mountain *Al Judi* [e]; the name ſignifies *eighty* (and not eight, as *Bochart*, *Calmet*, and others would have it) in memory of the eighty perſons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were ſaved in the ark [f]; though the chriſtian writers among the *Arabs*, who ſay this city was built by *Noah* and his ſons near *Forda*, not approving that tradition, ſuppoſe it called ſo becauſe they were eight [g].

Monaſtery of the ark formerly there.

THERE was formerly a famous monaſtery, called *the monaſtery of the ark*, upon the *Cardu* mountains, where the *Neſtorians* uſed to celebrate a feaſt day on the ſpot where they ſuppoſed the ark reſted; but in the year of CHRIST 776, that monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightening, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it [h]. Since which

[m] MOSES CHORENENSIS, Compend. Geogr. univerſal. p. 46, 52. [n] Arayi arat. [o] EUTYCH. Annal p. 41. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi. [p] BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. [q] GOLIUS in Not. ad Alfragan, p. 287. [r] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. [s] BEROSUS apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [t] ONKELOS & JONATHAN in Geneſ. viii. 4. [u] EPIPHAN. Hæreſ. 18. [w] Idem, ibid. lib. 1 § 4. [x] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. EBN SHOHNAH, MS. [y] EBN AMÎD, l. 1. c. 1. [z] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 41. Vid. etiam D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 404. Art. Gioudi & p. 676. [a] BENJAMIN TUDELENS. Itiner. p. 61. [b] BEROSUS apud Joſephum Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. ABYDENUS apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. & præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. [c] Hæreſ. 18. [d] EBN AMÎD Hiſt. Arabum. l. 1. c. 1. [e] D'HERBELOT, ubi ſupra. Vid. AGATHIAM, l. 4. p. 135. [f] D'HERBELOT, p. 677. [g] Vid. EUTYCH. & EBN AMÎD ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. Chronic. DIONYSII Patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 113.

* The *Greek* and *Latin* writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordyæi*, *Corducni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. the orientals call them alſo *Cardon*, *Corden*, *Curud*, &c. *Bochart* (1) ſuppoſes they are the ſame which are called by miſtake in *Joſephus Carron* (2).

† جوذي *Jordi* may be changed into جودي *Judi* by an eaſy miſtake of the *Ra* for the *Wauv*; but it is odd ſuch an error ſhould be ſo univerſal.

‡ If this name were not uſually written *Forda* by the *Arabian* authors, we ſhould judge it ought to be *Korda*, from the name of the mountain. *D' Herbelot* mentions a town called *Corda* at the foot of *Al Judi* (3).

*† *Jazîrat ebn*, or *bani*, *Omar* is a city in an iſland of the *Tigris*, ſo named from the *Khalifah Omar ebn Abd'alazîz*, of the family of *Ommiyah*, who, if you will believe *Benjamin* the *Jew* (4), (tho' he by miſtake calls him *Omar ebn al Khettâb*), removed the remains of the ark into that city, and built a *Mohammedan* temple therewith. The *Syrians* call it *Gozarta*, or *the iſland*; but we muſt not confound it, as *Aſſemani* does (5), with the *Gezerta* of *Maſius*, called by ſome the iſle of *Edra*, which is no more than twelve miles above *Mauſol*; whereas *Jezîrat ebn Omar* is ninety miles above that city (6), in one of the roads from *Aleppo* to *Tauris* (7).

(1) *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. (2) *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 2. (3) *Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi.* (4) *Itiner. p.* 61. (5) *Bibl. Orient. Tom.* II. *diſſert. de Monophys. & Tom.* I. *p.* 540. (6) *Geog. Nubiens. p.* 202. (7) TAVERNIER, *Voyage de Perſe, liv.* 3. *chap.* 1.

which time probably the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another which at preſent obtains. a

Second tradition about mount Ararat.

THE ſecond opinion therefore places mount *Ararat* towards the middle of *Armenia*, near the river *Araxes*, or *Aras*, above 280 miles diſtant from *Al Judi* to the north eaſt.

JEROM ſeems to be the firſt who hath given an account of this tradition: *Ararat*, ſays that father, is a champion country, incredibly fertil, through which the *Araxes* flows, at the foot of mount *Taurus*, which extends ſo far. Wherefore by the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, are not to be underſtood the mountains of *Armenia* in general, but the higheſt mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook the plains of *Ararat* [i]. Theſe probably are the plains mentioned before, which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age obſerves, that near the city of *Naxuan* [*Nakh-chuvân*] are the mountains on which the ark reſted, having the *Araxes* running at the foot of them [k]; and ſince that time all the travellers into thoſe parts ſpeak of no other mountain of *Ararat*. b

THIS tradition would appear of equal antiquity with the former, could we be certain this was the high mountain *Baris* *, in the province of *Minyas* † in *Armenia*, to which, according to a tradition reported by *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus* [l], many people in the time of a deluge fled for ſanctuary; and upon the top of which a certain man ſtruck with his veſſel. As it is no new thing to find the ſame relicks in two different places at once, the ſame author alſo aſſures us, that ſeveral pieces of the timber of that veſſel were to be ſeen on the mountain *Baris* a long time after it had landed there [m]: but this circumſtance may be urged as an objection againſt *Baris* being the ſame with the laſt mentioned mountain, which is ſaid to be inacceſſible. However, at the foot of it they alſo ſhew a town called *Cemain*, which comes pretty near to *Shemonah* [n], ſignifying *eight*, the number of perſons who came out of the ark, and, as the *Armenians* ſay, built it [o]. c

Objections to it.

AN objection indeed has been ſtarted by a late traveller, which tends to overthrow both traditions: he ſays, he does not ſee where the dove could find an olive-branch, if the ark be ſuppoſed to have reſted on any of the mountains of *Armenia*, for the olive is not found thereabouts [p]; nor (we are told) in any part of *Aſia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one ſingle place near *Caſbin* [q] in *Perſia*. However, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe antiently, for the ſcripture mentions *Aſſyria* as a land of olive [r]; and we are told, that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia* [s]. Another has obſerved, that this mountain is ſo pointed at the top, that he could not eaſily conceive how the waters of the deluge could withdraw quick enough, juſt when the ark was over it, ſo as to leave it on ſo narrow a ſpace [t]. d

Called Maſis *by the* Armenians.

BUT the *Armenians* are not to be convinced by any arguments, that this is not the very mountain on which the ark reſted; they call it *Maſis* [u], and derive the name from *Amaſia* ‡, the third ſucceſſor of *Haikh* [w], the founder of their nation. The *Turks* name

[i] HIERONYM in Eſai. 37. [k] RUBRUQUIS de Tartaris, c. 48. [l] Apud JOSEPH, Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Ibid. [n] שמנה. [o] Vid. RUBRUQUIS ubi ſupr. [p] TOURNEFORT Voyages. lett. 7. [q] TAVERNIER Voyage de Tunquin. p. 181. [r] 2 Kings xviii. 32. [s] STRABO, l. 11. p. 800. [t] POULLET, Nouv. relat. du levant, part. 1. c. 10. p. 132. [u] RUBRUQ. TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. GOL. Not. ad Alfrag. p. 237. [w] MOSES CHOREN. p. 47.

* *Bochart* (8) ſuppoſes *Baris*, in the *Armenian* tongue, to be the ſame with ἀποβατήριον, the *deſcent*, or *going forth*, as we are told that nation called the place where *Noah* came down from the ark (9); and has found an *Arabic* word of that ſignification ſomething like it; but we doubt much, whether he could find an *Armenian* one: բարձր *bardſr*, ſignifies *high* in that tongue, and might be given to this mountain on account of its height; but this is only conjecture. Others tell us *Baris*, in the *Egyptian* language, ſignifies a ſort of a ſhip (10), and therefore think, the name has ſome reference to the ark; and that the ſame may be alluded to in the names of the temple of *Baris*, and the mountains *Imbar*, and *Nibar*, in that neighbourhood (11) (though their ſituation be very uncertain) as well as the *Lubar* of *Epiphanius* (12).

† Some will have *Minyas* to be written *Milyas* (13); but the firſt ſeems to be the true reading, ſince we find *Minni* joined with *Ararat* in ſcripture (14). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes one name of *Ararat Minni* (15); and perhaps *Armenia* is only a contraction, or compound of *Har* and *Minni*, which ſignifies the mountain, or mountainous country of *Minni*; though the *Armenians* themſelves derive the name from *Aram*, one of their kings (16).

‡ This etymology overthrows *Chardin*'s *Armenian* derivation from *Mas*, or *Meſhech*, the ſon of *Japhet*, whom he ſays that nation conſider as their founder; and his *Perſian* derivation from *Aziz*, an *Arabic* word ſignifying *dear*, or *beloved* (17); which laſt, however, might have been an epithet of this mountain, ſince a traveller calls it *Aſſe Maſis*,

(8) *Phâleg. l.* 1. *c.* 3. (9) JOSEPH *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4. EUSEB. *de locis Hebr. ex interpr. Hieron.* (10) HERODOT. *Euterp.* HESYCH. (11) STRABO, *l.* 11. *p.* 799, 803. (12) *Vid.* FULLER. *Miſcell. Sacr. l.* 1. *c.* 4. (13) VOSSIUS, *apud Berkel. in Steph. voce* Μιλύαι. (14) Jerem. li. 27. (15) *Chronol. p.* 323. (16) MOSES CHOREN. *Hiſt. Arm. p.* 49. (17) CHARDIN, *Voyages en Perſe, Tom.* I. p. 157. LUCAS, *Voyage* I. *tom.* 2. *chap.* 2.

a name it *Agri dagh*, that is, *the heavy*, or *great mountain* [x], and *Parmak dagh*, or the *moun-*
tain of the finger, in alluſion to its appearance ** [y]: it ſtands about twelve leagues to
the eaſt [or rather ſouth-eaſt] of *Erivan* [a] and of *Ejmiadzin*, or the *three churches*, (from
which laſt it is two ſhort days journey) four leagues from the *Aras* [b], and ten to the
north-weſt of *Nackhchuvan* [c]*†. Here we muſt obſerve a miſtake of the modern as well
as antient geographers, who have placed this mountain ſeveral degrees more to the
weſt than it ought to be. This error of theirs hath miſled many hiſtorians, and made
them look for *Ararat* ſomewhere elſe, ſince they could not reconcile the ſituation,
which the maps give it, with ſcripture. Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſet the example to our
Engliſh hiſtorians, and reſts the ark not upon the mountains of *Armenia*, but ſome of
b thoſe between *Perſia*, *Tartary*, and *India*: he takes the mountains of *Ararat* in a more
extended ſenſe, than either the antient traditions, or ſcripture will allow; and to ſerve
his turn, ſuppoſes the mountains of *Caucaſus*, towards *Bactria* and *Scythia*, to be part
of a branch of *Taurus*, which in its way through *Aſia* croſſed *Armenia* [d], but for this
there does not appear the leaſt authority from the obſervations of travellers in thoſe
countries. However, his opinion hath been followed by ſome of our lateſt writers [e],
not conſidering, perhaps, that Sir *Walter* took his notion from *Goropius Becanus*, one
of the moſt fanciful authors that ever wrote; and that this laſt was led into it by the
beforementioned miſtake of the geographers ††.

Deſcription of mount Maſis.

Mount *Masîs* is encompaſſed by ſeveral petty hills, on the tops of which are found
c many ruins, thought to have been the buildings of the firſt men, who feared for a time
to deſcend into the plains [f]: it ſtands by itſelf in form of a ſugar-loaf, in the midſt of
one of the greateſt plains that is to be ſeen [g], detached as it were from the other moun-
tains of *Armenia*, which make a long chain [h]: it conſiſts of two hills [i]; the leſſer is the
more ſharp and pointed [k]; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-weſt of it [l],
and raiſes its head far above the neighbouring mountains [m]: it ſeems ſo high and big,
that when the air is clear it does not appear to be above two leagues from *Erivan* [n]
(whence one writer, deceived by the ſight, computes the diſtance but at one league [o]),
and may be ſeen four, or five days journey off [p]. Yet travellers agree, that the height of it
it not extraordinary [q]; one thinks, he hath paſſed a part of *Caucaſus* which was higher [r];
d and another ſays, it is not above twice as high as mount *Valerian*, near *Paris* [s]: they
therefore impute its being viſible ſo far off to its lonely ſituation in a vaſt plain [t], and
upon the moſt elevated part of the country, without any mountains before it to ob-
ſtruct the view [u]. As for the ſnow, with which, according to all accounts, it is perpe-
tually

[x] Cartwright's Travels, p. 33. Chardin, Voy. en Perſe, Tom. I. p. 157. Tournefort, ubi ſupr. [y] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 404. [a] Chardin, ubi ſupr. [b] Tournefort, ubi ſupr. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Raleigh Hiſt. of the world, book 1. ch. 7. § 10. [e] Shuckford's Connect. Vol. I. p. 98, 103. [f] Cartwright, or the Preachers Travels, p. 30, 31. [g] Tournefort, ubi ſup. [h] Tavernier, ubi ſup. [i] Poullet, p. 131. Rubruquis, ubi ſup. [k] Tournefort, ubi ſup. [l] Newberry in Purchas, part 2. p. 1417. [m] Tavernier, Poullet, ubi ſup. Cartwright, p. 32. [n] Chardin, ubi ſup. [o] Poullet, ubi ſup. [p] Idem, p. 130. Tavernier, ubi ſup. [q] Rubruquis, Newberry, & Poullet, ubi ſup. [r] Chardin, ubi ſupr. [s] Poullet, ubi ſup. [t] Tournefort, ubi ſup. [u] Poullet, ubi ſup.

Maſis (18), which perhaps he miſtook for *Azîz Masis*. Other travellers write it *Meſſis Saur* (19), and *Maſeſaſar* (20), and ſay, it ſignifies the *mountain of the ark*; but this is alſo a miſtake; for though the *Armenians* call a mountain *Sâr*, yet *Masis* does not ſignify an ark. They ſhould have written *Masîs Sâr*, which ſignifies no more than mount *Masîs*: but faults of this kind in travellers are numberleſs, they being ſeldom acquainted with the language of the countries they viſit.

From *Masis* doubtleſs the antients made their *Mons Maſius*, the ſituation of which they have delivered with as much uncertainty as the moderns (21).

** Perhaps our author miſtook this for another mountain ſo called by the *Turks*, which ſtands near the *Caſpian* ſea, between *Niaſabâd* and *Shamakhi*, and ſeems to deſerve the name better (22).

*† It is ſaid, the memorial of the ark's reſting here is preſerved in the name of this city, *Nak* ſignifying in *Armenian* a *ſhip*, and *ſhivan*, *reſted* (23); but this ſeems to be an etymology no better grounded than thoſe abovementioned; the *Perſians* ſaying it was named *Nakkaſh jehân*, from the great numbers of painters ſettled there; for the *Perſians* call one of that profeſſion (by an *Arabic* word) نقاش *Nakkâſh*: and in *Armenian* alſo նկարիչ *Nakſhcrár*, is a *painter*; and նկարել *nakſhel* *to paint*.

†† This author among other out of the way conceits, holds the mountain *Parapaniſus*, or *Paropamiſus* (a branch of *Taurus*, not of *Caucaſus*) to be *Ararat*. He imagines, that the place firſt inhabited after the flood was *Margiana*, a province of *Perſia*, from whence thoſe colonies came with *Nimrod*, which built *Babel*: his reaſon for this opinion is, becauſe *they went from the* Eaſt (24) to the plain of *Shinaar*; whereas *Armenia* (ſays he) bears ſomewhat weſtward from thence (25).

(18) Newberry *in Purchas*, *part* 2. 1417. (19) Cartwright, *ubi ſup.* Tavernier *Voyages*, *liv.* 1. *cap.* 4. (20) Gemelli *Voyages*, *tom.* 2. *book* 1. *chap.* 2. (21) *Vid.* Cellarii *Geogr. Antiq. Vol.* II. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. *p.* 232. (22) *Vid.* Olearius's *Travels*, *l.* 1. *c.* 5. (23) Tavernier *ubi ſupra.* (24) Gen. xi. 2. (25) Goropius Becanus *Indo-Scythia*, *p.* 473.

tually covered from the middle upwards [w] (as it is often with clouds during two, or three months of the year [x]) we are told that is no rule to judge of the height by, ſince the loweſt mountains in thoſe countries, paſſed with the ſame eaſe as the plains, are covered with ſnow [y], which even in the hotteſt ſummer lies on the leaſt hills in *Armenia* [z], as it does on thoſe ſmall ones ſurrounding *Ararat* [a]. a

Fables of the Armenians concerning it.

THE *Armenian* monks tell a thouſand idle ſtories concerning the ark, the whole [b], or a part of which, they pretend, is ſtill to be ſeen on the top of the mountains [c], ſomething always appearing there black, which they imagine to be the ark [d]; though at the ſame time they affirm none ever was, nor can get there [e]; thoſe who have attempted to aſcend the hill out of zeal, or otherwiſe, having been puniſhed, or at leaſt brought back again by angels at night to the place they ſet out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that veſſel [f], as happened, they ſay, to a monk of *Ejmiadzin*, afterwards biſhop of *Niſibin*, called *James*; though GOD at length ſo far complied with his deſires, as to ſend an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the ſame time, not fatigue himſelf in vainly endeavouring to aſcend the mountain, for that GOD had prohibited the acceſs to the top of it [g], and would not ſuffer men to pull in pieces a veſſel which had ſaved ſo many creatures [h]: but if they are aſked, whether they have any relicks of the ark, they gravely anſwer, that it ſtill lies buried in the vaſt heaps of ſnow [i]; which indeed is the charm that hinders the aſcent [k], as one *Armenian* author confeſſes [l], and is ſufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain miſſionary conceits, that the earthly paradiſe ſtill remains in ſome agreeable plain of this mountain, which GOD preſerves from heat and cold, and where the prophets *Enoch* and *Elias* enjoy a thouſand ſorts of delights, and are to eat of the tree of life till the end of the world [m]. Indeed the plain under the mount might be allowed its claim to the terreſtrial paradiſe, was it to be decided by the beauty and delightfulneſs of the ſituation. b c

WITHOUT doubt the *Armenian* prieſts would be glad to produce better credentials in behalf of their tradition; accordingly, they ſometimes tell travellers the ſaid monk had been at the top of *Ararat* [n]. The *Armenian* patriarch informed *Tournefort*, that GOD had favoured one ſaint with the ſight of the ark itſelf [o]. And *Rubruquis* was aſſured by a biſhop, that the beforementioned piece of the ark [brought to *James*] was in their church [p]; and the *Copts* ſhew part of a beam of that veſſel in theirs at old *Cairo* in *Egypt* [q]. What credit ought to be given to theſe venerable teſtimonies, will beſt appear from the account *Tournefort* has left us of his attempt to climb this mountain *, in which having ſpent a whole day with infinite fatigue, he was obliged, by the ſnow d

[w] TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, &c. ubi ſupr. [x] TAVERNIER, ubi ſupr. [y] POULLET, ubi ſupra. [z] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. [a] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupr. [b] POULLET, CHARDIN, ubi ſupr. [c] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupr. [d] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9. [e] RUBRUQ. NEWBERRY, CARTWRIGHT, CHARDIN, &c. ubi ſupr. [f] CARTWRIGHT, p. 34. POULLET and CHARDIN, ubi ſupra. [g] RUBRUQUIS, CHARDIN, & TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupr. P. PHILIPPE Voy. 1. Tom. II. c. 2. [h] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [i] Ibid. [k] Vid. CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, POULLET, LUCAS, &c. ubi ſup. [l] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9. [m] P. PHILIPPE, ubi ſup. [n] NEWBERRY, ubi ſup. [o] TOURNEFORT ubi ſup. [p] RUBRUQUIS, ubi ſup. [q] DE BRUYN Voyage au Levant, Vol. I. c. 35. p. 190.

* "We began ſays that author (1), to aſcend "mount *Ararat* about two o'Clock in the after-"noon, but not without difficulty. We were forced "to climb up in looſe ſand, where we ſaw nothing "but ſome *Juniper* and *Goats-thorn*. This moun-"tain is one of the moſt ſad and diſagreeable ſights "upon earth; there are neither trees, nor ſhrubs "upon it, nor any convents of religious. *Struys* "would have done us a favour, if he had told us "where the *Anchorites* he mentions reſided; for "the people of the country do not remember to "have heard, there ever were in this mountain ei-"ther *Armenian Monks*, or *Carmelites*; all the mo-"naſteries are in the plain. I do not believe the "place is inhabitable in any other part, becauſe the "whole ſoil of *Ararat* is looſe, or covered with "ſnow; it ſeems too as if this mountain waſted "continually. From the top of a great abyſs, "oppoſite to the village [of *Akurla* in the road "from *Erivan*] from whence we came, there con-"tinually fall down rocks of a blackiſh hard ſtone, "which make a terrible noiſe. There are no li-"ving animals but at the bottom, and towards the "middle of the mountain: they who occupy the "firſt region, are poor ſhepherds and ſcabby flocks, "among which one finds ſome partridges: the "ſecond region is poſſeſſed by crows and tygers, "which paſſed by us not without giving fear. All "the reſt of the mountain, that is, the half of it, "has been covered with ſnow ever ſince the ark "reſted there, and theſe ſnows are covered half the "year with very thick clouds. That which is yet "more inconvenient and troubleſome in this "mountain is, that the ſnow which is melted, runs "into the abyſs by a vaſt number of ſources, "which one cannot come at, and which are as "foul as the waters of a land-flood in the greateſt "ſtorm. All theſe ſources form the ſtream which "runs by *Akurla*, and which never becomes "clear. They drink mud there all the year; but "we found it more delicious than the beſt wine: it "is always cold as ice, and has no muddy taſte. "Notwithſtanding the amazement this frightful "ſolitude caſt us into, we endeavoured to find the

Pre-

(1) *In loco ſuperius citat.*

a ſnow and intenſe cold, to return without accompliſhing his deſign, though it was then in the middle of ſummer †.

THE

" pretended monaſtery, and enquired, whether there " were any religious ſhut up in caverns. The no- " tion they have in the country that the ark reſted " here, and the veneration all the *Armenians* have " for this mountain (for they kiſs the earth ſo ſoon " as they ſee it, and repeat certain prayers, after " having made the ſign of the croſs) have made " many imagine it muſt be filled with religious; " and *Struys* is not the only perſon who has told the " publick ſo. However they aſſured us, there was " only one forſaken convent at the foot of the " gulph; that there was no fountain throughout " the whole mount, only the ſtream of the abyſs, " which we could not come at to drink, but near " that convent; and that we could not go in a " whole day to the ſnow, and down again to the " bottom of the abyſs; that the ſhepherds often " loſt their way, and we might judge what a mi- " ſerable place it was, from the neceſſity they " were under to dig the earth from time to time, " to find a ſpring of water for themſelves and " their flocks; and that it would be to no pur- " poſe to aſcend higher in ſearch of plants, becauſe " we ſhould only find rocks hanging over our " heads, and heaped one upon another.

" After this we began to travel towards the firſt " range of rocks, with one bottle of water: but " notwithſtanding we had made pitchers of our bel- " lies, in two hours time they were quite dried up; " and water ſhook in a bottle is a very diſagreea- " ble ſort of drink: our only hope therefore was to " come at the ſnow, and eat ſome of it to quench " our thirſt. It muſt be acknowledged, that the " ſight is very much deceived, when we ſtand at " the bottom and gueſs at the height of a moun- " tain, and eſpecially when it muſt be aſcended " through ſand as troubleſome as the ſyrtes of " *Africa*. It is impoſſible to take one firm ſtep up- " on the ſand of mount *Ararat*; in many places, " inſtead of aſcending, we were obliged to go " back again down to the middle of the mountain; " and, in order to continue our courſe, to wind " ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the " left. When we met with any *Mouſe-ear* which " was too ſhort to brouze, it made our boots as " ſmooth as glaſs, and ſo ſlippery, we were forced " to ſtand ſtill.

" To avoid the ſand, which fatigued us intole- " rably, we took our way to the great rocks " heaped one on another. We paſs under them " as through caverns, wherein we are ſheltered " from all the injuries of the weather, except the " cold, which we felt there very ſenſibly, and ſer- " ved a little to allay our thirſt. We were obliged " to leave this place quickly, leſt we ſhould get a " pleuriſy; and came into a very troubleſome way, " full of ſtones, and were forced to leap from one " ſtone to another. We came about noon to a " place more pleaſing, for it ſeemed as if we were " ready to take hold of the ſnow with our teeth. " But our joy laſted not long; for what we had " taken for ſnow was only a chalk rock, which " hid from our ſight a tract of land about two " hours journey diſtant from the ſnow, and which " ſeemed to us to have a new kind of pavement, " not of little flints, but ſmall pieces of ſtone bro- " ken off by the froſt, and whoſe edges cut like " flints. We kept in very good order; we aſſu- " red our guides, that we would go no farther than " a heap of ſnow, which appeared ſcarce bigger " than a cake; but when we came to it, we found " the heap was above thirty paces in diameter. " We every one of us eat more or leſs, as we " had a mind; and by agreement reſolved to ad- " vance no farther. This ſnow was above four " foot thick; and being frozen hard, we took a " great piece to fill our bottle. It cannot be " imagined, how much the eating of ſnow re- " vives and fortifies: we deſcended therefore from " the ſnow with a wonderful vigour, which was " not of long duration; for we came to ſands " which lay behind the abyſs, and were full as " troubleſome as the former. When we endea- " voured to ſlide along, half our bodies were " buried; beſides, we could not keep the direct " way, but were obliged to go to the left to come " to the edge of the abyſs, of which we had a " mind to take a nearer view. And indeed it is " a moſt frightful ſight; to look on the horrible " precipices ever ſo little, will make the head " turn round. The noiſe made by a vaſt number " of crows, who are continually flying from one " ſide to the other, has ſomething in it very fright- " ful. To form an idea of this place, you muſt " imagine one of the higheſt mountains in the " world opening its boſom, only to ſhew the moſt " horrid ſpectacle that can be thought of. All " the precipices are perpendicular, and the extre- " mities are rough and blackiſh, as if a ſmoak " came out of the ſides and ſmutted them. About " ſix o'clock in the afternoon we found ourſelves " quite tired out and ſpent. However, at length " obſerving a place covered with *Mouſe-ear*, whoſe " declivity ſeemed to favour our deſcent, that is " to ſay, the way *Noah* took to the bottom of " the mountain; we ran thither in haſte, and then " ſat down to reſt ourſelves, and found there " more plants than we had all the journey be- " ſides: and what pleaſed us mighty well was, " that our guides ſhewed from thence, but at a " great diſtance, the monaſtery whither we were " to go to quench our thirſt. We laid ourſelves " on our backs, and ſlid down for an hour to- " gether upon this green plat, and ſo paſſed on " very agreeably, and much faſter than we could " have gone on our legs. The night and our " thirſt were a kind of ſpurs to us, and cauſed " us to make the greater ſpeed. We continued " therefore to ſlide in this manner as long as the " way would ſuffer us, and when we met with " ſmall flint ſtones which hurt our ſhoulders, we " turned and ſlid on our bellies, or went back- " wards an all four. Thus by degrees we gained " the monaſtery, but ſo diſordered and fatigued " by our manner of travelling, that we were not " able to move hand or foot. To our great miſ- " fortune alſo we found there neither wine nor " water, ſo were forced to ſend to the river, " the deſcent to which was near a quarter of a " league down-right, and the way very ragged.

† Yet, if you will believe a certain *Dutch* tra- veller (1), theſe difficulties may be ſurmounted; for he aſſures us, he went five days journey up mount *Ararat* to ſee a *Romiſh* hermit; that he paſſed through three regions of clouds, the firſt dark and thick, the next cold and full of ſnow, and the third colder ſtill: that he advanced five miles every day; and when he came to the place where the hermit had his cell, he breathed a very ſerene and temperate air: that the hermit told him, he had perceived neither wind nor rain all the twenty five years he had dwelt there; and that on the top of the mountain there ſtill reign- ed a greater tranquility, whereby the ark was pre- ſerved uncorrupted. He farther pretends, that the hermit gave him a croſs made out of the wood of the ark, together with a certificate, a formal copy of which the author has given in his ſham relation.

(1) STRUYS's *Voyages*, *chap.* 17.

THE ſituation of *Ararat*, whether it be mount *Masîs*, or the mountain of *Cardu*, a is very convenient for the journey of the ſons of *Noah* from thence to *Shinaar*, the diſtance not being very great, and the deſcent eaſy, eſpecially from the latter, into the plains of *Meſopotamia*, of which *Shinaar* is a part. We diſcover plainly, through the *Moſaic* hiſtory, a neighbourhood between the land of *Eden*, where man was created, that of *Ararat*, where the remains of mankind were ſaved, and that of *Shinaar*, where they fixed the centre of their plantations. And certainly it was more natural it ſhould be ſo, than to ſeparate thoſe ſcenes at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as ſome have done.

CHAP. II.

The General Hiſtory from the DELUGE *to the Birth of* ABRAHAM.

SECT. I.

The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham *from* Haran *ſtated.*

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the poſtdiluvian b hiſtory, we ſhall ſettle the chronology of this firſt period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjuſted only from the records of *Moſes*.

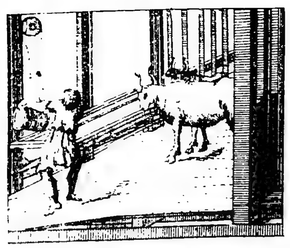
THIS is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology, not only, becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the *Moſaical* writings. It is a great misfortune, that there ſhould be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of ſocieties and governments, the riſe of arts and ſciences, and the beginning of ſtates and monarchies, falling within theſe limits, nothing could have been more ſerviceable to hiſtory than a fixed and uniform chronology of theſe early ages: whereas authors, being divided in their judgments c about the authenticneſs of the ſeveral copies, have every one choſen to follow that which agreed beſt with his own notions, or hypotheſis; whereby they have ſo perplexed and confounded all tranſactions, both ſacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the hiſtory thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

HOWEVER, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction, that the great differences between the ſeveral copies end here; and that being once got below the birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain ſeries of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the ſeveral copies making a difference of but a few years, not ſeveral ages, as we find the difference ariſes to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which we have inſerted the following tables, adjuſted in the ſame form with thoſe d we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

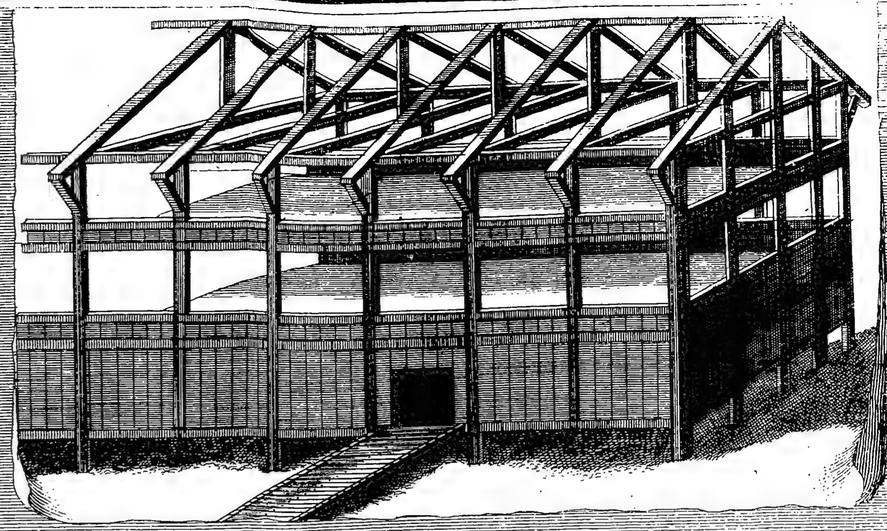
A TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the birth of* Abraham.

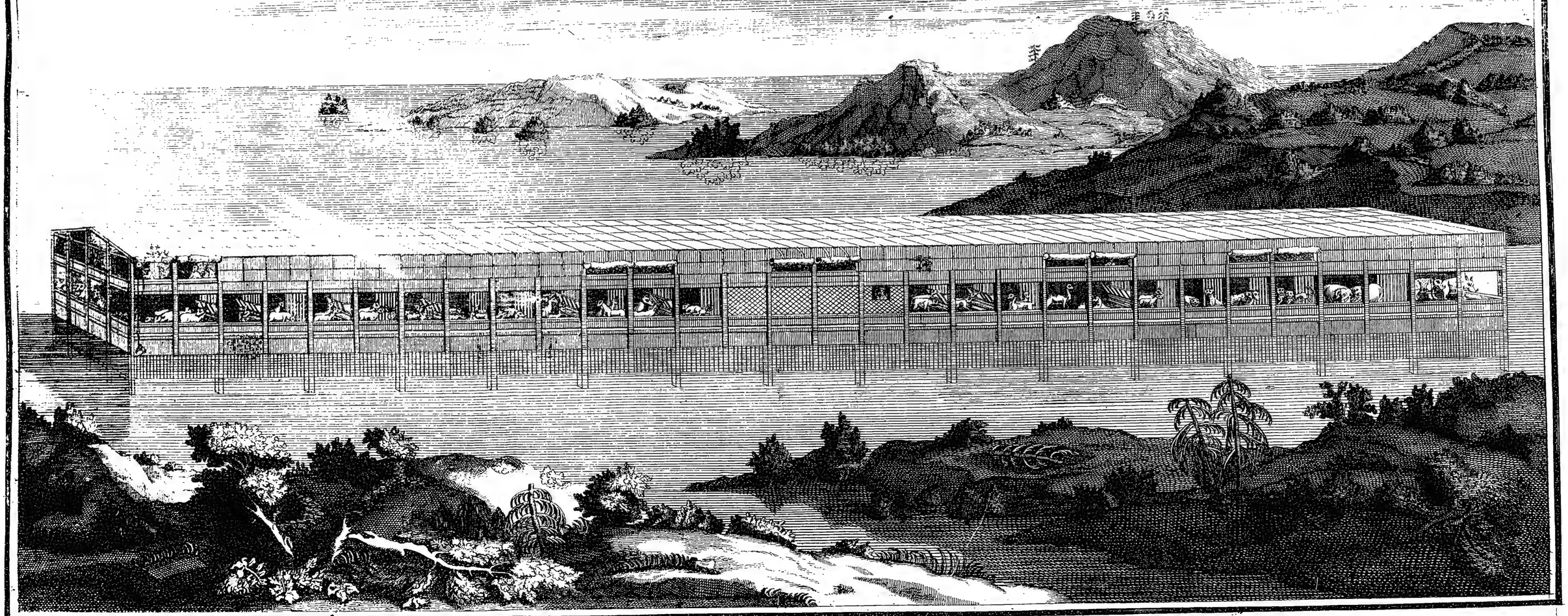
	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after the Son's Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Joſ.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Shem after the flood	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad———	35	135	135	135	403	303	430	438	438	565
Cainan———	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
Salah,———	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber,———	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
Phaleg,———	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
Reu,———	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	339
Serug,———	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nahor,———	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
Terah,———	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to *Abraham*'s birth,———	352	892	1002	1132						

A Chro-









P. Simms Sculpt

NOAH's ARK.

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Hebrew.

	Years of the Flood,	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nahor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born,	37	637	135	35								
Eber born,	67	667	165	65	30							
Peleg born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind,	101	701	199	99	64	34						
Reu born,	131	731	229	129	94	64	30					
Serug born,	163	763	261	161	126	96	62	32				
Nahor born,	193	793	291	191	156	126	92	62	30			
Terah born,	222	822	320	220	185	155	121	91	59	29		
Haran born,	292	892	390	290	255	225	191	161	129	99	70	
Peleg dies,	340	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	177	147	118	
Nahor dies,	341	941	439	339	304	274		210	178	148	119	
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	313	283		219	187		128	
Abraham born,	352		450	350	315	285		221	189		130	
Reu born,	370		468	368	333	303		239	207		148	18
Serug dies,	393		491	391	356	326			230		171	41
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*,	427		525	425	390	360					205	75

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Septuagint.

	Years of the Flood,	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Cainan*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nahor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood,	0	600	98										
Arphaxad born	2	602	100										
Cainan born,	137	737	235	135									
Salah born,	267	867	365	265	130								
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	83							
Eber born,	397		495	395	260	130							
Shem dies,	502		600	500	365	235	105						
Peleg born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind,	531			529	394	264	134						
Arphaxad dies,	567			565	430	330	170	36					
Cainan dies,	597				460	360	200	66					
Reu born	661					394	264	130					
Salah dies,	727					460	330	196	66				
Serug born,	793						396	262	132				
Peleg dies,	870						473	339	209	77			
Eber, dies,	901						504		240	108			
Nahor born,	923								262	130			
Reu dies,	1000								339	207	77		
Terah born,	1002									209	79		
Serug dies,	1123									330	200	121	
Abraham born,	1132										209	130	
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*,	1207										284	205	75

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE *of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of* Abraham, *according to the Computation of the* Samaritan *Pentateuch.*

	Years of the Flood,	Yrs. of *Noah*,	Yrs. of *Shem*,	Yrs. of *Arphaxad*,	Years of *Salah*,	Years of *Eber*,	Years of *Peleg*,	Years of *Reu*,	Years of *Serug*,	Years of *Nahor*,	Years of *Terah*,	Years of *Abraham*,
The Flood,	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born,	137	737	235	135								
Eber born,	267	867	365	265	130							
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	83						
Peleg born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind,	401		499	399	264	134						
Arphaxad dies,	440		538	438	303	193	40					
Shem dies,	502		600		365	255	101					
Reu born,	531				394	264	130					
Salah dies,	570				433	303	169	39				
Peleg dies,	640					373	239	109				
Serug born,	663					396		132				
Eber dies,	671					404		140	8			
Reu dies,	770							239	107	79	21	
Nahor born,	793								130	100	69	
Terah born,	872								209	148	130	
Serug dies,	893								230			
Nahor dies,	941										205	75
Abraham born,	1002											
Terah dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*,	1077											

THERE is no difference in this period between the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, but what ariſes from the different computation of the years of the genitures of the patriarchs; the great difficulty, in both copies, conſiſts in *Terah*'s age at the birth of *Abraham*: ſome will have him born in the ſeventieth year of *Terah*, which cannot be, unleſs *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſon, as it is evident he was not (for *Lot*, *Haran*'s ſon, was near as old as *Abraham*) or unleſs *Haran* was born ſome years before his father was ſeventy, which ſeems to be not agreeable to the text; and if *Terah* was two hundred and five years old at his death, *Abraham* being then but ſeventy five, he muſt be one hundred and thirty when *Abraham* was born *. The *Samaritan* copy indeed helps this matter, by making *Terah*'s age, at his death, no more than one hundred and forty five; but then the firſt objection as to *Haran*'s ſeniority remains: ſo that in this point the fault ſeems to be in the *Samaritan* †, for, it muſt be confeſſed, the *Hebrew* number is here moſt fit to be relied on. a b

THE

* This, we think, has been ſatisfactorily proved by Mr. *Whiſton*, in his ſhort view of the chronology of the old Teſtament (1).

† The gentleman juſt mentioned, ſince the publiſhing his ſaid Chronology, has thought fit to change his opinion in this matter (2), and produces ſeveral arguments to prove the *Samaritan* to be the true reading, and the *Hebrew* number a corruption. He relies on two paſſages, one of *Philo*, the other of *Joſephus*. The former ſays, *that* Abraham *(born when his father* Terah *was ſeventy) was ſeventy five years old when he departed from* Haran; *though* Terah *lived there till his death* (3). But *Philo* here only copies *Moſes*; ſo that his concluſion, whatever it was, does not decide any thing as to the true age of *Terah* at that time, which muſt have been more than ſeventy from the plain ſenſe of the text, when attended to. *Joſephus*'s words are, *They buried* Terah *when he died at* Haran, *after he had lived two hundred and five years*; for the *life of man was already cut ſhort and did become ſhorter till the birth of* Moſes (4). Now ſince he expreſly mentions the age of *Terah* to have been two hundred and five, we cannot ſee any ground to ſuppoſe it a corruption for one hundred and forty five, though he elſewhere mentions *Abraham* to be born in the ſeventieth year of his father; for the inconſiſtency has been overlooked by many beſides *Joſephus*; much leſs can we conclude it ſuch from his reaſoning about the length of mens lives being ſhortened; which may be juſt, notwithſtanding *Terah* lived to be older than his father.

(1) Pag. 31. (2) *See his Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the old Teſtament*, p. 27, &c. (3) PHILO de Somniis, p. 572. (4) JOSEPH. Ant. l. 1. c. 6.

a THE call of *Abraham*, where the period ends, is by ſome reckoned five years ſooner, when he left *Ur*; but this will not agree with ſcripture, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to ſettle the next period.

THERE are ſome variations between the preſent copies of the *Septuagint*; but as moſt of them relate to the length of ſome of the patriarchs lives, a circumſtance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we ſhall paſs them by, and only obſerve, that ſome copies place the birth of *Araphaxad* twelve years after the flood, which will encreaſe the total of this period ten years; and that ſome make the age of *Nahor*, at the birth of *Terah*, 179 *.

b WE have choſen to follow the readings of the *Alexandrian* manuſcript, according to which the only difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan* in this period, is 130 years given to *Cainan*, who is added between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, but is to be found neither in the *Hebrew*, nor the *Samaritan*, nor in the chronology of thoſe times, given us from the *Septuagint* itſelf, by *Africanus*, and *Euſebius* [a]: which circumſtances we look upon as ſufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithſtanding his name is inſerted in St. *Luke* [b]; which may eaſily have happened, by its being added from ſome erroneous copies of the *Septuagint*, and firſt, as is moſt probable, put in the margin, though it has ſince crept into the text.

c THE difference between the *Hebrew* reckoning and the *Samaritan* in this period is very conſiderable, being no leſs than 650 years, in which the *Hebrew* is defective, and in all probability has been corrupted; we reſerve for another place the examination of the authenticneſs of the various copies of the *Pentateuch*; at preſent we ſhall make uſe of ſome arguments drawn from reaſon, to ſhew that the *Samaritan* is to be preferred to the *Hebrew*.

IN the firſt place, this period ſeems much too ſhort, according to the *Hebrew*, for the hiſtorical facts belonging thereto. We ſhall ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the diſperſion, how inconſiſtent it is in all reſpects with that tranſaction, and to what extreams it hath driven thoſe who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, to place the birth of *Peleg*, when that diſperſion happened, at no greater diſtance from the flood than

d 101 years; and how improbable it is, that in the ſpace of 427 years, the world ſhould be in ſuch an improved ſtate, as it appears to have been in the time of *Abraham*; when cities were built, kingdoms erected, and monarchs extended their dominion even from *Perſia* to *Canaan*: But we ſhall confine ourſelves at preſent to ſome other obſervations ariſing from the conſequences of the *Hebrew* numbers, which we ſhall give in the words of a learned writer [c].

1. IT is not probable, that the ſeven firſt Patriarchs after the flood, who lived 300 and 400 years, ſhould beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the preſent *Hebrew* is; and yet the following Patriarchs who did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their

e firſt-born till double the age: *Terah* at ſeventy, *Abraham* at eighty ſeven, *Iſaac* at ſixty, *Jacob* at eighty four, *Levi*, *Kohath*, and *Amram* at about ſixty each of them; for from the birth of *Levi* to the birth of *Moſes* the ſon of *Amram*, were about 180 years.

2. † IT is not probable that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood, ſhould

[a] Vid. EUSEB. Chron. Græc. p. 9. [b] Luke iii. 36. [c] Dr. WILLS, in his Appendix to his learned Diſcourſe of the chronology of Joſephus.

* Father *Pezron*, following the preſent copies of *Joſephus*, places the birth of *Terah* in the 129th year of *Nahor*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*, and the amended number of *Joſephus*, with the addition only of 100 years; and thus the total of this period will be 1257 (1). But afterwards taking in the 10 years, added as above, between the flood, and the birth of *Arphaxad*, he in his ſecond computation makes the whole 1267.

† In this paragraph we have accommodated Dr. *Wills*'s reaſoning to our own table of the *Hebrew* chronology, differing ſomewhat from his, which follows the ſhorter calculation, making *Abraham* born in the ſeventieth year of *Terah*, and conſequently placing his birth ſixty years earlier; that is, in the year of the flood 292, whereby there happens ſome variation between our calculations, in comparing the years of the deaths of the patriarchs together; and as we have not brought in *Joktan* with his ſons, any more than *Peleg*, into the firſt diſperſion, we have omitted the third reaſon urged by the Doctor againſt the *Hebrew* numbers. However, for the reader's ſatisfaction, we ſhall ſubjoin them both, by way of note, in his own words.

2dly, Says that author, it is not probable that *Noah*, who lived 600 years before the flood, ſhould ſee ten generations ſucceed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty-eighth year of *Abraham*; that *Shem* ſhould ſee nine generations after him ſucceſſively die, and live many years after the death of *Abraham*, the ninth perſon lineally deſcended from him; who yet died in a good old age, an old man (2); that *Sala* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech* (3), *Nahor*,

(1) *See his Antiq. des temps retablie, p.* 61. (2) Gen. xxv. 8. (3) *A miſtake of the printer for* Serug.

ſhould ſee nine generations ſucceed each other after the flood, and live till the 128th year of *Terah*, within two years of *Abraham*'s birth; that *Arphaxad* ſhould outlive *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nahor*, and *Terah*, for five generations lineally deſcended from him. And what is more ſtrange, that *Shem* ſhould ſurvive *Arphaxad*, and ſee eight generations after him ſucceſſively die; and live till the fiftieth year of *Iſaac*, within fifteen years of *Abraham*'s death; that *Eber*, ſhould outlive *Abraham* himſelf, the ſeventh in deſcent from him, though *Abraham* dies in a good old age, an old man [d]. Thus the great anceſtors, which in courſe of nature ought to die firſt, die laſt; by reducing the ſtandard of the length of human life too faſt, for the ſhortneſs of the ſpace allowed from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*; and hence, among other abſurd conſequences which follow from this chronology, occaſion was given to that notion of the *Jews*, followed ſtill by many modern writers, that *Melchizedeck* was *Shem*.

a b

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Noah *after the Flood, and of his deſcendants to* Abraham.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt, 2997.

Noah comes out of the ark. The precepts given him by God.

THE time of *Noah*'s going forth of the ark, is fixed in ſcripture [e] to have been on the twenty ſeventh day of the ſecond month in the ſix hundred and firſt year of his age*. The firſt thing he did upon his landing was, to build an altar, and offer a burnt ſacrifice of every clean beaſt, and every clean fowl [f]. † GOD having accepted the ſacrifice, bleſſed *Noah*, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permiſſion to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground; however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to ſhed that of Man, ordering him to puniſh manſlaughter with death, and to people the world as faſt as he could [g].

c

IT is not to be thought, that theſe three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on *Noah* and his poſterity, till the promulgation of the law at *Sinai*, there being nothing here required of his duty towards GOD, the whole conſiſting in moral precepts; but we are to conſider them either as explanatory of, or additional to the Laws, which *Noah* had received in common with the reſt of the Antediluvians, and which were derived from *Adam*. The permiſſion to eat fleſh, now firſt explicitly given, ſeems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood: but to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already ſaid on that ſubject [h].

d

THE Rabbins pretend, that GOD gave to *Noah* and his ſons certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently, and for the non-obſervance of which the *Gentiles* themſelves have been puniſhed by GOD [i]. Theſe precepts enjoined, 1. To abſtain from idolatry. 2. From blaſ-

e

[d] Gen. xxv. 8. [e] Gen. viii. 13. [f] Gen. viii. 20. [g] Chap. ix. 1—7. [h] Chap. i. §. 7. [i] Vid. SELDEN de jure nat. & gent. lib. I. cap. ult. CALMET, dict. art. Noachides.

Nahor, *Terah*, and *Abraham*, for ſix generations lineally deſcended from him; and even the laſt of them lived to be an old man: that *Heber* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech* (4), *Nahor*, *Terah*, *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, ſeven ſucceſſive generations that deſcended from him, and yet *Abraham* and *Iſaac* ſhould both live to be old men (5).

3dly, It is not poſſible, that *Joktan* ſhould have thirteen ſons when *Phaleg* was born, at the diviſion of tongues, if *Phaleg* was born in the thirty-fourth year of *Heber*, as it is in the *Hebrew*; and to fancy *Phaleg* firſt called ſo at the time of his death, is ridiculous, and expreſly contrary to *Joſephus*. At the diviſion of tongues we are told, that *Mizraim*, *Canaan*, *Sidon*, *Elam*, *Aſſur*, *Aram*, &c. gave names to countries, and yet they died before *Phaleg*. *Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, &c. according to the *Hebrew*, were alive when GOD inſtituted circumciſion; and yet none of them ordered to be circumciſed, which was then the ſign of being in covenant with GOD.

* The *Mohammedans* will have it, that *Noah* quitted the ark the tenth day of *Moharram*, which is the firſt month of their year; and that he inſtituted the faſt, obſerved by them on that day, which they call *Aſhûra*, in commemoration of his deliverance (6).

† Some Rabbins pretend *Shem* offered the ſacrifice, *Noah* being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion (7).

(4) Serug. (5) Gen. xxxv. 29. (6) D'HERB. Bibl. orient. p. 676. (7) SHALSHEL, Hakkab. p. 7.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997.

a blaſphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To inſtitute judges to maintain thoſe laws; and 7. To abſtain from eating the fleſh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living; which laſt precept was ſuppoſed to be intended by the words, *the fleſh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall you not eat* [k]. This barbarity ſome pagans are ſaid to have practiſed [l]. From the time of *Moſes*, the *Jews* would not ſuffer a ſtranger to live among them, unleſs he obſerved the precepts of the *Noachidæ*, and never gave quarter in battle to any who were ignorant of them.

MAIMONIDES [m] ſays, the ſix firſt precepts were given to *Adam*, and the ſeventh to *Noah*: to theſe ſome Rabbins add others, as the prohibition to draw out the blood
b of any living creature to drink [n]; to maim animals [o]; to uſe magick and ſorcery [p]; to couple animals, and graft trees, with different kinds [q]. But what calls the antiquity of theſe precepts in queſtion is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in ſcripture, nor in *Onkelos*, nor in *Joſephus*, nor in *Philo*; and that neither *Jerom*, nor *Origen*, nor any of the ancient fathers appears to have known any thing of them.

BISHOP *Cumberland*, who likewiſe juſtly ſuſpects the veracity of the Rabbins, thinks the patriarchal laws are to be ſearched for in the ſcripture, and accordingly, in a particular treatiſe on that ſubject [r], he has ſhewn from thence, that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered to *Moſes*, carefully obſerved the principal precepts,
c as well towards GOD, as towards man, ſo as to fulfil the decalogue; moved thereto either by the ſame promiſes, or fear of the ſame judgments and puniſhments, which were afterwards pronounced by the *Moſaical* law [s].

GOD farther made a covenant with *Noah* [t], never to drown the world again, promiſing, as a token thereof, for the future, to ſet his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This ſeems to have been done to take away *Noah*'s apprehenſions, who, according to *Joſephus*, ſacrificed to appeaſe GOD's wrath, fearing an anniverſary deluge; for which ſuppoſition that hiſtorian has been cenſured ſomewhat too ſeverely [u].

God aſſures Noah, *the world ſhould not periſh by a ſecond deluge.*

NOAH, being come down from the mountain, applied himſelf to huſbandry, and
d planted a vineyard [x]; but the eaſtern authors [y] make this the work of his ſons. However, *Noah*, having drank of the wine to exceſs, lay careleſly uncovered in his tent, which his ſon *Ham* perceiving, called in his brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, to behold the poſture their father was in; but they, out of a ſenſe of duty and modeſty, took a garment, and going backwards, covered *Noah* with it; for which, when he came to know of what had paſſed, he bleſſed them, and curſed *Ham* in his poſterity, who were to be ſervants to their brethren [z].

Noah *becomes an husbandman.*

THE *Armenians* have a tradition, that *Noah*, after quitting the ark, went and ſettled at *Erivan*, about twelve leagues from *Ararat*, and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they ſtill make excellent wine [a]. According to *Tavernier*, *Nakſhivan*,
e which is ten leagues diſtant from *Ararat*, was the place where *Noah* went to dwell; and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldeſt city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of *Cemain* above-mentioned, to be the place where *Noah* and his ſons fixed their firſt habitation [b]. But this is to be underſtood of the places where theſe towns were afterwards built, for it is not likely, they began to build towns ſo early, much leſs that the deluge left them ſtanding, if there had been any there before; and the ſcripture ſays, *Noah* was in his tent when *Ham* ſurprized him in wine.

Where firſt he ſettled.

HOWEVER this tradition, ſo far as it relates to *Noah*'s ſettling in the country near the mountain where the ark reſted, ſeems more probable than a notion lately advanced
f by ſome men of learning [c], that *Noah* left his three ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, in ſome little time, and with his younger iſſue travelled to *China*, where he lived before the deluge, and that he was the firſt king of that country, whom the *Chineſe* call *Fo*

Noah, *not* Fo hi.

[k] Gen. ix. 4. [l] ARNOB. cont. Gent. lib. 5. See before, p. 87. in the notes. [m] YAD HAZZAKAH, Sepher melakim. c. 9. [n] Rab. CHEVINA. [o] R. CHIDEA. [p] R. SIMEON. [q] R. ELIEZER. [r] De legibus patriarcharum, printed in his Origines gentium antiquiſſ. [s] Ibid. chap. 5. [t] Gen. ix. 11, 17. [u] JOSEPH. ant. l. 1. c. 3. HEIDEG. Hiſt. patriarc. Exercit 19. 3. [x] Gen. ix, 20. [y] EUTYCH. p. 43. [z] Gen. ix. 21.—27. [a] CALMET Dict. ſuppl. p. 63. [b] See before chap. i. §. 8. [c] Dr. ALLIX, in his Reflections upon the books of the holy ſcriptures, p. 112. Mr. WHISTON in his Chronol. of the old Teſt. &c. in his New theory of the earth, and his Eſſay for reſtoring the true text, &c. Mr. SHUCKFORD in his Connection, and Mr. LEDFORD in his Scripture chronology.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997.

Fo hi * ; it seeming more agreeable to reason, as well as scripture, to conclude, that *Noah* continued with his posterity till his death, and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt somewhere near the mountain where it rested, which was in *Armenia* ; and that they did not remove, till such time as they are mentioned in scripture to have begun their journey towards *Shinaar* [c].

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

Noah *dies.*

NOAH died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried in *Mesopotamia*, where they shew his sepulchre, in a castle near a monastery called *Dair abunah*, that is, *the monastery of our*

[a]

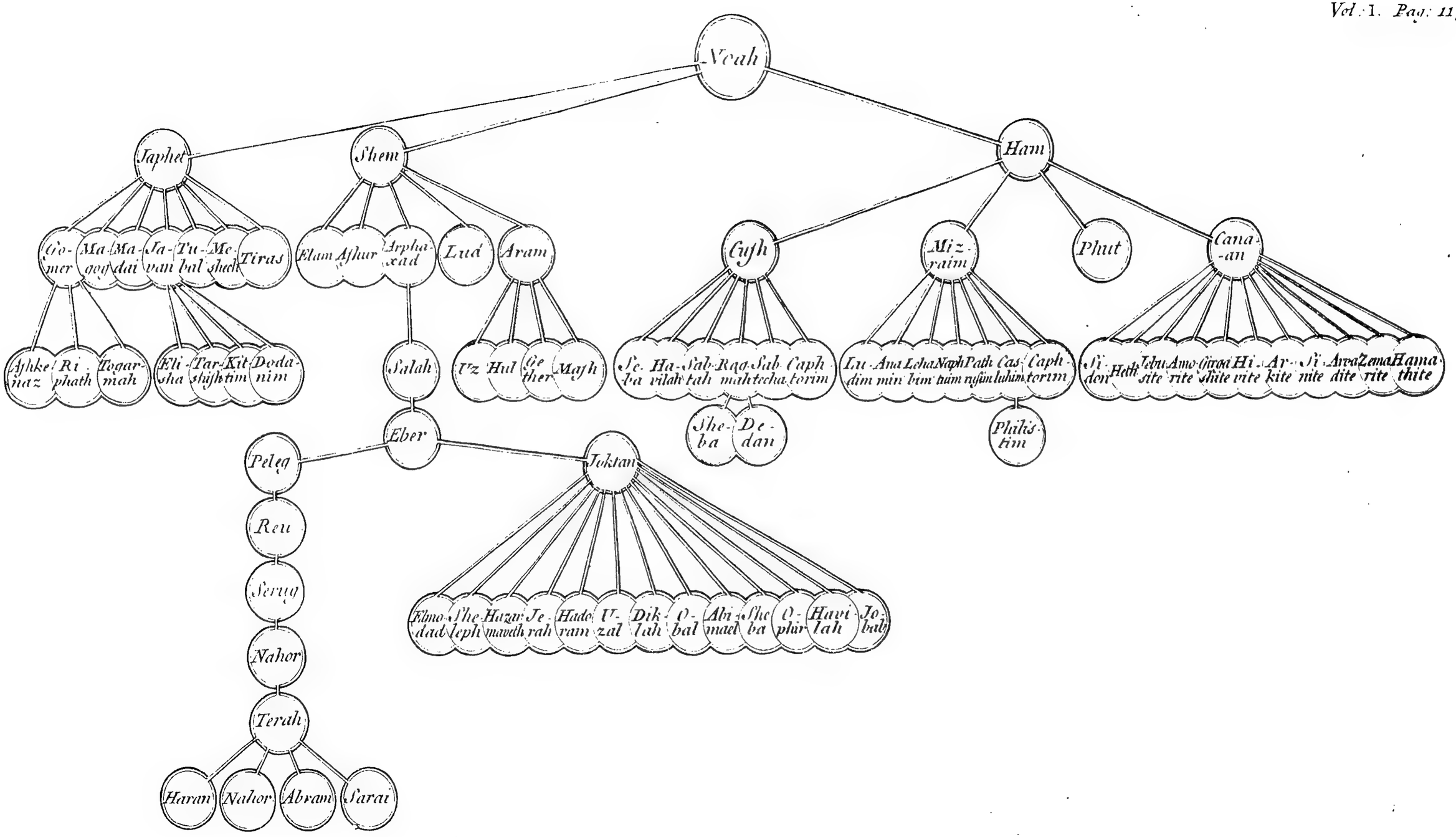
* Gen. xi. 2.

* This opinion (much more reasonable than that of *Hornius*, who will have *Fo hi* to be *Adam* (1), though the *Chinese* (2) expressly make a different person the first man, whom they call *Puon ku*) depends on the following observations. 1. The *Chinese* histories say, *Fo hi* had no father (3) ; which agrees well enough with *Noah*, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge, and so give occasion to this fable, that he had no father at all. 2. The same histories affirm, that *Fo hi*'s mother conceived him as she was encompassed with a rainbow (4) ; which seems an imperfect tradition concerning the first appearance of the rainbow to *Noah* after the flood. 3. The character and appellation of *Fo hi*, among the *Chinese*, agrees with what the scriptures affirm of *Noah*.— *Fo hi*, says *Le Compte*, the first emperor of *China*, carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme spirit of heaven and earth. For this reason some called him *Paohi*, that is oblation (5): *Noah* says *Moses*, took into the ark *of every clean beast by sevens, of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and his female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth* (6). And after the flood *Noah builded an altar unto the* LORD, *and took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar* (7). 4. The *Chinese* histories affirm, that *Fo hi* settled in the province of *Shensi*, which is the most northwest province of *China* (8), and very near to mount *Caucasus*, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark rested, and from which *Noah* must descend to go thence into *China*. In favour of this opinion, it is also further observed, 5. That the *Mosaic* history, as it is perfectly silent in relation to the peopling of *China* at the dispersion, confining itself within the bounds of the then known world ; so it says little or nothing of *Noah* after the flood ; which seems to be an intimation, that *Noah* had no share in the subsequent actions related in the sacred history ; and so by a fair consequence might be in *China*, a region out of the compass of the known world. 6. That this is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition of the sudden disappearing of *Xisuthrus*, or *Noah* his wife, and daughter, and the *Pilot*, on their coming out of the ark. 7. That the *Chinese* language and writing, are so entirely different from those among us, introduced by the confusion of *Babel*, that they cannot well be derived from thence, 8. That the dispersion beginning from *Babylon*, so remote a country as *China*, could not be so soon reached and peopled, as the prodigious number of its inhabitants at present shew it to have been ; and therefore they could not be of so late an original. 9. That the learned sciences seem to have been antiently much better known in *China*, than in these parts of the world ; their government and constitution much firmer and more lasting than ours ; their most antient histories more authentic and certain than ours (excepting those of more than human original) : all which things would make one ready to imagine, that as it is probable *Noah* might be much more wise and learned than any of his sons ; so all those settlements, laws, and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable effects and testimonies of the same (9). 10. And principally, that the reign of *Fo hi*, according to the most rational and exact account hitherto given of the *Chinese* chronology, coincides with the time of *Noah* (10) ; and that the length of the reigns and lives of *Fo hi*, and his first successors greatly corresponds with the duration of the lives of men in the same ages recorded in scripture (11).

But as this opinion is conjectural only, so several objections might be made to it. As 1. That it is improbable, if *Noah* was *Fo hi*, that the *Chinese* annals should make no mention of so extraordinary an event as the deluge, which they are so far from having recorded, that *Couplet* (12) expressly makes it an error in those who imagine they have. 2. The uncertainty of the *Chinese* writers themselves as to the history of *Fo hi* and his next successors, some doubting, whether there was ever such a man as *Fo hi* ; and others rejecting both him and his successor *Shin nungh*, and beginning with *Hoangh ti* the third king ; wherefore *Couplet* leaves them out of the succession of *Chinese* monarchs, and that not without reason, since *Fo hi* is said to have had the body of a serpent, and *Shin nungh* the head of an ox (13). 3. *Moses*'s account of the dispersion seems most evidently to relate to all mankind without exception, who, he supposes, were collected together in the plain of *Shinaar* ; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And if this be admitted, *Noah* having no other issue than his three sons named by *Moses* consequently could not reign in *China*.

This matter, however, we may be probably able to decide, when we come to treat professedly of the *Chinese* affairs ; wherein we expect some assistance from the new history of *China*, lately published in *Italy*, written by a *Mandarin*, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before CHRIST.

(1) *Arca Noe*, p. 14. (2) *Vid.* MARTINII *Hist. Sinicæ*, lib. I. p. 13. (3) *Ibid.* p. 21. (4) *Ibid.* (5) LE COMPTE *Memoirs of* China, p. 313. COUPLET *Confucius proœm.* p. 38. 76. (6) Genes. vii. 2, 3. 9. (7) Chap. viii. 20. (8) MARTINIUS *ubi supra.* COUPLET. *Chronol. in* Fo hi. (9) *Vid.* WHISTON'S *Theory, Book* II. p. 137, &c. (10) *Vid. his Short view of the Chronol.* &c. p. 61. (11) *Ibid.* p. 64, 65. (12) *Præf. ad Tab. Chronol.* p. 3, 8. (13) *Vid. Ibid.* p. 3. 10, 11.


Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham
Go-mer
Ma-gog
Ma-dai
Ja-van
Tu-bal
Me-shech
Tiras
Elam
Ashur
Arphaxad
Lud
Aram
Cush
Miz-raim
Phut
Cana-an
Ashke-naz
Ri-phath
Togar-mah
Eli-sha
Tar-shishim
Kit-tim
Doda-nim
Salah
Uz
Hul
Ge-ther
Mash
Se-ba
Ha-vilah
Sab-tah
Rag-mah
Sab-techa
Caph-torim
Lu-dim
Ana-mim
Leha-bim
Naph-tuhim
Path-rusim
Cas-luhim
Caph-torim
Si-don
Heth
Jebu-site
Amo-rite
Girga-shite
Hi-vite
Ar-kite
Si-nite
Arva-dite
Zema-rite
Hama-thite
Eber
She-ba
De-dan
Plhilis-tim
Peleg
Reu
Serug
Nahor
Terah
Joktan
Elmo-dad
She-leph
Hazar-mayeth
Je-rah
Hado-ram
U-zal
Dik-lah
O-bal
Abi-mael
She-ba
O-phir
Havi-lah
Jo-bab
Haran
Nahor
Abram
Sarai

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a *our Father* [d]. According to a common opinion, before his death, he divided the world among his three ſons, giving to *Shem Aſia*, to *Ham Africa*, and to *Japhet Europe*: but this has not the leaſt foundation in ſcripture.

The genealogy of the deſcendants of Noah.

ALL mankind, at leaſt that we have any account of in ſcripture, being the iſſue of theſe three ſons of *Noah*, who were ſaved with him in the ark * ; before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their deſcendants, in the ſame manner as we have already given one of the antediluvian patriarchs. (*See the plate.*)

THE chief deſign of *Moſes* being to record what particularly concerned the *Iſraelites*, he has given us the genealogy of the line of *Shem* only entire. As to the deſcendants, of the other two ſons of *Noah*, his deſign ſeems to have been to bring them down as
b low as the diſperſion, in order to leave to poſterity the names of the firſt founders of nations, and there to diſmiſs them ; for it is obſervable, that though ſeveral particulars are mentioned in the courſe of the *Moſaical* hiſtory relating to the *Canaanites*, as the people with whom the *Iſraelites* were more particularly to be concerned, yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of *Ham* no farther ; on the contrary it is ſhorter than thoſe of *Mizraim* and *Cuſh* by one generation.

NOR indeed is there much to be collected from ſcripture relating to the deſcendants of *Shem*, more than their names and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of *Peleg*, till we come to *Terah* the father of *Abraham*, with whom this period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the ſacred hiſtory, the *Jews* have taken care,
c according to their uſual cuſtom, plentifully to ſupply with the figments and conceits of their *Rabbins*, a ſet of men, who have ſurpaſſed all others in the art of trifling, and inventing abſurdities. On the other hand, the chriſtian chronologers and hiſtorians of all ages who have endeavoured to connect the prophane hiſtory with the ſacred, within this period, would furniſh us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their ſeveral opinions and conjectures ; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has ſettled. We ſhall therefore take notice of but a very few of them ; ſuch contradictory ſentiments ſerving only to ſhew the uncertainty of the whole, and conſequently to confound, rather than to inſtruct, the reader.

d WE ſhall not in this place touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the poſterity of *Noah*, which we have reſerved for the ſubject of a diſtinct ſection, that we might not mix the hiſtory of that remarkable tranſaction with other matters. We have alſo thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of *Ham* before that of *Shem*, which will more naturally cloſe this ſection.

Of Japhet *and his poſterity.*

THOUGH *Japhet* is generally placed laſt in ſcripture [e], yet he is expreſly ſaid to be the eldeſt †[f] ; and that he was ſo is farther evident, for that *Noah* was five hundred years old when he begat his three ſons [g], according to which manner of expreſſion in ſcripture one of them was born in his five hundredth year : but it could not be *Shem*, for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of *Arphaxad*, two
e years after the flood [h], when *Noah* was ſix hundred and three years old, it follows, that he himſelf was born in the five hundred and third year of *Noah* : nor could it be *Ham*, for he is expreſly ſaid to have been the younger [i] ; ſo that *Japhet* was the eldeſt of the three ſons.

JAPHET being affected, as well as *Shem*, with filial concern at *Ham*'s expoſing their father's nakedneſs, aſſiſted to cover him, and had a bleſſing given him by *Noah* on that occaſion. GOD, ſays that patriarch, *ſhall enlarge* Japhet ‡, *and he ſhall dwell in the tents of* Shem ; *and* Canaan *ſhall be his ſervant* [k]. The firſt part of this prophecy has been verified in the great poſſeſſions which fell to the deſcendants of *Japhet* ; as all *Europe*, and all the northern part of *Aſia*, the leſſer *Aſia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, the countries

[d] D'HERBEL. p. 677. [e] Geneſ. v. 32. vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18. x. 1. [f] Ibid. x. 21. [g] Ibid. v. 32. [h] Ibid. xi. 10. [i] Ibid. ix. 24. [k] Ibid. ix. 27.

* Beſides theſe three ſons, ſome of the *Jewiſh* writers give *Noah* a fourth, named *Yoniko*, who, as they pretend, taught aſtronomy, and inſtructed *Nimrod* in the art of war (1). The *Mohammedan* traditions, generally ſpeaking, allow *Noah* but three ſons, yet an *Arab* writer mentions another, named *Majeſſan* (2), who was probably born after the flood.

† This is the ſenſe of the paſſage according to the *Engliſh* verſion, and the *Septuagint* ; but the *Vulgate* tranſlates it, *Shem the elder brother of Japhet*. The former interpretation muſt be the true one, for the reaſon immediately given ; though the original, and the oriental verſions are capable of either ſenſe.

‡ *Noah* here alludes to the name of *Japhet*, the root of which ſignifies *to enlarge* ; though others tranſlate the paſſage, GOD *ſhall perſuade Japhet*, that is, bring him over in time to the true worſhip, figured by *the tents of* Shem.

(1) JECHASIN. p. 135. (2) ABDALRAHMAN EBN ABDALAH *apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ad v. Noah.*

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countries between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, as well as those lying to the north of them, *Grand Tartary*, with *India*, and *China*. Add to these the *European* colonies in *America* of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are descended. The next part of the prophesy, that *he should dwell in the tents of* Shem, seems to refer to the overthrow of the *Assyrian* empire by the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, as well as to the conquests of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Asia*; alluded to afterwards by *Balaam* in his prophesy [1], *that ships should come from the coasts of* Chittim, *and should afflict* Ashur, *and should afflict* Eber: that is, they should afflict the *Assyrians*, and those who dwelt beyond the river *Euphrates* *. And at the same time that they dwelt in the tents of *Shem*, they made the posterity of *Ham* their servants by subduing the *Babylonians*, the *Canaanites*, the *Egyptians*, and other nations descended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the last part of *Noah*'s prophesy.

THIS prophesy seems also to have regard to the state of the true religion, confining it to the race of *Shem*, for a certain period of time, ending perhaps at the coming of the MESSIAH [m]; for since CHRIST the knowledge of the true GOD hath spread considerably more among the descendants of *Japhet*, than it did before amongst those of *Shem*, having till then been confined almost wholly to the nation of the *Jews*, however the *Mohammedans* rank *Japhet* himself among the prophets [n].

THE septuagint version, followed by *Eusebius* and others [o]; mention an eighth son of *Japhet* named *Elisa*, who is neither in the *Hebrew*, nor the *Chaldee* †.

NO particulars being mentioned in scripture with reference to the descendants of *Japhet*, farther than what relates to their founding of *Nations*, we must refer the reader, for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

Of Ham *and his posterity.*

THAT *Ham* was the youngest son of *Noah* ‡, though generally placed the second of the three, is evident by his being expressly called the youngest: he may have been born within a few years after *Shem*, but as neither his age, nor the time of his birth are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from *Ham*'s indiscretion as well as wickedness in discovering his father's nakedness, that when he committed that crime he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might probably be about fifty, or threescore, an age scarce equivalent in those days to eighteen now.

WHEN

[1] Num. xxiv. 24. [m] See below. [n] Vid. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth. [o] EUSEB. Chronic. l. 1. p. 8. CHRONIC. ALEXANDR. AUGUSTINUS.

* The common opinion is, that by *Eber* in this place is to be understood the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*; but a learned author has offered reasons which seem to prove the contrary. He observes, that to take it in that sense is repugnant to the design of the passage, and makes *Balaam* bless, and curse the children of *Israel*, in the same breath, by propheSying of their destruction (1): and therefore he will have it, that *Eber* has not respect to persons, but to place, and signifies beyond the river (2); in which sense that word is often used in scripture (3). Upon this occasion the same author proposes to amend our translation of the above text (4) by reading it thus; *and they shall go forth from the coast of* Chittim, *and shall afflict* Ashur, *and shall afflict the other side of the river* (5), that is, the countries beyond *Euphrates*. There seems to be no need of supposing the last *and* to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the first, as that writer thinks; for *Ashur*, strictly speaking, lay beyond the *Tigris*; neither in *Balaam*'s time had the *Assyrian* empire extended itself westward so far as the *Euphrates*: and when that prophesy was to be fulfilled, *Ashur* was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in subjection to *Elam* or the *Persians*; as were also the *Babylonians*, and the inhabitants of *Aram*, or *Mesopotamia*: who we think are to be understood by *Eber*, or the other side of the river, that is, the *Euphrates*.

† The *Persian* historians give *Japhet* eleven sons, *viz.* 1. *Jin*, *Chin*, or *Sin*. 2. *Seklab*. 3. *Manshuj*. 4. *Gomari*, 5. *Turk* (from whom this patriarch is surnamed *Abu'l Turk*, or the father of *Turk*). 6. *Khalaj*. 7. *Khozar*. 8. *Rûs*. 9. *Sussan*. 10. *Ghaz*. And 11. *Taraj* (6). The *Tartarian* authors name but eight sons of *Japhet*, in this order; 1. *Turk*. 2. *Khars* [*Khozar*]. 3. *Saklap*. 4. *Rûs*. 5. *Malminakh*. 6. *Zuin* [*Jin*]. 7. *Kamari*. 8. *Tarikh* (7). The former authors assert, that *Japhet* married his sons to their own sisters before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the easier; and indeed it happened, that the eastern countries, and the greater part of the north were first peopled (8).

‡ The *Hebrew* word חם *Ham* signifies hot, or heat, or sun-burnt. Though he is expressly said to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain, that he was the second son of *Noah*; and to elude the force of the text, several of them pretend, that it is not *Ham* himself, but *Canaan*, his son, who is here spoken of: others will have it, that *Ham* was called the younger, or the youngest, for no other reason, but because his conduct was less prudent than that of his brothers (9). But such interpretations, if once admitted, will serve only to render the most clear expressions in scripture obscure.

(1) *Vid.* HYDE *de Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 56. (2) *Vid. eund. ibid.* p. 57. (3) *Idem, ibid.* p. 50, *&c* (4) Numb. xxiv. 24. (5) HYDE, *ibid.* p. 57. (6) MIR KHOND & KHOND AMIR. *See* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth.* (7) *See* ABU'LGHAZI KHANS *Genealogical Hist. of the Tatars*, vol. I. p. 6. (8) D'HERBELOT, *ubi supra.* (9) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patriarch. Exercit.* 20. num. 4.

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a WHEN *Noah* was acquainted with the irreverent action of *Ham* *†, he curſed him in a branch of his poſterity; *Curſed*, ſays he, *be* Canaan, *a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren* [p]. This curſe, if it be a curſe ††, being pronounced not againſt *Ham* the immediate tranſgreſſor, but againſt his ſon, who does not appear from the words of *Moſes* to have been any way concerned in the crime, though ſome imagine he had a principal ſhare in it *‡, hath occaſioned ſeveral conjectures: ſome [q] have believed, that *Noah* curſed *Canaan*, becauſe he could not well have curſed *Ham* himſelf, whom GOD had not long before bleſſed [r]; others, more reaſonably, think *Moſes*'s chief intent in recording this prediction, was to raiſe the ſpirits of the *Iſraelites*, then entring on a terrible war with the children of *Canaan*, by the aſſurance that, in conb ſequence of the curſe, that people were deſtined by GOD to be ſubdued by them [s]; for the opinion of thoſe who imagine all *Ham*'s race were here accurſed, ſeems repugnant to the plain words of ſcripture, which confines the malediction to *Canaan* and his poſterity, and alſo contrary to fact †‡.

AMONG thoſe who are for extending the curſe to *Ham* and his other race, ſome have ſuppoſed another effect of it, not mentioned by *Moſes*; that *Ham* became a black-moor, and communicated that colour to his deſcendants ‡‡; but this opinion is a meer chimæra, as hath been formerly obſerved [t].

IN conſequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers that he had ſeen his father's nakedneſs, *Ham* has been looked upon as the firſt introducer of wickedneſs af-
c ter the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, ſome of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded ſolely upon this ſingle paſſage. They have believed, ſeeing *Ham* could be guilty of ſo much indiſcretion towards his father, that he

[p] Gen. ix. 25. [q] CHRYSOST. ſerm. 29. in Geneſ. [r] Geneſ. ix. 1. [s] AUGUSTIN. quæſt. 17. in Geneſ. THEODORET in Geneſ. 58. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. p. 411. BAYLE cited in the notes below. [t] Introd. p. 48. a.

*† If we enquire, by what means *Noah* came to know that it was *Ham* who had diſcovered his nakedneſs, ſome *Rabbins* anſwer, that he inferred ſo much from *Ham*'s paſt ſhameleſs behaviour, in prophaning the ark by lying with his wife (10); others ſay, that *Ham*, by looking on his father's ſhame, found extraordinary alterations in himſelf; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips diſtorted; and he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark naked, and walked about in that condition. *Noah*, ſeeing all this from thence concluded, that it was *Ham* who had diſhonoured him. Some ſay, that he could not have known it otherwiſe than by revelation. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s opinion is very rational; he believes, that *Noah* ſeeing himſelf covered with a garment which did not belong to him, aſked the occaſion of it, and learned from *Shem* and *Japhet* all that had paſſed (11).

†† Mr. *Bayle* does not take this paſſage properly to contain a curſe. He ſays, it is pretty ſtrange, that the ſcripture takes no notice of any thing being done by *Noah* to *Ham*: he obſerves, that there is not one word of cenſure paſſed upon *Ham*; that the patriarch was content to curſe *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*; and that this curſe was nothing elſe but a prophecy of the victories, which the deſcendants of *Shem* ſhould obtain over the deſcendants of *Canaan* under *Joſhua*, that is to ſay, ſeven or eight ages after the crime of *Ham* had been committed (12).

*‡ The *Jews* pretend that *Canaan* was the perſon who firſt diſcovered the nakedneſs of *Noah*, with which he acquainted his father *Ham*; who made ſport of the accident, and went and told it to his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*; and that *Noah* awaking out of his ſleep curſed *Canaan*, becauſe he was the firſt occaſion of the ſcandal (13).

†‡ A learned author hath affirmed, that there hath never yet been a ſon of *Ham* who hath ſhaken a ſceptre over the head of *Japhet*; *Shem* hath ſubdued *Japhet*, and *Japhet* hath ſubdued *Shem*, but *Ham* never ſubdued either (14). However, this muſt be a miſtake, if there be any truth in what the *Egyptian* hiſtories relate of the actions of *Seſoſtris*, and ſome others of their kings, who conquered the greateſt part of *Aſia*, and *Europe*; and conſequently *Ham* may be ſaid to have ſubdued both. Beſide, we find the *Iſraelites* were long the ſlaves of *Mizraim*, or the *Egyptians*; and we ſee no reaſon why the ſhameful ſubmiſſion, which *Rehoboam*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Solomon*, made to *Shiſhak*, the *Egyptian Pharaoh* (15), who after taking all the ſtrong cities of *Judah*, ſeems to have had *Jeruſalem* delivered up to him without oppoſition, to be ſpoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a ſervitude; it being expreſly ſaid, the *Jews* ſhould be his ſervants (16). *Ham* alſo appears to have encroached upon *Shem* very early, for he ſeems to have driven the *Shemites* out of their firſt ſeats in *Shinaar*; and every body knows the *Babylonians*, who were *Hamites*, had a conſiderable ſhare in the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* empire. But a ſtronger inſtance than any of the preceding is the *Babyloniſh* captivity, in which the *Jews* themſelves were the ſufferers. Nay, the very branch of *Canaan* ſeems to have had great ſucceſs againſt *Japhet*, not only by the exploits of the *Carthaginians* (originally *Canaanites*) in *Italy*, but by their conqueſt of *Spain*.

‡‡ This opinion has been entertained by ſeveral chriſtians, as well as *Mohammedans*, though ſome of the latter account otherwiſe for mens different complexions (17). The *Arab* writers add, that *Noah*, relenting at the ſudden change in his ſon, prayed to GOD, that his poſterity might be treated gently in their ſervitude; in conſequence whereof the black ſlaves are not only in great requeſt, but generally have great credit and power with their maſters (18).

Some of the ſame authors pretend, that *Noah*'s curſe was inflicted on *Ham* for his diſobedience, becauſe he would not come to prayers one morning when his father called him (19).

(10) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hiſt. Patriarch.* tom. I. p. 409. (11) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (12) BAYLE *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cham.* (13) BERESHIT RABBA § 37. THEODORET. *quæſt.* 57. *in* Geneſ. (14) *See* MEDE's *works*, p. 358. (15) 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 2. 9. (16) 2 Chron. xii. 5, 8. (17) *Vid. Introd.* p. 47. d. (18) D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 245, & 677. (19) *Ibid.* p. 677.

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he was a reprobate, who had committed all sorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he and his posterity were concerned in the building of *Babel*, which they consider as a very wicked attempt [u]. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood *, and the inventor of magic, and relate many passages to that effect †. They pretend that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark ‡. Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime which he committed against his father was infinitely more enormous than it is represented in scripture: some concluding, that *Ham* castrated *Noah* **; others, that he rendred him impotent by vertue of some magic charms *†; others again, that he committed incest with his father's wife ††; whilst a fourth party accuse him of all sorts of a

[u] See after.

* Several instances of this the reader will find hereafter.

† *Ham* is held to have been the inventor of magic, so far only as that it was he who preserved and taught it to the descendants of *Noah*; for it is allowed, it was not *Ham* who first invented this art, but the angels, who, becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians (1). They say, that *Ham*, not daring to carry with him into the ark the books which treated of this subject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal and hard stone, able to resist the waters of the deluge; which treasure he carefully hid, and after quitting the ark went and took them from the place where he had deposited them (2). It is pretended, that *Mizraïm* learned of his father *Ham* all those abominable secrets; and that the pretenders to that science consider *Ham* as their first founder, and to have been the same with *Zoroastres*, and honour him as a god. The first author of this opinion seems to have been the counterfeit *Clemens* (3).

‡ Though St. *Ambrose* and others conceive from the words of *Moses*, that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time *Noah* and his family lived in the ark (4); nevertheless it is an opinion which has spread pretty much, that *Ham* did not observe continency on that occasion, but that his wife brought forth *Canaan* in the very ark (5).

** Some *Jewish* Doctors have asserted this, and pretend, that what prompted *Ham* to so violent an act, was to prevent *Noah*'s having any more sons; as if he feared his share in the division of the world would be too small (6). Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very seriously, by these words of scripture: *Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done unto him*. If he had performed, say they, upon his father so painful an operation as that of castrating must have been, *Noah* would not have slept till he was sober, but the anguish would quickly have awakened him, and he would have surprised the criminal in the very fact; nor would he have had any occasion to have asked who he was (7). From such conceits as these some have drawn arguments to prove that all the pagan gods were taken from the *Jewish* traditions. Thus they pretend that *Noah* is the *Saturn*, and the *Uranus* of the pagans; and that the stories which are told of *Jupiter*'s castrating his father *Saturn*, and *Cronus* castrating his father *Uranus*, are borrowed from this notion of *Ham* (8).

Upon this occasion we are tempted to introduce a passage out the Count de *Gabalis*. He supposes, that *Noah*, after the deluge gave up his wife *Vesta* to the salamander *Oromasis*, prince of the fiery substances, and persuaded his three children to resign also their three wives to the princes of the three other elements (9). *Ham*, adds that author, rebelled against the counsel of *Noah*, and could not resist the charms of his wife; but his want of complaisance marked all his black posterity: the frightful complection of the inhabitants of the torrid zone, is the punishment of the profane ardour of their father— You believe, for instance, continues he, that the injury which *Ham* did his father, was the same as is literally expressed; but it was indeed a very different thing. *Noah* being come out of the ark, and seeing his wife *Vesta*'s beauty rather improved by the familiarity which she had with her gallant *Oromasis*, his love for her returned upon him. *Ham*, fearing lest his father might yet people the world with children blacker than his *Ethiopians*, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his dose of wine, and castrated him without mercy (10). We leave the reader to judge which notion is most agreeable to scripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the *Jews*, or this of the Count *de Gabalis*.

*† This imagination is taken from the spurious *Berosus*: he says, that *Noah*, unable to bear the vicious courses of *Ham*, who particularly addicted himself to magic, became odious to this son; and the rather because he shewed more tenderness for his other sons who were younger; and *Ham* finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it slip: he grasped the genitals of his father, and muttered some words which rendred him impotent for ever after (11).

†† This is the sentiment of Mr. *Von der Hart*, professor of the oriental languages in the university of *Helmstad*. He believes, that the injury which that patriarch received from *Ham*, consisted in the infamous temerity which this brutish son had to lie either with his own mother, or at least with his step-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of scripture, where the phrase to *uncover the shame of a woman*, signifies to lie with her. In the same places of scripture it is said, that the nakedness, or shame of a woman, is the nakedness, or shame of her husband; and by consequence, according to this way of expression, to have seen the nakedness of *Noah*, is a modest phrase, importing to have had to do with *Noah*'s wife. This author supposes, 1. That *Ham* watched his time for compassing his design, when *Noah* was asleep after his debauch. 2. That somebody having discovered the affair, went and gave the other two sons of *Noah* notice of it. 3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which

(1) *See before, p.* 82. *in the notes.* (2) CASSIAN. *Collat.* 8. c. 21. PSEUDO-BEROS. lib. 3. p. 80. *apud* BAYLE *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham.* (3) *Lib.* 4. *recognition.* *Apud* BOCHART. *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. (4) AMBROS. *de Noa & Arca*, c. 21. *apud* SALIAN. *tom.* 1. *p.* 290. (5) *Vid.* HEID. *vol.* 1. *p.* 409. (6) *Referente* R. LEVI *in gen. cap.* 9. *apud* SALIAN. *tom.* 1. *p.* 297. (7) SALIANUS, *ibid.* (8) *Vid.* BAYLE *Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. Rem. D.* (9) *Entretiens sur les sciences secretes, p.* 204. (10) *Ibid. p.* 206. (11) PSEUDO-BEROSUS, *lib.* 3. *p.* 80.

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a of uncleanneſs (A). This character is very conformable with what we meet with in the antients concerning *Cronus*, with whom, among many others (B), *Ham* is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame.

IF we may judge by the number of perſons in the three generations of *Ham*'s line mentioned by *Moſes* [x], which exceeds the number of perſons deſcended from both his brothers in the ſame degree, he muſt have had the moſt numerous iſſue of the three ſons of *Noah*, and a greater part of the earth to his ſhare. But though much mention is made of the latter poſterity of *Ham* in the ſucceeding part of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, *Moſes* has recorded nothing relating to his firſt deſcendants, beſides their names and ſome general circumſtances, excepting *Canaan* and *Nimrod*.

Of Canaan.

b CANAAN (C) was the fourth ſon of *Ham*, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name placed in ſcripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentiond by *Moſes*: however, ſome will have it that he was born in the ark, and that, becauſe he was the fruit of an unſeaſonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already obſerved, that the curſe given by *Noah* to *Canaan* was peculiar to this ſon of *Ham*, and does not ſeem to have extended to the reſt of his brethren. And indeed the prophecy of *Noah*, that *Canaan ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren*, ſeems to have been wholly compleated in him. It was compleated with regard to *Shem*, not only in that a conſiderable part of the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites* were made ſlaves to the *Iſraelites*, when they took

c poſſeſſion of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enſlaved by *Solomon* [y]; but alſo by the ſubſequent expeditions of the *Aſſyrians* and *Perſians*, who were both deſcended from *Shem*, and under whom the *Canaanites* ſuffered ſubjection, as well as the *Iſraelites*; not to mention the conqueſt of part of *Canaan* by the *Elamites*, or *Perſians*, under *Chedorlaomer* [z], prior to them all. With regard to *Japhet* we find a completion of the prophecy, in the ſucceſſive conqueſts of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, where the *Canaanites* were ſettled, but eſpecially in the total ſubverſion of the *Carthaginian* power by the *Romans*; beſides ſome invaſions of the northern nations, as the poſterity of *Thogarma*, and *Magog*, wherein many of them probably were carried away captive.

d IT is believed that *Canaan* lived and died (D) in the country called after his name; where formerly they ſhewed his tomb, which was twenty five foot long, in a cave of the mountain of the *Leopards*, not far from *Tripoly* in *Syria* [a].

CANAAN ſeems to have been known to the antient heathens. *Sanchoniatho* expreſly ſays, *Chna* was the firſt *Phœnician*, or the firſt who was called a *Phœnician* [b]. The ſcripture mentions nothing particular with reſpect to any of his ſons, but the tranſactions

[x] Geneſ. x. 6. [y] 2 Chron. viii 7, 8, 9. [z] Geneſ. xiv. 4, 7, 8, &c. [a] See CALMET, Dict. de la Bible Art. Canaan. [b] Apud EUSEB. præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 39.

which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as faſt as they could, and having ſurpriſed their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all that they had ſeen. 5. That *Noah*, much enraged, ordered by his will, that *Canaan*, who was to be the iſſue of that inceſtuous commerce, ſhould be wholly deprived of the inheritance (1). Theſe hypotheſes, ſays Mr. *Bayle* (2), are learned and ingenious; but if once it be ſuffered to ſuppoſe, that the narrations of *Moſes* are ſo diſguiſed, it may be feared, that the ſame liberty will be taken with the hiſtory of the temptation, and of the fall of *Adam*, as ſome have dared to do.

(A) The reaſon of *Noah*'s diſcarding *Ham* ſeems not to have been ſo much on account of the perſonal injuries he had received from him, as his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it is pretended not only taught, that men ſhould live as they did before the flood, and commit all ſorts of inceſts, and ſomething worſe; but practiſed thoſe abominable leſſons himſelf. We chooſe to expreſs them in the words of the author. *At vero cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, aſſerens, & re ipſa exequens, eongrediendum eſſe ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, ſororibus, filiabus, maſculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ab hoc ejectus à Jano piiſſimo & caſtimonia atque pudicitia refertiſſimo* (3).

(B) The hiſtory of *Cronus* from *Sanchoniatho*; whoſe account of him is the moſt full, will be given in the next ſection. *Marſham* thinks *Ham* is to be found in profane hiſtory under the names of *Hammon*, *Thamus*, *Thammuz*, *Adonis*, *Oſiris*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn* the ſecond (4.) The ſame author ſays, the *Hebrew* chronology requires, that *Ham* ſhould be the ſame with *Menes*, the firſt king of *Egypt*, whom almoſt all other authors make to be *Mizraïm*, his ſecond ſon (5).

(C) The *Hebrew* word is כנען, and not pronounced as we commonly do *Canaan*, making *Ca* the firſt ſyllable, but *Chenaan*, or rather *Chnaan*, the *Shevah* joining the *Ch* and *N* into one ſyllable, and ſo the *Jews* pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the *Chna* of *Sanchoniatho*, and *Stephanus* (6): it ſignifies a *merchant*, or *trader*, as the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians* were.

(D) The *Mohammedans* are not uniform in their opinions concerning *Canaan*. Some agreeing with the account given of him in ſcripture, and others affirming, that he was born before the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge as hath been already obſerved (7).

(1) *See the book intituled*, Ephemeridum Philologicarum tomus, *in the* Leipſic *Journal for* October 1693, *p.* 466. (2) *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cham. Rem. F.* (3) PSEUDO-BEROSUS, *lib.* 3. *p.* 80. (4) *Canon. Chron. p.* 23, 30, 31, 32, 33. (5) *Ibid. p.* 23. (6) *De Urbib. in voce* Χνὰ. (7) *See chap.* 1. *ſect.* 1.

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Of Nimrod.

transactions of the *Israelites*, with their descendants, make up a great part of the *Jewish* history, and will be treated of in their proper place. a

NIMROD was the sixth son of *Cush* (E), and in all appearance much younger than any of his brothers; for *Moses* mentions the sons of *Raamah*, his fourth brother, before he speaks of him. What the sacred historian says of him is short, and yet he says more of him than of any other of the posterity of *Noah*, till he comes to *Abraham*. He tells us, that Nimrod *began to be a mighty one in the earth*; that he was *a mighty hunter before the* LORD, even to a proverb; and that *the beginning of his kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Calneh *in the land of* Shinaar [c].

FROM this account a great idea hath been conceived of his strength and valour. Some represent him as a giant [d] (F); all consider him as a great warriour. It is generally thought that by the words *a mighty hunter*, is to be understood that he was a great tyrant; but some of the *Rabbins* [e] interpret those words favourably, saying, that *Nimrod* was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chase, and that he offered to GOD the game which he took; and several of the moderns are of the opinion, that this passage is not to be understood of his tyrannical oppressions, or of hunting of men, but of beasts [f] (G). It must be owned, that the phrase, *before the* LORD, may be taken in a favourable sense, and as a commendation of a person's good qualities; but, in this place, the generality of expositors understand it otherwise (H). b

HUNTING must have been one of the most useful employments in the times just after the dispersion, when all countries were over-run with wild beasts, of which it was necessary they should be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing seemed more proper to procure a man esteem and honour in those ages, than his being an expert hunter, as *Nimrod* probably was. By that exercise we are told the antient *Persians* fitted their kings for war and government [g]; and hunting is still, in many countries, considered as one part of a royal education. c

THERE is nothing in the short history of *Nimrod* which carries the least air of reproach, except his name, which signifies a rebel (I); and that is the circumstance which seems to have occasioned the injurious opinions, which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators being prepossessed in general, that the curse of *Noah* fell upon the posterity of *Ham*; and finding this prince stigmatized by his name, have interpreted every passage relating to him to his disadvantage. They represent him as a rebel against GOD, in perswading the descendants of *Noah* to disobey the divine command to disperse, and in setting them to build the tower of *Babel*, with an impious design of scaling heaven (K). They brand him as an ambitious usurper, and an insolent oppressor; d

[c] Gen. x, 8, 9, 10. [d] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 63. ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. [d] ABEN EZRA, KIMHI. See also GROT. [f] BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 12. PERIZON. Orig. Bab. cap. 12. p. 230. [g] Vid. ZENOPH. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

(E) Some *Mohammedan* authors confound the genealogies of the sons of *Noah* at a strange rate. One of them says, that *Nimrod* was the son of *Canaan*, and brother of *Cush*, whom the *Persians* surname *Fil dendan*, that is, *the elephants tooth* (1).

(F) The *Hebrew* word גִּבּוֹר *Gibbor*, which our version renders *a mighty one*, is by the *Septuagint* translated *a giant* (2).

(G) A writer of great authority in the *East* has a singular notion, that *Nimrod* by hunting provided food for the builders of *Babel* (3).

(H) The phrase, *before the* LORD, seems to be in itself perfectly indifferent, and made use of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in scripture where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore instead of *before the* LORD, St. *Austin* will have it to be rendered *against the* LORD (4) in which he is followed by several (5). The *Jerusalem* Targum, and that of *BenUzziel*, both take this character of *Nimrod* in an ill sense.

(I) This name is generally derived from מָרַד *marad* to *rebel*; but if a composition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology, and more agreeable to *Nimrod*'s occupation, might be offered from נָמֵר *namer* a *leopard*, which may by a metonymy denote wild beasts in general, and רָדַד *radad* to *fell* or *beat down*, or רָדָה *radah* to *subdue* or *take*. The *Arabs* make *Nemrûd*, the plural of which is *Nemâredah*, the same with מֹרֵד *mâred*, a *rebel*. However, a certain *Persian* author, who makes *Nimrod* the same with *Cay Caus*, a king of the second dynasty of *Persia*, gives the name a *Persian* derivation, as if it was *Nemûrd*, that is, *immortal*; which appellation, he says, was given to him on account of his long reign of above 150 years (6). If the first of the three significations be the right, the name must have been given him by his enemies, not by his subjects (7). The *Greeks* write the name *Nembrod* and *Nebrodes*.

(K) An *Arab* author says, that *Nimrod* built this tower, that he might ascend to heaven to see *Abraham*'s GOD, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace into which that tyrant had cast him. They worked at this building three years, and when *Nimrod* had gotten on the top of it, he wondered to see the heaven as far from him as it was before; but his astonishment encreased, when this tower and another, which had been built for the same purpose, were

(1) *The author of Lobb al Tawarikh, apud* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod. p.* 668. (2) Gen. x. 8. (3) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dynast. p.* 12. (4) *De civit Dei, lib.* 16. *cap.* 4. (5) JOH. SARISBUR. *Policrat. l.* 1. *p.* 13, & *l.* 8. *p.* 559. NIC. ABRAM, *Pharus* V. T. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 5. § 16. (6) *The author of Mefatih al Olûm, apud* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* (7) *Vid.* HYDE *de rel. vet. Persar. p.* 35.

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a oppreſſor; and make him the author of the adoration of fire (L), of idolatrous worſhip given to men, and the firſt perſecutor on the ſcore of religion (M). On the other hand, ſome account him a virtuous prince, and ſo far from adviſing the building of *Babel*, that they ſay, he left the country and went into *Aſſyria*, becauſe he would not give his conſent to it (N).

NIMROD is generally thought to have been the firſt king after the flood (O); though ſome authors, ſuppoſing a plantation, or diſperſion prior to that of *Babel*, have made kings in ſeveral countries before him. *Mizraim* is ſuppoſed by many, who contend for the antiquity of the *Egyptian* monarchy, to have began his reign a good while earlier than *Nimrod*[1]: and others, from the uniformity of the languages ſpoken in

b *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Canaan*, affirm thoſe countries to have been peopled before the confuſion of tongues[k].

THE four cities (P) *Moſes* gives to *Nimrod*, made a large kingdom in thoſe early times, when few kings had more than one: only it muſt be obſerved, that poſſeſſions might at firſt have been large, and afterwards divided into ſeveral parcels; and *Nimrod* being the leader of a nation, we may ſuppoſe his ſubjects ſettled within thoſe limits. Whether he became poſſeſſed of thoſe cities by conqueſt, or otherwiſe, does not appear: it is moſt probable, he did not build *Babel*, all the poſterity of *Noah* ſeeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear, that he built the other three, though the founding of them and many more, with other works, are attributed to

[1] Vid. MARSH. Chron. Can. p. 18, 23.

[k] HORNIUS ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 21.

were ſucceſſively overthrown. Still perſiſting in his deſign, he would be carried to heaven in a cheſt, born by four monſtrous birds; but after wandering for ſome time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with ſuch a force that made it ſhake, to which, as this writer imagines, alludes that paſſage in the Korân; *though the ſtratagems of the impious make the mountains tremble* (1).

Nimrod, by this diſappointment, finding he could not make war with GOD in perſon, inſtead of acknowledging his power, proceeded to perſecute thoſe who adored any beſides himſelf; but GOD, by dividing *Nimrod*'s ſubjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued thoſe who continued to adhere to him by a cloud of gnats, which deſtroyed almoſt all of them.

Another author adds, that one of thoſe gnats having entered into the noſtril, or ear of *Nimrod*, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him ſuch intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cauſe his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure ſome eaſe; and that he ſuffered this torture for the ſpace of four hundred years, GOD being willing to puniſh by one of the ſmalleſt of his creatures, him, who inſolently boaſted himſelf to be the lord of all (2).

(L) The orientals make *Nimrod* the author of the ſect of the *Magi*, or worſhippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally ſeeing fire riſe out of the earth at a great diſtance from him in the eaſt, he worſhipped it, and appointed one *Andeſhan* to attend the fire there, and throw frankincenſe into it (3).

(M) The perſon perſecuted by *Nimrod*, according to ſeveral *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian* and *Mohammedan* authors, was *Abraham*, who by the *Hebrew* chronology might have been his contemporary.

(N) *Jonathan ben Uziel* paraphraſes the paſſage (4) thus; *Nimrod* going out of that land reigned in *Aſſyria*, becauſe he would not come into the meaſures of thoſe who were concerned in the diviſion, therefore GOD gave him another country, where he built four other cities, *viz. Nineveh*, *Platiathkartha*, *Parioth*, and *Telaſar*.

(O) The *Eaſtern* writers make him not only the firſt king of *Babel*, but of all the world; and ſay, he was the firſt who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had ſeen in the ſky; for being pleaſed with the appearance, he ſent immediately for an artiſt, and had a crown of gold caſt in the ſame form, which he put upon his head; from whence his ſubjects took occaſion to ſay, that it came down to him from heaven (5).

(P) We might be able to make ſome judgment concerning the extent of the firſt *Babyloniſh* kingdom, could we fix the ſituations of theſe four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long ſince deſtroyed, and authors differing ſo much in opinions about them. There are even two traditions with regard to the ruins of *Babel*, ſome placing them at *Felugia*, a village on the *Euphrates*, about thirty ſix miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Bagbdâd*, on the *Tigris*; others, about the ſame diſtance from *Felugia* ſouthward, on the firſt of thoſe rivers: how much more uncertain then muſt be the ſituation of the reſt, which were towns not ſo famous, and whoſe ruins, if any remain, are ſeldom enquired after.

According to the *Eaſtern* authors, *Erech*, or *Arach*, is *Hadas*, or *Edeſſa* (6), called by the *Syrians Urhoi*, by the *Arabs Roha*, and by the inhabitants *Orfa*; *Accad*, or *Akbar* as ſome write it, is *Niſibin*; and *Calneh*, *Calanne*, or *Calya*, is *Cteſiphon*, or *Medain* (17); and if they are not miſtaken, the diſtances of theſe cities from each other will give *Nimrod*'s kingdom a great extent, as do ſome traditions concerning him (S): but the *Aſiatics*, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on more than the *Europeans*. We are of opinion, the *Babylonian* kingdom, under *Nimrod*, was much more limited, and rather agree with thoſe who believe *Erech* to have been a city of *Chaldea*, which from thence took its preſent *Arabic* name of *Erâk* (9). This ſeems to be the *Arecca* of *Ptolemy*, and *Arecha* of *Marcellinus*, who places it in *Suſiana* (10). Neither can *Erec* be *Urhoi*, or *Edeſſa*, in the opinion of thoſe who hold *Ur* of the *Chaldees*

(1) *Cap.* 14. v. 46. (2) *Vid.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* (3) *Vid.* EUTYCH. *Annales*, *p.* 63, 64. EBN AMÎD, *p.* 29. (4) Gen. x. 11. (5) EBN AMÎD, *p.* 29. EUTYCH. *Annal. p.* 63. (6) *Vid. Targum* JONATHANIS & *Hieroſol.* (7) EPHREM SYRUS *Comment. in* Geneſ. *ubi de Nimrod. apud* ASSEMANI *Bibl. Orient. tom.* I. *p.* 26. ABUL'FARAG. *p.* 18. (8) *See* THEVENOT's *Trav. Part* II. *Book* I. *chap.* 9, & 13. (9) HYDE *in notis ad Peritſol. Itinera Mundi*, *p.* 65. D'HERBELOT *Biblioth. Orient. Art. Erac.* (10) *Lib.* 23.

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to him (Q). It may seem also a little strange, that *Nimrod* should be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs, or heads of nations, even of the branch of *Ham*. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not assume the title of king till after his father *Cush*'s death, who might have been settled there before him (R), and left him the sovereignty; but we incline to think, that he seized *Shinaar* from the descendants of *Shem*, driving out *Ashur*, who from thence went and founded *Nineveh*, and other cities in *Assyria*. a

THE scripture does not inform us when *Nimrod* began his reign (S). Some [l] date it before the dispersion; but such a conjecture does not seem to suit with the *Mosaical* history: for before the dispersion we read of no city but *Babel*, nor could there well be more while all mankind were yet in a body together; but when *Nimrod* assumed the regal title, there seem to have been other cities built, which shews it was a good while after the dispersion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, that is in the year of the flood 431, and in all likelihood it should be placed rather later than earlier. b

Year before Christ, 2567.

AUTHORS have taken a great deal of pains to find *Nimrod* in prophane history; some have imagined him to be the same with *Belus* [m], the founder of the *Babylonish* empire; others, with *Ninus* [n], the founder of the *Assyrian* (T); some think him the same with *Evechous*, the first *Chaldæan* king after the deluge [o]; and a fourth sort perceive a great resemblance between him and *Bacchus*, both in actions and name [p]. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers suppose *Nimrod* to have been *Zohak*, a *Persian* king of the first dynasty [q]; others, *Cay Câus*, the second king of the second race [r]; and some of the *Jews* says he is the same with *Amraphel*, the king of *Shinaar*, in *Moses* [s]: but there is no certainty in these conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate successors (U). c

THE scripture mentions nothing as to the death of *Nimrod*; but authors have taken care that such an essential circumstance in his history should not be wanting. Some of the *Rabbins* pretend, he was slain by *Esau* (W), whom they make his contemporary. There

[l] Vid. NIC. ABRAM, Pharus V. T. lib. 5. § 7. [m] PETAV. Doct. temp. l. 13. p. 283. [n] HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 43, 44. [o] SYNCELL. p. 90. [p] Vid. CALMET Dict. de la Bible Art. Nemrod. BEDFORD Script. Chronol. p. 265, 266. [q] TARIKH MONTAKHAB apud D'Herbelot Art. Nimrod & Nouh. [r] See before, p. 122, in the notes. [s] BEN UZZIEL. YARHI. R. DAV. GANZ in Zemach David.

Chaldees and *Urhoi* to be the same; for *Erec* and *Ur* are distinguished in scripture as two different cities. *Calne* we admit to be *Ctesiphon*, or *Medain*, nearer either of the aforesaid ruins of *Babel* than is *Baghdâd*; and as for *Accad*, we may suppose it to have been some city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long since ruined, and the memory of it lost: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to such dimensions, as, in all probability, the first could not exceed.

(Q) *Abu'lfarag* says *Nimrod* built three of these cities, mentioned by *Moses*, *viz. Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calne* (1), or *Calne*. Others ascribe to him the building of *Babel*, *Nineveh*, *Resen*, and several other cities, among which was *Adherbijân* (2), in the *Persian* province of the same name. An *Arab* author mentions a city called *Takhardt*, or *Takhardân Sâr*, where *Nimrod* coined money (3). Others write, that he dug several rivers in *Erâk*, derived from *Euphrates*, of which that of *Cutha*, in the way [from *Babel*] to *Cusah* was one (4).

(R) A *Persian* author of great authority affirms, that *Cush*, or *Citha* was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erak*; and attributes to him the making of the river *Cutha* (5). Dr. *Hyde* places the original seat of *Cush* in the same country, which he calls *the most antient Cûsh* (6); and says, that his posterity removing into *Arabia*, it thence took the name of *Cûsh* also (7).

(S) The *Arabs* say, that *Nimrod* reigned in *al Sowâd*, that is, *the black country*; for so they call *Irak Arabi*, from the black tents of the *Scenite Arabs* scattered over the province (8). They suppose, his father *Cush* resided at *Erac*, in the province of *Babel* (9); though *Babel* is generally thought, by christian authors, to have been the regal seat of *Nimrod*.

(T) Many have confounded the *Babylonian* and the *Assyrian* empire together, by mistaking the sense of the text (10), as if both of them had been founded by *Nimrod*; but this point will be discussed hereafter, when we come to speak of the foundation of the *Assyrian* empire.

(U) Some christian and *Mohammedan* historians call the most ancient kings of the *Babylonians*, who succeeded *Nimrod*, *Nimâredah*, that is, *Nimrods* (11). Some of the latter say, he reigned in *al Sowâd* 400 years; and that he was succeeded by a prince of the same family, called *Nabat Ebn Kôûd*, who ruled 100 years (12): and some of the former tell us, that *Bokhtanser* [or rather *Bakht Nasr*, which is the name the orientals give to *Nebuchaddnezzar* king of *Babylon*] was of his race (13).

(W) They tell the following story, as the occasion of this accident: that the coat which GOD made *Adam*, was with his body in the ark; and that when *Noah* and his sons quitted that vessel, *Ham* took it, by which means it afterwards fell to *Nimrod*, who putting it on, all kinds of beasts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in strength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is said to be *a mighty hunter before the* LORD. *Esau* seeing the coat upon *Nimrod*, conceived so strong a desire for it, that he slew him, and stripped him of it (14).

(1) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dyn.* p. 18. (2) EUTYCH. *Annal.* p. 64. (3) SAFIEDDIN. *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 74. (4) AHMED EBN YUSEF, *apud Hyde, ibid. p.* 71, 73. (5) AL TABARI *in cap. de Morte Saræ apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 40. (6) HYDE *ibid. p.* 38. (7) *Id. ibid. p.* 37. (8) ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAFA *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 42, 43. (9) *Vid.* HYDE *ibid. p.* 40. (10) Gen. x. 11. (11) *Vid.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* (12) ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAFA *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 42, 43. (13) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dyn. p.* 72. (14) ELIEZER *Pirke, cap.* 24.

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

Of Shem *and his poſterity to* Abraham.

a There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of *Babel*, which was overthrown by tempeſtuous winds while *Nimrod* was in it [s]. Others ſay, that as he led an army againſt *Abraham*, God ſent a ſquadron of gnats, which deſtroyed moſt of them; and particularly *Nimrod*, whoſe brain was pierced by one of thoſe inſects [t].

We now come to the hiſtory of *Shem* and his poſterity, which for convenience we have placed laſt, though he was the ſecond ſon of *Noah* by birth, and by prerogative the eldeſt, the right of primogeniture ſeeming to have been lodged in him.

The poſterity of *Shem* are twice recited by *Moſes*. In the firſt place [u] he only mentions the names of ſuch of his deſcendants as were concerned in the firſt diſperſions. In the other [w], he deduces the genealogy in the line of *Arphaxad* down to *Abraham*.

b But the ſacred writer having been more brief in the hiſtory of theſe patriarchs, than in that of the branch of *Ham*, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their ſons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more), for the reſt we muſt have recourſe to the traditions, and conjectures of the *Jewiſh* and chriſtian writers, where we ſhall not want for matter.

Shem was born ninety eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of *Arphaxad*, he was one hundred years old [x]. We ſhall have given the reader all that is to be found in ſcripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he aſſiſted his brother *Japhet* in covering the nakedneſs of

c their father [y], and ſhared in his bleſſing for ſo doing: *Bleſſed be the* God of Shem, ſaid *Noah*, *and* Canaan *ſhall be his ſervant* [z].

It hath already been obſerved in what manner this propheſy was accompliſhed: but there is one thing peculiar in theſe words of *Noah*, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he bleſſeth the God of *Shem*, and ſays nothing of that kind with regard to *Japhet*; by which circumſtance is plainly intimated, that the knowledge and worſhip of the true God was to be found in the branch of *Shem*; and that though *Japhet* himſelf did at that time believe in the true God, yet his poſterity ſhould quickly fall away from the faith, and worſhip ſuch gods as did not deſerve to be bleſſed; and therefore *Noah*, who foreſaw what would happen, ſuppreſſed that ſhort

d doxology, in giving his bleſſing to *Japhet*: however, this propheſy ſeems to have no further proſpect than till the coming of the *Meſſiah* in the line of *Shem*, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for ſince that time moſt of *Japhet*'s poſterity have received the knowledge of the true God.

The *Jews* ſuppoſe the tradition of theological truths to have paſſed from *Noah* to *Shem*, who communicated them to his children, by which means the true religion was preſerved in the world. The *Rabbins* pretend, that *Shem* was entruſted with the will of *Noah*, whereby he divided the earth among his three ſons; that he went to ſchool to *Methuſelah* for threeſcore and eighteen years, and kept one himſelf, after the deluge, upon mount *Tabor*, where he taught morality; that he inſtructed *Abraham* in the cere-

c monies relating to ſacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards obſerved. They ſay farther, that God gave him the ſpirit of propheſy a hundred years after the flood, and that he diſcharged the function of a prophet for the ſpace of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribute alſo to him the invention of aſtronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years [a], and of intercalating the former, having learned theſe ſecrets from *Noah* [b]. Thoſe who confound *Shem* with *Melchizedec* (X), aſcribe to him the

109th

[r] Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 12. [t] Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 74. See before, p. 123. in the notes. [u] Gen. x. 21. [w] Gen. xi. 10. [x] Ibid. [y] Gen. ix. 23. [z] Gen. ix. 26. [a] Scip. Scambat. Archiv. Vet. Teſt. lib. 1. p. 165. apud Calmet. Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem. [b] Eliezer Pirke, c. 8.

(X) The *Jews*, followed by many chriſtian authors antient and modern, are of this opinion, which has nothing to countenance it in ſcripture: nor is it likely ſo eminent a patriarch would diveſt himſelf, as it were, of the ſovereignty which he held over his own branch, to ſettle in *Canaan*, and become a petty prince within the dominions of another, who was to be his ſervant (1), namely *Ham*. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by adhering too ſtrictly to the *Hebrew* computation (2), and perhaps looking on the tradition of the *Jews* as ſome authority (3). Yet it is ſince the time of *Joſephus*, who ſpeaks of *Melchizedec* only as a *Canaanitiſh* king (4), that they have made him the ſame with *Shem*; which ſeems to have been a notion altogether unknown to St. *Paul* (5). The oriental chriſtians make *Melchizedec* the ſon of *Phaleg* (6); for the *Septuagint* chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the ſame with *Shem*. A learned *Syrian* author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the *Jews*, will have *Melchizedec* to be the ſon of this laſt mentioned patriarch (7).

(1) Gen. ix. 26. (2) Cumberl. *on Sanchon.* p. 47. (3) *Id. ibid.* p. 174. (4) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. (5) Heb. vii. 2. (6) Ebn Amîd p. 13. Eutych. *Annal.* p. 50. (7) Abu'lfarag. *Hiſt. Dynaſt.* p. 10.

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

109th *Psalm*, and a treatise of physic [c] (Y). Some make him to have been the first king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth known to the antients (Z). a

THE *Eastern* writers say, that *Shem*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam* and *Noah* [d], together with *Melchizedec*, the son of *Phaleg*, took *Adam*'s body out of the ark, and, being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount *Calvary*, where they buried it: after which *Shem* constituting *Melchizedec* the priest of GOD, left him behind to attend at the sepulchre; and pretended on his return that he died by the way, and was buried [e]. Some say, *Shem* interred there no more than the skull of *Adam*, which had been given him by *Noah* [f].

THOSE who seek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the *Mosaic* history, are greatly at a loss to find among the gods, or heroes, one who in name or character hath any resemblance to *Shem*; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous shift of making him the god of hell (A). b

SHEM having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600. He left five sons, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram* [g]. The more moderate *Persian* historians say, their first king *Cayumarras* was a son of *Shem* [h], meaning probably *Elam*, whom *Moses* makes the founder of that nation.

THE scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of *Shem*, except *Ashur*; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the *Assyrian* kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by *Moses* in these words; *out of that land* [namely *Shinaar*] *went forth* Ashur, *and builded* Nineveh *and the city* Rhehoboth, *and* Calah [i], *and* Resen *between* Nineveh *and* Calah; *the same is a great city* [k]. We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendred according to the marginal reading of our translation, *He went out into* Assyria; as if *Nimrod* was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. As to the epoch of this *Assyrian* kingdom, we suppose, it might have been founded about the same time with that of *Babel*, that is, 30 years after the dispersion, in the year of the flood 431. c

Year before Christ, 2567.

As to the situation of the cities built by *Ashur*, in order to determine the extent of this first *Assyrian* kingdom, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of *Babel*. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that as the number of cities, of which each monarchy consisted, was equal, so it is probable their dimensions were much the same; and that the other three cities lay at no great distance from *Nineveh*, whose situation has been in some measure preserved by tradition (B). d

ARPHAXAD,

[c] SCIP. SGAMBAT. Archiv. V. T. lib. 1. p. 165. [d] See before p. 80, in the notes. [e] EBN AMÎD, p. 13. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. [f] See before p. 80, in the notes. [g] Gen. x. 22. [h] Vid. D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Sam. [i] Gen. x. 11. [k] Ib. ver. 12.

(Y) The *Hebrew* manuscript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the Elector of *Bavaria*'s library (1).

(Z) These three cities are *Sebta* [or *Ceuta*] a maritime town in *Africa* [on the coast of *Barbary*], *Salernum* in *Italy*, and *Salem* in *Judea* (2). Others say, he only laid the foundations of [this last, supposing it to be] *Jerusalem* (3).

(A) As those authors, who fancy a resemblance between *Saturn* and *Noah*, have on account of the supposed similitude of names, made *Ham Jupiter*, and *Japhet Neptune*, *Shem* must of consequence be *Pluto* (4); but such an hypothesis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another, which supposes him to be *Typhon*; we should have been glad therefore to have known what reasons *Calmet* had to believe, that prophane historians intend *Shem* by *Typhon*, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or maleficent deity (5); and, indeed, was had in great detestation by the *Egyptians*, as a monster of wickedness, having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother *Osiris*.

(B) *Nineveh* is supposed to have stood on the east side of the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*, opposite to *Mosul*; at least, the tradition of the country will have it so: but there are no ruins to be seen there, as there are at old *Babel* (6). Though a certain traveller pretends to have discovered and thoroughly viewed some remains, by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long square, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which at eight furlongs to an *Italian* mile, make threescore miles in compass (7).

The city *Rehoboth*, is by many supposed to be *Reheboth* on the *Euphrates*, the same probably with that called *Rahabat Malek*, not many miles below the place where the *Khabur* falls into the *Euphrates* (8); and *Resen* to be the *Resania* of the antients in *Mesopotamia*, still in being, and called *Ras alain*, that is, *the head of the fountain*, on account of the many springs rising thereabouts; and among the rest that of the *Khabûr*: It is also called *Ain Wardah*. But others endeavour to find *Rehoboth* and *Resen* nearer *Nineveh*, and also object, that they cannot be *Rahabat* and *Ras alain*, because these last are

(1) CALMET *Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem.* (2) *Vid.* SCIP. SGAMBAT. *Arch. Vet. Test. l.* 1. *p.* 165. (3) SHALSH. HAKK. *p.* 93. *a.* (4) *Vid.* BOCHART *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. (5) *See his Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem.* (6) *See* THEVENOT's *Travels, part* 2. *chap.* 11. *p.* 52. RAUWOLF's *Travels, part* 2. *chap.* 9. *p.* 188. (7) *See the Preacher's Travels, p.* 89. (8) GEOG. NUB. *Clim.* 4. *part* 6. *p.* 199.

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ARPHAXAD, or as the *Maſoretes* read the name *Arpachſhad*, the third ſon of *Shem*,
a had one advantage above the reſt of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the *Chaſdîm*, or *Chaldeans* from *Arphaxad* (C), which opinion ſeems more reaſonable than that which makes *Cheſed*, the ſon of *Nahor*, *Abraham*'s brother, to be the founder of them; though poſſibly the *Chaſdîm* had another original; for nothing is mentioned in ſcripture concerning it. Some *Mohammedan* authors make *Arphaxad* both a prophet and an apoſtle, and lodge the chief ſovereignty over the nations of the world in his deſcendants (D). *Arphaxad* was born in the hundredth year of his father, two years after the flood [l]; and having begat the ſucceeding patriarch in the 135th year of his age [m], died after
b he had lived in all 438 years [n]; which is the ſum of what the ſcripture relates concerning him, though writers have added ſeveral conjectures of their own (E).

Year before Chriſt, 2996.

WHO

[l] Gen. xi. 10. [m] Ibid. v. 11. [n] Ibid. v. 12.

are not in *Aſſyria*, which lies to the eaſt of *Tigris*. They ſuppoſe, that *Rehoboth* is the ſame with the *Birtha* of *Ptolemy*, or *Virtha* of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1), ſituate at the mouth of the river *Lycus*, from which the preſent ruins of *Nineveh* are not many miles diſtant to the north; and the reaſon they give is, becauſe *Birtha* ſignifies in the *Chaldee* the ſame which *Rehoboth* does in the *Hebrew*, that is, *ſtreets*. And as a confirmation that theſe names are the ſame, *Ptolemy* alſo places a *Birtha* on the *Euphrates*, about the place where we have ſuppoſed the other *Rehoboth* to have ſtood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the *Chabûr* and *Euphrates*, inſtead of below it, lay any good objection in the way, ſince *Ptolemy* is full of ſuch faults. It may rather be objected, that *Moſes* ſeems to have given all the cities he mentions the names they went by in the country where they ſtood, as near as the *Hebrew* orthography would allow; but in ſuch doubtful caſes, we muſt always make allowances; ſo that *Birtha*, or *Virtha* may ſtand for *Rehoboth*, ſince we cannot find a more likely place.

Calah, the next city, is ſuppoſed to be the *Calach*, ſituate about the ſprings of the river *Lycus* (2), mentioned by *Strabo* as the capital of a province called *Calachene*, which ſeems to be the ſame with *Ptolemy*'s *Calacine*, above *Adiabene* towards mount *Niphates*. *Bochart* thinks, it is the ſame with *Halah*, whither the *Iſraelites* were carried captives (3); the *Heth* being ſometimes changed into the *Kaf*, of which that author produces ſome inſtances (4).

Could we be ſure of being right as to the ſituation of *Calah*, that of *Reſen* would be found of courſe; for *Moſes* ſays it lay between it and *Niniveh*, which is enough for our purpoſe, without ſuppoſing it to be the *Lariſſa* of *Xenophon*, according to whoſe deſcription it was a great city (5), as *Reſen* is likewiſe ſaid to have been. The difference of the names may be eaſily accounted for, from the uſage of the *Greeks*; who either could not, or would not write exotic names properly. But we muſt own *Lariſſa* ſeems to lie too much out of the way to be *Reſen*, for it ſtood on the *Tigris* to the ſouth of *Niniveh*; whereas it ſhould rather have been ſituate to the northward of that city, and at a diſtance from the river, to lie in the way between *Nineveh* and *Calah*. We may, however, ſuppoſe *Reſen* to have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of thoſe other two, long ſince deſtroyed.

(C) Some *Rabbins* are of this opinion (6). And if the authority of *Joſephus* be of any weight, he affirms the ſame: *Arphaxad*, ſays he, *gave name to the* Arphaxadæans, *at preſent called* Chaldeans, *whoſe prince he was* (7). He certainly does not mean, as Dr. *Wells* obſerves (8), that the name *Chaldeans* is derived directly from the name *Arphaxad*; but perhaps he meant, that the true name *Chaſdim* is derived thence, that is to ſay from כשׂד, the three laſt letters of *Arpachſhad* (9); and from *Chaſdim* the *Greeks* have made *Chaldæi* inſtead of *Chaſdæi*, by changing the *ſ* into *l*. And this opinion is more probable, becauſe the *Chaldeans* were not only called *Khaſdîm* (10) before *Cheſed* was born (11), but appear to have been a nation when *Abraham* came out of *Ur* of the *Khaſdîm* (12); at which time *Cheſed* was neither old, or conſiderable enough to have built towns and founded a nation. And this argument is ſo cogent, that *Bochart* and others, at the ſame time that they treat this etymology as a chimæra, are obliged to fly to the common ſubterfuge on this occaſion, and ſay, that the city of *Ur* is called *Ur of the Chaldees* by a prolepſis (13), which will hardly ſerve in this caſe for the reaſons already alledged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to ſcripture to deny the derivation of the name of *Khaſdîm* either from *Arphaxad*, or *Cheſed*.

Some compound *Arphaxad*'s name of רפא כשׂד, *Rafa Khaſhed*, that is, *the healer or Prelate of* Chaldea; ſuppoſing it to have been given to *Cainan* as a name of dignity (14).

(D) According to a curious though fabulous *Mohammedan* tradition, aſcribed to *Ebn Abbâs*, *Shem* being called by *Noah*, at day-break, to aſſiſt at morning-prayer, aroſe and awakened his children, of whom only *Arphaxad* got up and attended his father to *Noah*; who gave them his benediction and prayed for them: whereupon GOD revealed to him, that the gift of propheſy, together with the apoſtleſhip, ſhould be granted to the children of *Shem*, and in an eſpecial manner to the family of *Arphaxad* his eldeſt ſon; which gift ſhould neither be taken from him, nor transferred to any other; and that the ſame family ſhould alſo enjoy the prerogative of ſovereignty and empire over the other nations which ſhould be divided ſucceſſively between the *Perſians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Arabs*, to the end of the world (15).

(E) A certain author makes him one of the *Rephaim*, (in conſequence of the etymology he has given of his name) ſuppoſing them to have been believers, and ſent by *Noah* to recal mankind to the worſhip of GOD; wherefore they were named *Rephaim*, that is, *healers*, and *reſtorers*, to wit, *of ſouls*. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that *Cainan*, or *Arphaxad* (whom he makes

(1) *Lib.* 20. (2) *Geog. lib.* 11. (3) 2 Kings xvii. 6, *and* xviii. 11. (4) *Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 4. *cap.* 22. (5) *Anabas, lib.* 3. (6) GEDAL. *in Shalſhel Hakkab, p.* 93. (7) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. (8) *Geog. of the Old. Teſt. vol.* I. *p.* 187. (9) *Vid.* LIGHTFOOT *Oper. vol.* I. *p.* 13. (10) Gen. xv. 7. (11) Gen. xxii. 22. (12) Gen. xi. 31. (13) *Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 2. *c.* 4. HEIDEG. *Hiſt. Patr. tom.* I. *p.* 458. § 43. (14) *Vid.* BOLDUC *de Eccleſia ant. legem, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. (15) *See* D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Noah, p.* 677.

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648.

WHO this son so begotten by *Arphaxad* was, has occasioned no small dispute among the learned: according to the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, *Salah* was his son; but in the *Septuagint* version we find *Cainan* put in between the two, as the son of the first, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of succession, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the *Septuagint* to exceed the *Samaritan* by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for *Cainan* to have begotten his son. Those who adhere to the *Septuagint*, draw their chief argument from St. *Luke*'s [o] mentioning *Cainan* in his genealogy of CHRIST, which has been already answered [p] (F). However, the *Septuagint* version having been received over a great part of the christian world, *Cainan* passeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (G), in many countries, and there are more traditions concerning him (H) than of *Salah*, the true son and successor of *Arphaxad*. a b

SALAH is the only patriarch concerning whom the christian writers have observed an equal silence with *Moses*. He hath been thought by some to be the same with the prophet *Saleh*, sent to preach the true religion to the tribe of *Thamûd* in *Arabia Petræa* [q]; but this person appears to have been much later than the patriarch (I).

IT is the general opinion, that the *Hebrews* derive their name from the patriarch *Eber* (K), the son of *Salah*; and many of the *Jews* (as well as *Christians*) attribute to him

[o] Luke iii. 36. [p] Pag. 113. b. [q] HYDE de Rel. vet. Persar. p. 58. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Salah.

makes to be the same) was the founder of the empire of *China*; that the sect of the *Bonzes* was introduced into *Japan* by him, or his disciples; and that the *Brachmans* took their rise in *Chaldea* soon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of *Ethan*, (where he was sent with a colony by *Noah*,) about the year of the deluge 68, the chief of which colony was called *Yarcha*, which in the *Hebrew* is *Rapha*, that is, a *curator*, or *healer* (16).

(F) To the arguments already produced by us on this head (17) may be added; 1. That *Cainan* was unknown to *Onkelos*, the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, *Philo*, and *Josephus*, and to the *Syriac*, *Persian*, and *Arab* translators, as well as to the author of the *Vulgat*. *Berosus* also placing *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood (18), leaves no room for *Cainan*. *Theophilus Antiochenus*, (19) and *Dositheus* (who was contempory with the apostles themselves) do also omit him, as do the more correct *Greek* writers (20). 2. He is wanting in the *Roman* and *Paris* editions of the *Septuagint*, in a place (21) from whence omissions of this kind are usually supplied; which would scarce have happened in case there had been such a person. Nor is he to be found in that edition of the *Septuagint* itself, which, having been placed in the *Alexandrian* library of *Cleopatra*, and received in *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, was inserted by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*; and which, according to *Jerom*, was formerly reckoned the only faithful and uncorrupted copy, the other copy, called the *Vulgar*, having been corrupted at the pleasure of antient writers (22). It is true *Origen* mixed *Theodotion*'s version with the other, but took care to mark with an asterisk what it had less, and with an obelisk what it had more than the *Alexandrian* MS. which method we see observed by *Procopius Gazæus* (23). 3. The various readings in the several *Greek* copies, as well with regard to the years of *Arphaxad* after the birth of *Cainan*, as to those of *Cainan* after the birth of *Salah*, are no small evidence of corruption in this point (24).

Some of the moderns, to reconcile St. *Luke* with the *Hebrew*, make *Cainan* and *Salah* (25), others *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, to be the same person (26).

(G) The *Alexandrian* chronicle (27) derives the *Sarmatians* from *Cainan*; *Eustathius Antiochenus* (28) the *Saggodians*; *George Syncellus* (29), the *Gasphani*; *Epiphanius* the *Cajani* (30); *Salianus* (31) thinks the river *Caina* in *India* takes its name from him.

(H) Besides the particulars already mentioned, it is said, *Canaan* was the first after the flood who invented astronomy, and that his sons made a god of him, and worshipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of *Harran* in *Mesopotamia* is also attributed to him, which, it is pretended, he so called from a son he had of that name (32).

(I) An *Arab* writer makes the prophet *Saleh* to be the son of *Asaf*, the son of *Cassekh*, the son of *Hazver*, the son of *Khaber*, the son of *Thamûd*, [the son of *Gather*] the son of *Aram*, the son of *Sem* (33); so that he was five generations later than the patriarch *Salah*, who was the third in descent from *Noah*. Besides, the destruction of the tribe of *Thamûd* was subsequent to that of the tribe of *Ad*, to whom the prophet *Hûd*, or *Eber*, was sent, as we learn, from one of the commentators (34) on the *Koran*; and consequently *Saleh*, the prophet of the *Thamûdites*, must be posterior to *Eber*.

(K) The *Hebrew* word עבר *Eber* signifies *beyond*, or simply, *a passage*; for what reason he was so called is uncertain: but if the *Hebrews* were so called from him, as most imagine, why might it not have been given him prophetically by *Salah*, to denote the future passage of his posterity over the *Euphrates* into the land of *Canaan*, in the same manner as many suppose *Eber* gave his son the name of *Peleg*, foreseeing the division of the earth which was to happen towards the middle, or end of his life; This patriarch's name is in some versions confounded with that of חבר *Heber*, which both occur in one chapter (35).

(16) BOLDUC *de Eccles. ant. legem, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *See before p.* 84, *in the notes.* (17) *Pag.* 113. b. (18) *Apud* JOSEPH. *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. (19) *Lib.* 3. *ad Autolyc.* (20) *Vid.* MASSAEUM *lib.* 2. PERER. *in* Genes. cap. x. (21) *Vid.* MASSAEUM *lib.* 2. PERER. *in* Genes. cap. x. (22) HIERONYM. *Epist.* 135 (23) *Vid.* PROCOP. *in* Genes. xi. (24) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr. tom.* 2. *exer.* 10. *p.* 8. (25) HERMAN. CONTRACT. JOH. LUCIDUS LUD. DE DIEU FR. GOMARUS, *&c.* (26) BOLDUC *ubi sup.* (27) *Pag.* 70. ED. RADERI. (28) *Apud* HEIDEGG. *tom.* 2. *Exerc.* 1. § 12. (29) *Chronogr. p.* [illegible]. (30) *Apud* HEIDEGG. *ubi supra.* (31) *Apud eundem, ibid. p.* (32) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dynast. p.* 11. (33) TARIKH MONTAKHAB. *apud* D'HERBELOT. *Art. Saleh. p.* 740. (34) HOSSEIN WAEDH, *apud.* D'HERBELOT, *ibid. p.* 741. (35) 1 Chron. viii. 12, 17, 22.

him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation [r] (L). But there is much more appearance, that the name of *Hebrews* was given to *Abraham* and his deſcendants, on account of his paſſing over the rivers in his way from *Irâk*, or *Chaldea*, into *Syria* [s]: ſo that a *Hebrew* ſhould ſignify nothing elſe in the original ſenſe of the word, than a man from beyond the *Euphrates*. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

a

In conſequence of the ſame opinion, it has been commonly believed by the antients as well as moderns, that the *Hebrew* language alſo took its name from *Eber*, and that at the confuſion of tongues it remained ſolely in the family of that patriarch and his deſcendants [t] (M): but as the firſt part of this aſſertion hath no better ground than the former opinion, ſo the latter is falſe in fact, the *Hebrew* language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of *Eber*; as the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, who in the time of *Abraham* ſpoke *Hebrew*, or a language differing very little from it.

b

The building of *Babel* is properly referred to the time of *Eber*, juſt before the birth of his ſon *Peleg*, in the 134th year of his age and of the flood four hundred and one. Some of the *Rabbins* and chriſtian fathers, who refer that event to a ſubſequent part of *Peleg*'s life, ſay *Eber* gave him that name prophetically, to denote a diviſion of the earth which was to happen ſome time after, and accordingly reckon *Eber* a prophet chiefly upon that account [u]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

Till this time all mankind lived in a body together, and ſpoke one language; but God, being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their ſpeech, and diſperſed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the firſt was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole tranſaction relating to the building of *Babel* and the diſperſion of mankind, muſt hereafter be the ſubject of different ſections.

c

The

[r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. Shalsh Hakk. p. 803. Eutych. Ann. p. 47. [s] Vid. Abu'lfarag. p. 11. Hyde de Rel. vet. Perſar. p. 47, &c. [t] Vid. Ebn Amîd. p. 14. Shalsh Hakk. p. 803. [u] Zemach Dav. part 1. p. 6. Seder Olam. cap. 1. p. 2. Yarhi ad Geneſ. x. 25. Hieron. in quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. Chrysost. Hom. 30. in Geneſ.

(L) The maintainers of this opinion bring many arguments to ſupport it, of which two only ſeem to be of any weight: 1. That a patriarch of that name being found among the anceſtors of the *Jews*, it is reaſonable to believe they derived their name from him. 2. That *Shem* is expreſly ſaid to be *the father of all the children of* Eber (36).

To the firſt of theſe it is anſwered, that, as *Moſes* intimates nothing that way, the bare affinity of the name is not ſufficient to determine the point in favour of that opinion. And as for what they alledge, either of the ſuperiour piety and merit of *Eber* above the other patriarchs, or of the *Hebrew* language being peculiarly ſpoken, or preſerved, by him and his poſterity, it is not only begging the queſtion, there being no foundation in ſcripture for thoſe ſuppoſitions, but may be preſumed to be falſe as to the firſt (ſince he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been more pious than *Shem*), as it appears to be with regard to the laſt (37), the *Hebrew* having been ſpoken by nations which were not of his poſterity.

To the ſecond argument it is replied, that the word *Eber* in the before-mentioned text, has not reſpect to a perſon, but to place, and conſequently that the words do not ſignify the children of the patriarch *Eber*, but the people who dwelt on one ſide, or the other of the river, meaning thereby either the *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both, which parts were the ſeat of *Shem*'s poſterity; to enforce which acceptation, it may be farther obſerved, that if *Eber* be taken here as a proper name, then under the deſignation of his children muſt be comprehended not only the *Hebrews* properly ſo called, deſcended from him by *Peleg*, and the *Arabs*, who were *Joktan*'s poſterity, and ſettled on this ſide of the river, but alſo thoſe who remained on the other ſide of the river, either in *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, or *Elymaïs*: but it could never be *Moſes*'s meaning to make *Shem* the father of *Eber*'s children in this ſenſe, which ſeems to have nothing in view; being too extended to illuſtrate any thing relating particularly to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*; and too limited to reflect any honour on *Shem*, who was the father of many nations, and of ſome more conſiderable than thoſe deſcended from *Eber*. Nothing therefore ſeems to favour this opinion, unleſs it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* in this place had a mind to pay a compliment to all the poſterity of *Eber* in general, on account of the relation they bore to the *Jews*, as being collateral branches of the ſame anceſtor. But this point we ſhall more critically examine when we come to the hiſtory of *Abraham*.

(M) The confuſion of tongues having been conſidered as a puniſhment of the temerity of thoſe who undertook to build *Babel*, many authors, poſſeſſed with high ſentiments of *Eber* have preſumed, that the poſterity of that patriarch, who was deſtined by God to be the ſtock of the holy people, and the depoſitory of the true religion, had no ſhare in that enterprize, nor conſequently in the puniſhment which attended it. But if *Eber*'s children were not concerned in it, it muſt have been becauſe none of them were grown up to an age capable of aſſiſting in that work, the diſperſion having happened at the birth of *Peleg*, who is by many ſuppoſed to have been *Eber*'s eldeſt ſon: for it ſeems to be inconteſtable, that all the deſcendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were concerned in that building (38). However, it is plain, *Eber*'s poſterity ſhared in the puniſhment, for their language was divided. Witneſs the difference between the *Arabic* (the language of *Joktan*'s poſterity) and the *Hebrew*; not to mention the *Chaldee*,

(36) Geneſ. x. 21. (37) *See the next note.* (38) *See ſect.* 4.

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THE original of idolatry by image-worship is by many attributed to the age of *Eber* (N), though most of the fathers place it no higher than that of *Serug*; which seems to be the more probable opinion, considering, that for the first hundred and thirty four years of *Eber*'s life all mankind dwelt in a body together, during which time it is not reasonable to suppose idolatry broke in upon them: then some time must be allowed after the dispersion for the several nations, which were but small at the beginning, to encrease and settle themselves: so that if idolatry was introduced in *Eber*'s time, it must have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed so universally, and with that obstinacy which is imagined by authors. However, the *Arabs* have a tradition that *Hud* (O), who is generally supposed to have been the same person with *Eber*, was sent to preach to one of their ancient tribes, named *Ad*, who had corrupted themselves with the worship of idols, and were afterwards almost totally destroyed for not hearkening to him [w]. They also say, he ended his days in the province of *Hadramaut*, where they still pretend to shew his sepulchre, near *Merbât*, and within two miles of *Hâsec*, a port on the *Indian* sea: there is a small town built about it, which is now called *Kabr Hûd*, or the *Sepulchre* of *Hud* [x].

EBER is supposed by many to have built *Hebron* in *Canaan*, and *Tanis* in *Egypt*; but those are groundless imaginations [y]. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his son *Peleg* [z]: and indeed, if we can suppose there ever was such a pacific and innocent state on this side the flood, it is most likely to have been in the days of *Noah* and his three sons [a], that is, during the time their posterity continued in their first habitation, before their removal to *Shinaar*, and a while after the dispersion, which probably gave it a short interruption.

EBER had two sons, *Peleg* and *Joktan*; *Peleg* was born just after the dispersion happened, on which occasion that name (P) was given him. Venerable *Bede* affirms, that temples were first built in his days, and that several of the chiefs of nations were worshipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch we are told, that contention arose between his sons and those of his brother *Joktan*, whereupon men began to build castles for their defence [b].

THE scripture mentions only one son of *Peleg*'s, besides which the orientals have given him another mentioned in scripture, though not as *Peleg*'s son, namely, *Melchizedec* [c]. They say he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother [d], which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the *Jews*, who make him to be the same with *Shem*. Of this person we have already related some particulars, and may have occasion to say more hereafter.

JOKTAN is generally supposed to have been *Peleg*'s elder brother, upon a presumption, that he and his thirteen sons were leaders of colonies at the dispersion of *Babel*. They are indeed mentioned at the same time with the other heads of nations, and are doubtless to be included amongst those *by whom*, it is said, *the nations were divided in the earth after the flood* [f]: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they must have been leaders in that first dispersion, in case their ages would allow it. Besides, by that means we should not only postpone the time of that transaction, which seems

[w] Vid. POCOCK. Specim. hist. Arab. p. 36. D' HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. [x] Vid. D' HERBELOT, ibid. Art. Cabar Houd. [y] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. 2. p. 11, 13. [z] Vid. GORDON, Chron. lib. 2. cap: 2. [a] Vid. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1. [b] ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. [c] EBN AMÎD. p. 28. EUTYCH, Annal. p. 48. [d] EBN AMÎD. ibid. [e] EBN AMÎD. p. 28. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 48. [f] Genes. x. 32.

(N) Dr. *Hyde* thinks idolatry may by numerous arguments be proved to have begun as high as the times of *Eber* and *Salah*, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous *Arab* tribes of *Ad* and *Thamûd* (39): But we have already observed that the apostle of the *Thamudites* was much later than the patriarch *Salah*; and the mission of *Eber* is not an authority to build upon.

(O) It seems as if the *Arabs* had some notion of the *Hebrews* being so called from *Eber*; and therefore from the other name of that nation *viz. Jews*, which they pronounce *Hûd*, and *Yehud*, they have given this prophet the name of *Hûd* also.

(39) HYDE *de Rel. vet. Pers. p.* 58. (40) SCHICKARD *Tarik regum Persiæ.* (41) *Tarikh Montakhab apud* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* (42) *Vid.* EBN AMÎD, *p.* 14. EUTYCH. *Annal. p.* 46.

Schickard, on the credit of two authors, one an *Arab*, who places *Hûd* between *Salah* and *Eber*; and the other a *Turk*, who sets him between *Arphaxad* and *Eber*; conjectures *Hûd* is *Cainan* (40). But this is against the current of *Mohammedan* writers who make him the son of *Salah* (41), and the same with *Eber* (42).

(P) The name פלג *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, signifies *division*. The division of the earth and dispersion of mankind, was doubtless the same transaction, though several authors, especially those who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, make two of them, as we shall observe hereafter.

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a seems to be necessarily connected with the birth of *Peleg* (Q), but introduce five generations in the line of *Shem* as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the descendants of *Ham* and *Japhet*, and therefore we have reserved them for a second remove, or plantation.

The scripture gives to *Joktan* thirteen sons; whereas the *Arabs*, who derive their original from *Joktan*, or, as they more usually call him, *Kahtân*, assign him one and thirty by the same mother, of whom all but two leaving *Arabia* (R), went and settled in *India* [g]. *Yârab*, the elder of the two who staid, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the *Arabic* language, which he first spoke [h]. *Jorham*, the younger, founded
b the kingdom of *Hejâz* [i], which contained part of *Arabia Petræa*, and other territories.

We find little said concerning the three succeeding patriarchs, *Reu* (S), *Serug*, and *Nabor*: however, some authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (T), the invention of several arts (U), the spreading of idolatry (W), and some

[g] Ahmed Ebn Yusef, *apud* Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 40. [h] Pocock. ibid. p. 40, 55, 151. [i] Idem. ibid. p. 40, 78.

(Q) Those who follow the *Hebrew* computation are at a great loss for an expedient to make *Joktan* and his thirteen sons leaders of colonies at the dispersion, supposing it to have happened at the birth of *Peleg*. For *Eber* having been but thirty four years old when he begat the latter, there cannot reasonably be allowed above half that space for *Joktan*'s age at that time, granting him to be the elder: so that we cannot well conceive him to have been the father of more than one son before the dispersion. Upon which account many postpone that transaction to a succeeding part of *Peleg*'s life, supposing *Eber* imposed that name prophetically (40). But the great *Usher* thinks himself obliged to refer it to his birth, though he knows not how to get over the difficulty just now mentioned (41); which may be solved well enough by the *Samaritan* chronology, according to which time sufficient may be allowed for *Joktan* and his sons to propagate.

(R) *D' Herbelot* mentions four other sons of *Kahtân*, namely, *Hadramaut* (the same with *Hazarmaveth*) *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Khavilah*, *or Havilah* (42).

(S) According to the different pronunciation of the ע, this patriarch's name is variously written, *Reu*, and *Ragau*; and by prefixing an א, sometimes *Era*, and *Argu*.

(T) The building of *Babel* is by some placed in the seventieth year of *Reu* (43), and the beginning of *Nimrod*'s reign in his hundred and thirtieth (44). About the same time others fix the founding of the kingdom of *Egypt*, and the city of *Memphis*, by *Mizraim* (45); of the city of *Saba*, in *Arabia Felix*, by a certain queen (46); of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and it's metropolis *Prague* (47); and of the kingdom of the *Amazons* (48): but these last are idle imaginations of the *Jews*. With more probability, though perhaps equal foundation, others attribute the building of *Rages* in *Media* to *Rû* himself (49) as that of *Sarûj*, the capital of *Diyar Modar* (50), might be to his son *Serug*, who is supposed to have dwelt in the place where that city now stands (51). In *Nabor*'s time we are told, that *Armûnes*, a king of *Canaan*, built *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and *Zoar*, to the two first of which he gave the names of his two sons, and to the last that of their mother (52).

(U) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundary for gold and silver ornaments, were erected in the days of *Rû* (53). Others attribute this invention to *Terah* (54), as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to *Serug* (55). Weights and measures are said to have been invented by *Samirus*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in the days of the same patriarch (56), though the use of them seems not to have been instituted till *Nabor's* time (57). The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the said king (58).

(W) Though the generality of authors, and particularly of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of *Serug* (59), whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch) of the race of *Japhet* (60); yet others make it more early (61) and it is said, that in *Rû*'s days mankind was fallen into various kinds of false worship; some adoring the heaven, others the celestial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceased friends (62). About the same time also the custom of men's sacrificing their children to devils, is pretended to have been introduced on the following occasion: A certain rich man dying, his son made a golden statue in representation of him, and placed it on his tomb, setting a servant to watch it. Some time after the son was robbed of all he had, and coming to make his complaints at his father's sepulchre, the devil spoke out of the image, and promised to restore him all he had lost, if he would offer his youngest son as a sacrifice to him, and bath himself in his warm blood; which he did, and thereupon the devil coming out of the image entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But at length, this practice of human sacrifices growing frequent, God sent a violent earthquake,

(40) *See before p.* 129. (41) *Chronolog. Sacra, part* 1. *cap.* 5. *p.* 26. (42) D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba & Hegiaz.* (43) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 12. (44) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29, (45) *Idem, ibid.* Midrash, *sect* אבור. (46) Ebn Amîd, *ubi sup.* (47) R. David Ganz, *in Zem. Dav. p.* 4. Juchasin, *p.* 135. (48) *Shalshel hakkab. p.* 94, 95. (49) Hyde *de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 55. (50) Geogr. Nubiens. *p.* 203. (51) Hyde *ubi sup. p.* 57. (52) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 13. (53) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 30. (54) *Shalsh. hakkab. p.* 94. *a.* (55) Abu'lfarag. *p.* 12. (56) *Idem, ibid.* (57) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 30. Eutych. *Annales, p.* 63. (58) Abu'lfarag. *ubi sup.* (59) Joh. Damasc. Ephîphan. *Panar. l.* 1. Chronic. Alex. *p.* 113. Abu'lfarag. *p.* 12. Eutych. *Annal. p.* 56. *Vid. etiam* Hyde *de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 57. Heideg. *Hist. Patr. tom.* II. *Exerc.* 1. § 32. Gurtler. *Hist. Univ. p.* 93. (60) Euseb. *Chron. Græc. p.* 13. Cedren. *Compend. Hist. p.* 36. Suidas *in voce* Σεβούχ. Malela *Chron. p.* 94, *&c.* (61) *See the preceding page.* (62) Ebn Amîd, *p.* 29. Eutych. *p.* 59.

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some other particulars of less moment (X) to their times.

TERAH, the son of *Nahor*, was the father of *Abraham*, the founder of the *Hebrew*, or *Jewish* nation. The scripture informs us, that *Terah*, after the seventieth year of his age, begat three sons, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran* [k]. But of these sons, *Haran* only, who was the eldest, at least much older than *Abram*, was born in that year; and the other two probably much later [l], and, as is supposed, by a different mother [m]. *Haran* died in his native country, in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (Y), before his father, leaving a son named *Lot*, and two daughters, one named *Milcah*, and the other *Iscah* [n]. *Nahor* married *Milcah* his niece, and *Abram Sarai* his half sister [o].

TERAH, who is generally supposed to be the same whom the *Asiatics* call *Azer* (Z), is on all hands allowed to have been an idolater; nor can this be denied, since he is expressly said in scripture to have served other gods [p]. The *Eastern* authors unanimously agree, that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before [q], and taught, that they were to be adored as gods [r]: however, we are told his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (A); that at length he was converted by the earnest

[k] Genes. xi. 26. [l] See before p. 112. [m] Vid. HEIDEG. Hist. patr. tom. II. Exerc. 3. § 3. [n] Genes. xi. 27, 28, 29. [o] Ibid. ver. 29, and xx. 12. [p] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14. [q] EPIPHAN. Adverss. Hæres. lib. 1. p. 7, 8. [r] SUIDAS in Lexico, voce Σερούχ.

earthquake, the first of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples (63). The rise of the *Sabian* religion is by some referred to the age of *Nahor* (64).

(X) The oriental authors mention a king called *Karûn*, who reigned in the days of *Rëu*, but say not where. They pretend he was a famous chymist, and built a city called *Ukîsh* (65), or *Ukinîn* (66), with bricks of gold. But this seems to be the same person whom the *Mohammedans* make coeval with *Moses*, and the *Corah* of the scriptures. We are also told, that, in the time of *Serug*, a king of *Egypt*, called *Afsanus*, built a ship, and invaded the inhabitants of the sea-coast; and that he was succeeded by *Pharaoh*, the son of *Sanes*, from whom the *Pharaohs* were denominated (67): that the giants began to encrease in *Nahor*'s time, of whom one was *Ad* a famous king of the *Arabs* (68), and another *Hellen*, who assisted at the building of the tower of *Babel*, and was worshipped by the *Greeks* (69); and that the troubles of *Job* happened in the twenty fifth year of the last mentioned patriarch (70).

(Y) Several writers taking *Ur*, which signifies *fire*, for an appellative, pretend, that *Haran* was burnt; some saying, that that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of *Terah* out of the fire, into which *Abraham* had thrown them (71). Others, as he attempted to quench the flames of an idol temple which *Abraham* had set on fire (72). A third party say, that *Abraham* being thrown by *Nimrod* into a burning furnace, *Haran* was intent upon the event, resolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and seeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon *Nimrod*'s demanding who he believed in, *Haran* replied, in the GOD of *Abraham*; whereupon he was cast into the furnace, and *died in the presence of his father*, as the *Rabbins* express (73) what our translation renders *before his father*. It is said, the fire had power over him, because his faith was not so strong as *Abraham*'s, nor was he destined to so great things (74). *Epiphanius* says, that *Terah*'s surviving *Haran* was a punishment for his daring to make images of clay; and that before him no father had seen his children die a natural death (75). *Josephus* affirms, that *Haran*'s sepulchre was to be seen at *Ur* in his time (76).

(Z) Some of the *Mohammedan* authors write, that *Azer* was the father of *Abraham*, and son of *Terah* (77); and *D'Herbelot* says, that the *Arabs* always distinguish them in their genealogies as two different persons; but that because *Abraham* was the son of *Terah* according to *Moses*, it is therefore supposed [by *European* writers], that he is the same with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* (78). How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, we cannot say, but we are sure, it cannot be true of all; for several *Arab* and *Turkish* writers expressly make *Azer* and *Terah* the same person (79). *Azer*, in antient times, was the name of the planet *Mars*, and the month of *March* was so called by the most antient *Persians*; for the word originally signifying fire (as it still does) it was therefore given by them and the *Chaldeans* to that planet (80), which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians* as a god, or planetary deity, whom they antiently worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (81), and is found in the composition of several *Babylonish* names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes *Azer* to be the heathen name of *Terah*, and that the other was given him on his conversion (82).

(A) The *Eastern* authors say, *Azer* was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whose son-in-law he was (83), because he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This employment was very honourable among the *Chaldeans*, the person who followed it being considered as the maker of gods: for it required profound skill in astrology to choose the proper materials, and fix the proper time for that work, every kind

(63) EUTYCH. p. 63. EBN AMÎD, p. 30. (64) EUTYCH. p. 63. (65) EBN AMÎD, p. 30. (66) EUTYCH. *Annales*, p. 60. (67) ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. (68) EBN AMÎD, *ubi sup.* EUTYCH. *Annales*, p. 63. (69) SUIDAS *in* [illegible]. (70) ARUDH. *Canonæus apud Abu'lfaraj.* p. 13. (71) CEDRENUS *apud Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Abraham. Rem. B.* (72) ABU'LFARAG. *Hist. Dyn.* p. 13. (73) BEN UZIEL *ad* Gen. xi. 28. MAIMON. *Tad Hazzak. & de idolol. cap.* 1. *Shalsbel. hakkab.* p. 8. (74) *Judæi apud Lyranum & Tostatum citante* SALIANO *Annal. tom.* I. p. 402. (75) EPIPHANIUS *de Hæres. lib.* 1. p. 8. (76) *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. (77) *Tarikh Montakhab apud* D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.* p. 12. (78) D'HERBELOT *ibid.* (79) BEN SHOHNAH, MIRAT KAINAT, *&c. MSS. See also Pharhang Gehangbiri apud* HYDE *de rel. vet. Pers.* p. 68. (80) HYDE, *ibid.* p. 63. (81) *Idem, ibid.* p. 64. (82) *Idem, ibid.* p. 62. (83) D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.*

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

a earneſt perſwaſions of *Abraham* (B), and prevailed upon to leave *Ur*. *Joſephus* ſays, he quitted *Chaldea*, being not able to endure the country after the loſs of his ſon *Haran* [s]. Some would have it that he did not become an idolater till he was ſettled at *Haran* [t], which is abſurd [u]; and others ſay, he never was converted [x], any more than his ſon *Nahor*, who afterwards left *Ur* to join his father at *Haran* [y], which ſeems from him to be called the city of *Nahor* [z]: but there is more probability, that both *Nahor* and *Haran* were converted, ſeeing *Lot* was bred in the true religion, and *Abraham* choſe *Iſaac* a wife out of the family of *Nahor*, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of *Canaan* [a]: wherefore a learned author ſuppoſes *Nahor* and *Haran* to have been the names given to thoſe two brothers at the time of their converſion [b].

b HOWEVER, *Terah*, towards the latter part of his life, deſigning to remove from *Chaldea* into the land of *Canaan*, took his ſon *Abram*, and *Sarai* his daughter-in-law, and his grandſon *Lot*, and leaving *Ur* came to *Haran*, a city in the north-weſt parts of *Meſopotamia*, where having dwelt for ſome time he died, being two hundred and five years old.

THUS have we collected, in the beſt method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the poſtdiluvian patriarchs. In the next ſection we ſhall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whoſe hiſtory is ſuppoſed to relate to the earlieſt times of this period.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of Sanchoniatho, *after the flood.*

Sanchoniatho's *hiſtory continued.*

HAVING in a preceeding ſection brought down the *Phœnician* hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho* to the tenth generation, which probably periſhed in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we ſhall here reſume the thread of his narration: premiſing only, that, according to the plauſible hypotheſis which we have formerly mentioned (C), that writer proceeds to continue the idolatrous line of *Cain*, by perſons taken out

[s] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. [t] TOSTAT. apud PERERIUM in Geneſ. cap. 11. [u] Vid. BAYLE Dict. Art. Abraham, Rem. C. [x] CHRYSOST. Hom. 31, & 37. [y] St. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 13. [z] Compare Gen. xxiv. 10, with Gen. xxvii. 43, and xxviii. 10. [a] Gen. xxiv. 3. [b] HYDE de Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 62.

kind of wood, as well as ſtones, and metals, being by the *Chaldeans* dedicated to its peculiar planet, of whoſe influence it was thereby believed to participate more than any other; and an idol thus formed under a happy poſition of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to ſuch a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared and made according to art (84). Some of the *Rabbins* ſay *Terah* was a prieſt, and the chief of them (85).

(B) *Mohammedan* authors relate, that *Abraham* often adviſed his father to forſake the worſhip of images, aſking how he could worſhip that which neither heard, nor ſaw, nor did him any good (86): that this offending *Terah*, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that at length *Abraham* got the better of his father's obſtinacy, refuſing to pray for him until he promiſed to become a convert (87); for while he was an enemy to GOD, he was an enemy alſo to *Abraham* (88). The *Jews* ſay he repented (89); and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his ſon *Abraham*, that the chain of the oral law deſcended from *Adam* to him, and thence to his ſon *Abraham* (90). There is ſome ground to think *Terah* was converted by *Abraham*'s perſwaſions, becauſe he travelled with him from *Ur* to *Haran*, in order to go into *Canaan* (91).

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland*, ſuſpecting the *Phœnician* records to have been corrupted in this place, has propoſed an amendment of them (92): He ſuppoſes a diſlocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either through neglect in tranſcribers, or rather purpoſely made by the *Cabiri*, who wrote thoſe records, to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which ſwept away the race of *Cain* (93), and of which for that reaſon they have ſuppreſſed all mention (94). To ſupport this opinion, he alledges, 1. That *Sydyc* and *Miſor* could not be the children of *Amynus* and *Magus*, becauſe the tenth generation in the line of *Genus*, or *Cain*, wherein thoſe two laſt perſons are placed, muſt have been drowned in the flood, together with ſuch children as might then be born of them (95), anſwering to *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. 2. That *Sydyc* being *Melchizedec*, whom he takes to be *Shem*; and *Cronus Ham*, it was neceſſary to join them both together under the line of *Uranus*, which *Sanchoniatho* owns to be diſtinct from that of *Genus* (96). 3. That *Miſor* being manifeſtly *Mizraïm*, the ſon of *Ham*, or *Cronus*, there is a neceſſity of placing him one generation lower than he is placed in *Sanchoniatho*, *viz.* in the twelfth (97); and that without this change, the beginning of the *Egyptian* kingdom would be placed too near the flood (98). 4. That *Japhet* being ſtill wanting to make up the three ſons of *Noah*, and *Nereus* being the only perſon in *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies which anſwers the ſcripture account of him,

(84) D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham* p. 63. (85) *Shalſhel. hakkab.* p. 64. (86) SHAHRISTANI *ex Alkoranı*, c. 19. ver. 59. *apud* HYDE *de rel. vet. Perſar.* p. 68. (87) *Al Koran* c. 9. ver. 116. (88) HYDE, *ubi ſup.* (89) *Shalſhel. hakkab.* p. 94. (90) ZOAR *apud* HOTTINGER. *in Smegm. Orient. lib.* 1. p. 280. (91) HYDE *ubi ſup.* p. 59. (92) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon.* p. 43. (93) *Ibid.* p. 49. (94) *Ibid.* p. 47, 177. (95) *Ibid.* p. 41, 677. (96) *Ibid.* p. 47. (97) *Ibid.* p. 48. (98) *Ibid.* p. 49.

out of the line of *Noah*, and annexing them as ſons to *Amynus* and *Magus*, the laſt of that race. a

Generation XI. FROM theſe men, ſays he, were begot *Miſor* (D), and *Sydyc* (E), *i. e. Well-freed*, and *Juſt*: theſe found out the uſe of ſalt.

Generation XII. FROM *Miſor* came *Taautus* (F), who found out the writing of the firſt letters; whom the *Egyptians* called *Thoör*, the *Alexandrians Thoyth*, and the *Greeks Hermes*: but from *Sydyc* came the *Dioſcuri*, or *Cabiri* (G), called alſo *Corybantes*, and *Samothraces*. Theſe firſt invented the building a compleat ſhip.

Generation XIII. OF theſe others came, who found out herbs, the cure of bitings, and charms.

URANUS, whoſe parents lived in theſe mens age, as hath been already mentioned, ſucceeding his father *Elium* in the kingdom, had by *Ge*, his ſiſter, four ſons; 1. *Ilus*, or *Cronus*; 2. *Betylus*; 3. *Dagon*, or *Siton*; and 4. *Atlas* (H); beſides much iſſue b by

him, he has joined him to *Sydyc* and *Cronus* in the line of *Uranus* (99). But the alterations will better appear, by giving the reader a table of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, from the place where the biſhop's corrections begin; referring him for our remarks on the ſcheme itſelf to the ſucceeding notes.

The two Lines as they ſtand in SANCHONIHTHO.

SETH's Line.	CAIN's Line.	
9. *Elion*, or *Hypſiſtus*,	*Agrus*,	*Agrouerus*,
10. *Uranus*,	*Amynus*,	*Magus*,
11. *Cronus*,	*Miſor*,	*Sydyc*,
12.	*Thoth*.	*Cabiri*, or *Dioſcuri*,
13.		The ſons of the *Dioſcuri*.

SETH's *Line in* SANCHONIATHO, *corrected*.

9. *Eliun*, or *Hypſiſtus*,			
10. *Uranus*,			
11. *Sydyc*, or *Shem*,	*Cronus*, or *Ham*,	*Nereus*, or *Japhet*,	
12. *Cabiri*, or *Dioſcuri*,	*Miſor*,	*Pontus*,	
13. The ſons of the *Dioſcuri*.	*Thoyth*.	*Poſidon*, or *Neptune*.	

(D) This perſon Dr. *Cumberland* takes to be the *Mizraïm* of the ſcripture, and the *Menes* of the *Egyptians*, for theſe reaſons; 1. He ſuppoſes *Miſor* to be the ſingular of *Mizraïm*, the firſt king of *Egypt* according to the *Hebrews*, as *Menes* is according to the *Egyptians* (1). 2. That *Eratoſthenes* in *Syncellus* and *Scaliger*'s *Euſebius* (2), affirms *Menes* to be *Meſtraïm*, as the *Greeks* write the name of *Mizraïm* (3). 3. That *Thoth* was the ſon of *Menes* as well as of *Miſor*, and the ſecond king of *Egypt* (4). 4. That *Miſor* and *Menes* lived at the ſame time, and 5. Died the ſame violent death (5). We ſhall conſider this opinion, which we take to be abſolutely untenable, in another place; and ſhall only obſerve at preſent that we cannot find *Eratoſthenes* has affirmed any ſuch thing, as that *Menes* is *Meſtraïm*; which is the meer imagination of thoſe authors who have tranſcribed him.

As to the tranſlation which *Philo* gives of the name *Miſor*, Ἐυλυτος, or *well-freed*, *Bochart*, derives it from the *Syriac* ܡܫܪ *Meſro*; but biſhop *Cumberland* rather thinks the notion of freedom to be conſequent to his name, which he ſuppoſes to ſignify a prince, from the root עָזַר *aſar*, to *rule*, or *reſtrain*, by addition of the ſervile *Mim* (6); [though to effect this the firſt radical muſt be thrown out] freedom from any coercive power being the conſequent of his dominion and ſuperiority (7).

(E) *Sydyc* the biſhop ſuppoſes to be *Melchizedec*, and *Melchizedec Shem* (8). All the arguments he brings in favour of the firſt ſuppoſition is, that *Grotius* (9) affirms *Melchizedec* to be *Sydyc* (10), probably on account of the ſimilitude of the names, *Sydyc*, or *Sedec* ſignifying *juſt*, and *Melchiſedec* the *juſt king*. Nor does he bring any proof that *Melchizedec* is *Shem*: he only ſays, that he thinks the objections againſt that opinion are ſufficiently anſwered (11) by other authors. So that he produces no reaſon to ſupport theſe two opinions, on which his ſyſtem is chiefly grounded. If it be objected, that *Miſor* and *Sydyc* were the ſons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, he anſwers, that *Sydyc* was not the ſon of thoſe perſons, but brother to *Ham*, or *Cronus*, and ſon to *Noah* (12); and that the *Cabiri*, who had corrupted the records by ſuppreſſing all mention of the flood (13), have taken the righteous king *Sedec*, or *Melchiſedec* (14), with *Miſor*, and their children the *Cabiri*, and *Thoth*, and placed them in *Cain*'s line, being willing to transfer all the honour gained by them to the family in which their falſe religion began; for which *Sydyc*'s [or *Melchizedec*'s] living in *Canaan*, might furniſh a pretence (15).

(B) *Taaut*, or *Thoth* is thought to be *Athothes*, the ſon of *Menes*, and the ſecond king of *Egypt*, according to *Eratoſthenes*, upon a preſumption that *Miſor* and *Menes* are the ſame; and becauſe he was alſo a king of *Egypt*, and ſon of a king [though it does not appear from *Sanchoniatho*, that *Miſor* was a king] as *Athothes* was (16). It is obſerved alſo, that as *Sanchoniatho*'s line ends with *Miſor* and *Thoth*, ſo *Eratoſthenes*'s line of *Theban* kings begins with *Menes* and *Athothes* (17), as does the the firſt dynaſty of the *Thinites* in *Manetho*. And the difference between the names *Thoth* and *Athoth* is no objection, the biſhop producing ſeveral inſtances of proper names in the *Eaſtern* languages, where the initial *A* was frequently left out (18).

(G) Of the *Dioſcuri*, or *Cabiri*, the ſons of *Sydyc*, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, when we come to the *Græcian* mythology. According to Dr. *Cumberland*'s ſcheme, they were a little branch of *Sydyc*, or *Shem*'s race, that lived with *Ham*, or near him (19).

(H) We ſhall conſider theſe four ſons of *Uranus* in their order. 1. *Cronus* is in all probability the ſame with the *Ham* of *Moſes*; the laſt ſeems to have been his proper name, and the other, which may be derived from קרן *Keren*, *a horn*, or *power*, and importing regal dignity, might have been his *Phœnician* title, as *Belus*, or בעל *Baal*, ſignifying *a lord*, was his *Chaldean* title (20); for the *Babylonians* are ſaid to have called the firſt *Baal Cronus* (21); *Moloch* and *Milcom*, names of the ſame ſignification, are alſo frequently uſed to deſign

(99) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 257, 258, 259. (1) *Ibid. p.* 45, 55. (2) *Chron. Græc. p.* 17. (3) CUMBERL. *ubi ſup. p.* 54, 185. (4) *Ibid. p.* 44, 55. (5) *Ibid. p.* 55. (6) *Ibid. p.* 98. (7) *Ibid. p.* 179. (8) *Ibid. p.* 47, 173. (9) *In not. ad* Heb. vii. 1. (10) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 174. (11) *Ibid. p.* 175. (12) *Ibid. p.* 47. (13) *Ibid. p.* 47, 177. (14) *Ibid. p.* 47. (15) *Ibid. p.* 178. (16) *Ibid. p.* 44, 54, 186. (17) *Ibid. p.* 46. (18) *Ibid. p.* 127. *Vid.* BOCHART *Canaan p.* 826. (19) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 261. (20) *Vid. Ibid. p.* 111, *&c.* (21) EUPOLEMUS *in Alex. Polyhiſt. apud* EUSEB. *de Præp. Evangelic. lib.* 9. *cap.* 17.

a by other wives: wherefore *Ge*, being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached *Uranus*, ſo that they parted from each other. But *Uranus*, though he parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with her when he liſted, went away again; and he alſo attempted to kill the children he had by her. *Ge* alſo defended, or avenged herſelf, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

BUT when *Cronus* came to man's age, uſing *Hermes Triſmegiſtus* as his counſellor and aſſiſtant (for he was his ſecretary), he oppoſed his father *Uranus*, avenging his mother: but *Cronus* had children, *Perſephone* [*Proſerpina*] and *Athena* [*Minerva*]: the former died a virgin, but by the counſel of *Athena* and of *Hermes*, *Cronus* made of iron a ſcimeter and a ſpear. Then *Hermes* ſpeaking to the aſſiſtants of *Cronus* b with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen deſire to fight againſt *Uranus*, in behalf of *Ge*. And thus *Cronus* warring againſt *Uranus*, drove him out of his kingdom, and ſucceeded in the imperial power, or office.

IN the fight was taken a well beloved concubine of *Uranus*, big with child. *Cronus* gave her in marriage to *Dagon*, and ſhe brought forth, at his houſe, what ſhe had in her womb by *Uranus*, and called him *Demaroon*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* builds a wall round about his houſe, and founds *Byblus*, the firſt city (I) in *Phœnicia*. Afterwards *Cronus* ſuſpecting his own brother *Atlas*, with the advice of *Hermes*, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him.

AT

ſign the ſame man (22): and *Baal-Berith* (23) probably ſignifies this *Cronus* worſhipped antiently at *Berytus* (24). That *Cronus* is the *Ham* of *Moſes* appears from the authority of *Eupolemus*, whoſe words are theſe: πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναὰν, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων· τούτου δὲ Χοῦμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἀσδὶ Χοῦμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἀσβόλον, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιόπων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Μεσραεὶμ πατέρα [πατρὸς] Αἰγυπτίων (25); which biſhop *Cumberland* renders thus: *There was at firſt* Belus, *who is* Cronus; *but of him came another*, 1. Belus, *and* 2. Canaan, *who was, or begot the father of the* Phœnicians; *his ſon too was* 3. Chûm, *whom the* Greeks *call* Aſbolos, *the father of the* Ethiopians, *the brother of* 4. Meſtraim, *the father of the* Egyptians. It is eaſy, ſays that author, to adjuſt this tranſlation to the four ſons of *Ham* (26); for two of their names are plainly the ſame, *Canaan* and *Miſraim*; the third *Chûm* is but ſlightly altered from *Cuſh*, the ψ being changed into μ only to expreſs the accuſative caſe, as *Bochart* has well noted; [though, by the way, this is an odd manner of accounting for that variation, the *Greeks* having no accuſative in *m*, nor indeed any word ending in *m*]: wherefore it only remains, that *Belus*, the ſucceſſor of *Ham*, in his dominions in *Africa*, be allowed to be the ſame with *Phut* in *Moſes*; and it is reaſonable to admit, that he who ſucceeded his father in that large empire, ſhould bear his title among the *Babylonians*, as he is here called by the *Chaldean* title of honour *Belus*, whereas *Moſes* calls him properly by the name given him at his birth (27). We find ſeveral footſteps of *Cronus* in that paſſage of the *Moſaical* hiſtory, where *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates are recorded to have ſmitten the *Rephaims* in *Aſhteroth Carnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*. *Aſhteroth* will eaſily be admitted to be *Aſtarte*, and *Carnaim* being derived from *Keren*, the root of the name of *Cronus*, may relate to him. And as *Raphas* is acknowledged by the learned to have been a title of *Cronus*, both from the *Coptic* name of his *Star*, and from the *Septuagint*, who tranſlate *Chiun* (*Cronus*'s known name) by *Raphas*, written in ſome copies *Remphas*, which is the cleareſt account of that paſſage in *Amos* (28), ſo from him ſome of his poſterity, who were moſt like him and other antediluvians, of long life, great ſtrength, and ſtature, were called *Rephaim*; eſpecially thoſe who dwelt in his city *Aſhteroth Carnaim*, and ſeem to have been his children, and their cities to have taken their father's name (29). As to *Ilus*, or *Il*, it ſeems to be no other than אל *El*, which ſignifies *ſtrong*, and is therefore in *Hebrew* one of the names of GOD.

2. *Betylus* biſhop *Cumberland* does not find mentioned by any other writer; his name ſeems to be of eaſtern original, from the root בטל *Betel*, which, though it often ſignifies diſhonourable idleneſs, yet ſometimes denotes that quiet ſpirit which ſerves religious duties and ſtudy. And in *Arabic* it ſignifies *a hero*, who, by ſucceſsful wars, procures to himſelf and ſubjects reſt and peace (30).

3. *Dagon* is called agreeably to *Philo*'s ſkill in the eaſtern languages, *Siton*, becauſe he was the inventor of ſowing bread-corn; and *Jupiter Arotrius*, from his contriving of ploughs. He was worſhipped by the *Philiſtines* in *Canaan*; and his name, which the biſhop ſuppoſes was given him at his canonization, ſuggeſts to us the reaſon of the divine honours they gave him (31) [being derived from דגן *Dagan*, *bread-corn*].

4. *Atlas* is alſo reckoned one of the moſt celebrated ſons of *Uranus* in the *Atlantian* theology; the *Atlantij* in *Africa* are derived from him. The biſhop ſuppoſes the reaſon of his being cruelly buried alive by his brother (as *Sanchoniatho* tells us preſently) was, to ſecure to him and *Thoth* the dominion over the weſtern parts of *Africa* where the *Atlantij* were ſeated; though that deſign was not effected but by *Hercules*, or *Arcles*, called *Aſſis* (the paſtor king of *Egypt*) in the reign of *Antæus* the ſon of *Atlas* (32). The biſhop chooſes rather to conſider *Atlas* as the brother, than the ſon of *Japetus*, as the *Greeks* repreſent him, becauſe *Sanchoniatho* reports him to be the brother of *Cronus*, whom the *Greeks* alſo agree to be brother to *Japetus*.

(1) It is urged as an objection to the veracity of this fragment, that *Byblus* is here ſaid to be the firſt city in *Phœnicia*, after mention has been made of *Tyre* in the fifth generation (33); but no more can be made of what is ſaid there, than that it was a place inhabited, perhaps by people living

(22) *Vid.* THEOPHIL. ANTIOCHEN. *ad Autol. lib.* 3. DAMASCIUM *in vita Iſidori*, & SUIDAM *in voce* Κρόνος. (23) Judg. viii. 33. (24) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 152. (25) *Apud* EUSEB. *de præp Evangel. lib.* 9. *cap.* 17. *p.* 419. (26) Geneſ. x. 6. (27) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 115. (28) Chap. v. 26. *Vid. etiam* POCOCK. *ſpecim. Hiſt. Arab. p. ult.* (29) CUMBERL. *ubi ſup.* p. 120, 121. (30) *Idem, ibid.* p. 326. (31) *Idem, ibid.* & *p.* 327. (32) CUMBERL. *San- chon.* p. 327, 328. (33) *See before*, p. 87. b.

AT that time the descendants of the *Dioscuri*, having built some tumultuary, and other stronger ships, went to sea, and being cast on shore near mount *Cassius*, there consecrated a temple (K).

THE auxiliaries of *Ilus*, or *Cronus*, were called *Eloim* (L), which is as much as to say *Cronij*, for so were they named who were under *Cronus*. But *Cronus* having a son called *Sadid* (M), dispatched him with his own sword, having a suspicion of him, and deprived his son of life with his own hand. So also he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were amazed at the mind of *Cronus*.

IN process of time, *Uranus*, being in flight, or banishment, sends his virgin daughter *Astarte*, with two other of her sisters, *Rhea* and *Dione*, to cut off *Cronus* by deceit, whom *Cronus* taking, made those sisters his wives. *Uranus*, understanding this, sent *Eimarmene* and *Hora* [*Fate* and *Beauty*] with other auxiliaries, to war against him: but *Cronus* having gained the affections of these also, kept them with him. Moreover, the god *Uranus* devised *Bætylia*, contriving stones that moved, as having life (N).

CRONUS begat on *Astarte* seven daughters, called *Titanides*, or *Artemides*; and he begat on *Rhea* seven sons, the youngest of which, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a god (O). Also by *Dione* he had daughters, and by *Astarte* two sons, *Pothos* and *Eros* [*Desire* and *Love*].

DAGON, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called *Zeus Arotrius*.

TO *Sydic*, or the just, one of the *Titanides* bare *Asclepius* (P). *Cronus* had also in

Perea

living in tents, or scattered huts; for building with sun-dried bricks was not found out till three generations after. Besides, if it had been called a city, the expression would have admitted of an explanation by *prolepsis*. *Byblus* seems to have been the imperial seat of *Cronus*; as it was of *Mizraïm* for some time, according to the bishop (34).

(K) Dr. *Cumberland* observes, that this is the first navigation we have any account of in history after the flood (35); and perhaps this is the first temple founded also; for before they used itinerant temples, carried about on carts (36). Mount *Cassius* lay on the coast forty miles from *Peluſium* in *Egypt* eastward, in the road to *Palestine* (37).

(L) *Eloim* is אלהים the plural of אלה *Eloah*, and signifies the *gods*, as they are called just after. The bishop renders the word in this place *Ilus*'s *men*, or *those that were for* Cronus (38); in which sense it may be understood, considering the persons who assumed it were the auxiliaries of *Il*, and took their name from him on that account.

(M) شديد *Shadid* in *Arabic* signifies a *strong man*, and seems to be of kin to *Shaddai*.

(N) *Bochart* conceives that by the transposition of a letter by the transcriber of *Sanchoniatho*, writing אבנים נפשים for נשפים, *anointed stones*, have been transformed into *animated stones*. *Jacob* seems to have set up the example of anointing stones, when he poured oil upon the top of the pillar which had been his pillow, calling the place *Beth-el* (39). The *Jews* say, the *Phœnicians* worshipped that pillar of *Jacob*, withal consecrating, and anointing stones in imitation of it, which they called *Bætylia*, and *Bætyli*, in memory of the stone erected at *Beth-el*. *Hesychius* says, the stone was so called which *Rhea* gave *Saturn* to devour instead of *Jupiter*. *Priscian* says, the same stone is called *Abadir*, or *Abaddir*, and that it is the *Bætylus* of the god *Abaddir*. But that name, taken for the stone, seems to be corrupted from the *Phœnician* אבן דיר *Aban dir*, signifying a spherical stone which was the figure of the *Bætylus*. *Damascius*, a superstitious heathen writer in *Justinian*'s time, says he saw several of these *Bætylia*, or *Bætyli*, of which many wonders were reported, in mount *Libanus*, near *Heliopolis* of *Syria* (40): nay, and pretends, he saw one of these stones moved in the air (41), and describes it to be round, about a span in diameter, and whitish, though it often appeared of different colours, (42); which shews there was a popular notion in those days of the *Bætylia* being moving stones. They were generally consecrated to some god or other, as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, &c. (43).

(O) Dr. *Cumberland* supposes this son of *Rhea* was *Muth*, because afterwards mention is made of a consecrated son of *Rhea*, called *Muth*; but the last seems to be a different son from him spoken of in this place; for *Muth* was not consecrated till his death, the other as soon as he was born.

(P) He was surnamed *Esmunus* from שמיני *Shemini*, which signifies the eighth. His mother was one of the daughters of *Cronus*. This is hard to believe, yet it is not impossible that *Sydyc*, in his latter time dwelling in *Canaan*, might, to secure his quiet life, (for we read of no warlike action of *Shem*) marry a daughter of *Ham*'s, and by her have this son *Asclepius*; whom alone of all the sons of *Sydyc*, *Sanchoniatho*, chiefly regarding his own country, hath taken notice of, probably because he only might have settled in *Phœnicia*, among the issue of *Ham* (44); and that he did settle among them appears from *Apuleius*'s saying that *Apollo* (whom *Sanchoniatho* makes *Cronus*'s son) gave to *Æsculapius*, as he calls him, the herb *Solanum* (45), or nightshade, called from his *Phœnician* name, *Astir Esmuni* in *Punic* (46). *Asclepius* is also called *Memphites* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and passed for a god in *Egypt* (47). And *Pausanias* (48) mentions a temple to *Æsculapius*, *Apollo*, and *Hygeia*, *Egyptians*. This is the eldest account the bishop meets with of skill in physic or medicines (49).

(34) CUMBERL. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiss. p.* 174. (35) *Ibid. p.* 368. (36) *See before, p.* 88. b. (37) *Vid. Itiner.* ANTONINI. (38) CUMBERL. *Sanchon. p.* 31. (39) Genes. xxviii. 18, 19. *and* xxxi. 13. (40) *Apud* PHOTIUM. *Bibl. p.* 1047. (41) *Vid.* PHOTIUM. *ibid. p.* 1062. (43) *Ibid. p.* 1063.

(43) *Idem, ibid. Vid etiam* BOCHART. *Chanaan. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. (44) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 200. (45) APULEIUS *de virtutib. Herbar.* (46) *In Auctuar. ad Dioscorid.* (47) CLEM. ALEX. *Stromat. lib.* 1. (48) *In Corinthiac.* (49) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 201.

a *Peræa* (Q) three ſons: 1. *Cronus*, of the ſame name with his father. 2. *Zeus Belus*. 3. *Apollo* (R).

CONTEMPORARY with theſe were *Pontus* and *Typhon*, and *Nereus*, the father of *Pontus* (S). From *Pontus* came *Sidon*, who, by the exceeding ſweetneſs of her voice, or ſinging, found out firſt the hymns of odes, or praiſes; and *Poſidon* [or *Neptune*]. But to *Demaröon* was born *Melicarthus*, who is alſo called *Hercules* (T).

THEN again *Uranus* makes war againſt *Pontus*, and being ſeparated from him, joins with *Demaröon*. *Demaröon* invades *Pontus*, but *Pontus* puts him to flight, and *Damaröon* vows a ſacrifice for his eſcape.

BUT in the thirty ſecond year of his power and reign, *Ilus*, who is *Cronus*, having
b laid an ambuſcade for his father *Uranus* in a certain midland place, and having gotten him into his hands, cuts off his privities (U) near fountains and rivers. There *Uranus* was conſecrated, and his ſpirit, or breath was ſeparated, and the blood of his ſecrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is ſhewed unto this day.

THEN our hiſtorian, after ſome things interpoſed, goes on, ſaying: But *Aſtarte*, called the Greateſt, and *Demaröon*, ſurnamed *Zeus*, and *Adodus*, the king of the gods, reigned over the country by *Cronus*'s conſent, or authority (W): and *Aſtarte* put on her head,

(Q) *Peræa* being the *Greek* name of the country of *Bajhan*, beyond *Jordan*, the biſhop ſuppoſes theſe three ſons of *Cronus* to have been born at *Aſteroth Carnaim* (50), a noted city thereof, from the relation already mentioned, which that place hath to *Cronus*. The names of theſe ſons are well known to belong to heathen deities by ancient writers; but it does not appear from ſuch writers, that they were the ſons of *Cronus*; only *Eupolemus* ſays ſomething to the purpoſe in the fragment above-mentioned; though neither *Moſes*, nor *Eupolemus*, who writes the *Babylonian* traditions about them, do uſe, or own the names given them by the *Canaanites*; and indeed the ſame man was deified in one place, who was not honoured ſo in another; and often the ſame perſon was worſhipped in ſeveral places under ſeveral names (51).

(R) The firſt of theſe ſons, *Cronus* the ſecond, the biſhop conjectures to be *Mizraïm*, from a paſſage of *Nonnus*, where *Apis*, the living image of *Oſiris*, whom he ſuppoſes alſo to be *Mizraïm*, is ſaid to be likewiſe called *Chronus*; *Belus*, *Hammon*, and *Zeus*, all acknowledged to have been names belonging to *Ham* his father, and therefore he muſt be the ſecond in them all (52). By *Belus*, the biſhop ſuppoſes *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Ham*, to be intended by our author (53); and that the third, whom he calls *Apollo*, was the *Phut* of *Moſes*, known among the *Greeks* ſometimes by the name of *Perſeus*, which in radical letters agrees with *Phut*; and ſometimes by that of *Apollo Carneus*, which he takes to ſignify the elder *Apollo*, the ſon of *Cronus*, from קרן *Keren*; from which root alſo his town was called *Carnaim* (54), or, as it is elſewhere (55) written, *Carnion* (56).

(S) Biſhop *Cumberland* has made another alteration here in *Sanchoniatho*'s ſucceſſions, placing *Nereus* and his deſcendants, whoſe line is uncertain, in the line of *Uranus*, and ſuppoſes *Nereus* to be *Japhet*: 1. Becauſe being contemporary with *Ham* and his iſſue, and having found *Shem* under the name of *Sydyk*, it remains, that he takes *Japhet* and his iſſue to be here pointed at (57). 2. Becauſe every one knows *Nereus*, *Pontus*, and *Poſidon*, or *Neptune*, relate to the ſea, its iſles, and ſhores, which in ſcripture fall to *Japhet*'s ſhare (58). 3. Becauſe this author never mentions *Japhet* and his line if it be not here (59); and it would be ſtrange, if an hiſtorian, writing of that age wherein mankind was repaired, ſhould omit him who peopled a third part of the world (60). 4. Becauſe though *Nereus* and his iſſue are not ſaid to be deſcended from *Uranus*, or *Noah*, yet we know by ſcripture, that they muſt come from him; and there is no other line known, in which they might come from *Noah*, but *Japhet*'s. 5. Becauſe *Sanchoniatho*, being a *Canaanite*, has taken no care to clear other pedigrees, but only that of *Ham* and *Cain* (61).

(T) This is the old *Phœnician Melcartus*, or *Hercules* (62), whoſe temple at *Gadira*, or *Gades*, had no images in it, and continued to the time of *Silius Italicus* (63). *Bochart* ſuppoſes this way of worſhip, practiſed in this temple, was taken from the *Jews*; not conſidering, that *Hercules Phœnicius* was long before the *Jewiſh* law, and that the patriarchal religion uſed no images (64).

(U) It may be preſumed, that this circumſtance gave occaſion to that notion of ſome, already mentioned (65), that *Ham* caſtrated *Noah*.

(W) It is conceived that *Adodus*, or *Adad*, which ſignifies among the *Aſſyrians*, *the one*, by way of eminence (66), was a title belonging either to *Cuſh* the ſon of *Ham*, or to *Nimrod*, who, as his kingdom extended even to *Aſſyria*, might well have many ſubordinate kings under him, who are called gods, as *Cronus*'s confederate princes were called *Eloim*. Agreeably hereto, we find that *Hadad* was antiently a kingly name in *Edom* (67) and *Syria* (68), ſometimes written *Hadâr* (69). *Adar*, or *Adir* is *the magnificent* or *mighty potentate*, and therefore may alſo be a title. *Adodus* reigning over many gods or kings, can only be underſtood of the large dominion allowed him by *Ham* (70); and we may ſee what ſort of gods they were, when the king of them ſeems to have been but a delegate of *Cronus*, and could not reign without his conſent.

This *Adodus* may poſſibly be the *Adad Joſephus* mentions, whom, together with *Azaël*, the *Syrians* worſhipped as gods, boaſting much of their antiquity; whereas that author obſerves, they were no other than *Hadad* and *Hazael*, kings of *Syria* (71), who reigned at *Damaſcus*, in the time of *Joram* king

(50) Gen. xiv. 5. (51) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 335. (52) *Ibid. p.* 336. (53) *Ibid. p.* 337. (54) Gen. xiv. 5. (55) Macc. xii 17. (56) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 116. 337. (57) *Ibid. p.* 257. (58) *Ibid. p.* 259. (59) *Ibid. p.* 257. (60) *Ibid. p.* 258, (61) *Ibid. p.* 259, (62) *Ibid. p.* 265. (63) SIL. ITAL. *lib.* 3. (64) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 265. (65) *See before p.* 120. (66) MACROB. *Saturnal. lib.* 1. *cap.* 31. BOCHART. *Chanaan. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. (67) Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 30. (68) 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6. *Vid. etiam* NICOL. DAMASCEN. *apud* JOSEPH. *Antiq. lib.* 7. *cap.* 5. (69) Gen. xxxvi. 39. 1 Chron. xviii, 5, 7. *See alſo* CUMBERL. *Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 171. (70) *Ibid, p.* 173, 256, 256, (71) 2 Kings viii. 7, &c.

head, as the mark of her ſovereignty, a bull's head. But, travelling about the world, a ſhe found a ſtar falling from the air, or ſky, which ſhe taking up, conſecrated in the holy iſland *Tyre*. And the *Phœnicians* ſay, that *Aſtarte* is ſhe, who is among the *Greeks* called *Aphrodite* [or *Venus*].

CRONUS alſo, going about the world, gave to his own daughter *Athena* the kingdom of *Attica*: but when there was a plague and mortality, *Cronus* made his only ſon a whole burnt-offering to his father *Uranus* [e]. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, ſaying, that it was eſtabliſhed as a cuſtom among the antients, that, in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation ſhould give up their moſt favourite child to be ſlain, as an expiation to appeaſe the avenging dæmons; and the victims, in theſe caſes, were butchered with much myſterious cere- b mony. *Cronus* therefore, called by the *Phœnicians Iſrael*, who reigned there, and was after his death conſecrated into the planet *Cronus* [or *Saturn*], having an only ſon by a certain nymph of the country named *Anobret*, and whom therefore he called *Jeud*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue, at this day, ſignifies *only begotten*; and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this only ſon with royal attire, and ſacrificed him on an altar, which he had prepared for that purpoſe [d] (X). *Cronus* was alſo circumciſed in his privities, and forced his auxiliaries to do the ſame. And not long after he conſecrated, after his death, another ſon, which he had by *Rhea*, called *Muth*; ſo the *Phœnicians* call *death*, or *Pluto*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* gives the city *Byblus* to the goddeſs *Baaltis*, which is c *Dione*; and *Berytus* he gave to *Poſidon*, and to the *Cabiri*, and to huſbandmen, and to fiſhermen, who conſecrated the remains (Y) of *Pontus* in, or unto, *Berytus*.

BUT before theſe things, the god *Taautus*, having formerly imitated or repreſented *Uranus*, made images of the countenances of the gods *Cronus* and *Dagon*, and formed the ſacred characters of the other elements. He contrived alſo for *Cronus* the enſign of his royal power, four eyes, partly before, and partly behind, two of them winking as in

[e] SANCHONIATHO apud EUSEB. de Præp. Ev. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 36, &c. [d] Idem, apud eundem, l. 1. c. 10. p. 40. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 156.

king of *Iſrael* (72); the firſt of whom had thirty two kings ſerving under him in his army (73), from whence he might have acquired the title of king of the gods, kings antiently having been called gods.

(X) This is thought by ſome men of learning not to be a true account of any ſacrifice really performed, but only a miſrepreſentation of *Abraham*'s intended ſacrifice of his ſon *Iſaac*, with ſome additions and miſtakes, which the heathen writers frequently m de in all their relations (74). The reaſons alledged for this opinion are; 1. *Cronus* ſacrificed his only ſon; ſo was *Abraham* reported to have done. 2. That ſon was called *Jeoud*; and יחיד *Yehid*, or *only* ſon, is the epithet given to *Iſaac* by *Moſes* (75). 3. The mother of this only ſon is the ſame with *Sarah*; *Ambret*, or חן עברת *Ann-oberet*, ſignifying *conceiving by grace*, as *Sarah* did. 4. *Cronus* and his followers were circumciſed; ſo was *Abraham* and his houſehold. 5. *Cronus* was called *Iſrael*, which name the *Canaanites* gave to *Abraham*, from the nation of which he was the father.

To theſe reaſons it is anſwered: 1. That the ſacrificers in *Moſes* and *Sanchoniatho* are two different perſons; *Cronus* being plainly *Ham*, and here called *Iſrael* by a miſtake of tranſcribers, who took *Il*, the ſurname of *Cronus*, to be an abreviation for *Iſrael* (76), as the letters ιλ frequently are. 2. The occaſion of the offerings, and of the circumciſions of *Cronus* and *Abraham* were alſo different; *Cronus* ſacrificed his ſon to remove a war and plague on the country, according to a ſettled cuſtom, and circumciſed himſelf for the ſame purpoſe, to appeaſe an angry deity; but what *Abraham* did was by a ſpecial command from GOD, as an inſtance of his faith and obedience. 3. The perſons to be ſacrificed were different; *Cronus*'s ſon was his only ſon by *Anobret* a *Canaritiſh* concubine; but *Abraham*'s ſon was the only child of his wife *Sarah*, who was of *Chaldea*; and the name of *Anobret*, even according to the abovementioned derivation, rather ſignifies *a paſſing fair one*. 4. The deities to whom the two ſacrifices were offered were not the ſame; *Abraham* certainly offered to none but the true GOD, *Cronus* to his father and the avenging demons (77).

Bochart (78), beſides this notion, that *Cronus* (whom he elſewhere makes to be *Noah*) was *Abraham*, imagines alſo, that the *Canaanites*, misunderſtanding that paſſage of *Moſes*, where *Abraham* is called a *great prince*, or as the *Hebrew* is, נשיא אלהים *a prince of God*, made a deity of him, dedicating the ſeventh day of the week, and ſacrificing their children to him; which is a meer fancy, and without the leaſt ground. A late writer (79) has endeavoured to prove *Cronus*, at leaſt the ſecond of that name (which laſt he ſuppoſes to be the perſon that ſacrificed his only ſon, though *Sanchoniatho* expreſly ſays, it was the ſon of *Uranus*), was not more antient than *Abraham*, from the order of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, placing *Elium*'s birth in the time of the *Dioſcuri*, who were a generation younger than *Miſor*, or *Miſraim*; but, even in this caſe, the elder *Cronus* could not be later than *Reu*, who was four generations older than *Abraham*, and therefore much earlier than that patriarch; notwithſtanding that, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, they might poſſibly have lived at the ſame time; for the ſame chronology is abſurd enough to make *Ham* himſelf contemporary with *Abraham*.

(Y) This is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt conſecration of relicks to be met with in hiſtory (80).

(72) JOSEPH. *Antiq. lib.* 9. *cap.* 4. (73) 1 Kings xx. 1. 24. (74) *Vid.* BOCHART *Canaan, l.* 2. *c.* 2. SHUCKFORD's *Connect. vol.* II. *p.* 30, *&c. and* DODWELL's *Diſc. on Sanchon. p.* 49. (75) Gen. xxii. 2. (76) *Vid.* GROT. *de veritat. rel. Chriſt. l.* 1. § 16. *not.* 50. (77) *Vid.* CUMB. *on Sanchon. p.* 134, *&c.* (78) *Ubi ſup.* (79) SHUCKFORD *ubi ſup.* (80) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 262.

in ſleep; and upon his ſhoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to reſt. The emblem was, *That* Cronus *when he ſlept yet was watching, and waking yet ſlept*: and ſo for his wings, *That even reſting he flew about, and flying yet reſted.* But the other gods had two wings each of them on their ſhoulders, to intimate, that they flew about with, or under, *Cronus*. He alſo had two wings on his head, one for the moſt governing part the mind, one for the ſenſe.

BUT *Cronus* coming into the ſouth country, gave all *Egypt* to the god *Taautus*, that it ſhould be his kingdom. Theſe things, ſaith he, the *Cabiri*, the ſeven ſons of *Sydyc*, and their eighth brother *Aſclepius*, firſt of all ſet down in memoirs, as the god *Taautus* commanded them.

b ALL theſe things the ſon of *Thabion*, who was the firſt hierophant [or director of ſacred rites] that ever was among the *Phœnicians*, allegorized; and mixing the facts with phyſical and mundane phænomena, he delivered them down to thoſe that celebrated *Orgia*, and to thoſe prophets who preſided over the myſteries: who always contrived to improve their fables; and ſo delivered them down to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them. One of whom was *Iſiris* (Z), the inventor of three letters, the brother of *Chna*, the firſt *Phœnician*; as he was afterwards called [e].

THUS we have preſented the reader with the ſmall remains which are left of the *Phœnician* antiquities, collected by *Sanchoniatho*; wherein a free and open confeſſion is
c made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuouſly acknowledged to have been once mortal men; a thing the *Greeks* were aſhamed to do, and therefore turned all the ſtories of the gods into allegories and phyſical diſcourſes [f]. A late learned prelate (A), who has endeavoured to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with ſcripture, has for that purpoſe made ſeveral corrections and alterations therein; ſuppoſing, that the records, from which *Sanchoniatho* extracted his hiſtory, were corrupted in thoſe inſtances by the *Cabiri*, the firſt writers of them, who in particular ſuppreſſed all mention of the deluge for the reaſons already given (B). The principal corruptions which the biſhop obſerves and would amend are; 1. That *Sanchoniatho* and thoſe he tranſcribes have removed ſeveral perſons out of the line of *Uranus*, and placed them
d under that of *Cain*, in order to do honour to it; particularly *Miſor* and *Sydyc*, who are placed in the eleventh generation, as ſons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, the biſhop takes to be *Mizraïm* and *Shem*, both of the line of *Uranus*; and he accordingly places *Sydyc* in the ſame generation with *Cronus*, ſuppoſed to be *Ham*, and *Miſor* a generation lower, as the ſon of *Cronus*. 2. That they have introduced *Nereus* and his iſſue, as belonging neither to the line of *Noah*, nor to that of *Cain*, and as contemporaries with *Cronus*'s children: but the biſhop finding *Nereus* to anſwer the deſcription of *Japhet*, better than any of the ſons of *Uranus* mentioned by *Sanchoniatho*, he raiſes him two, or three generations

Biſhop Cumberland's *amendments of* Sanchoniatho *conſidered.*

[e] Idem, apud eund. p. 40, 41.

[f] STILLINGFLEET Origin. Sacræ, book 1. chap. 2. § 7.

(Z) *Iſiris* being here called the brother of *Chna*, or *Canaan*, the biſhop concludes him to be *Miſor*, or *Mizraïm*, the father of *Thoth* (81). He obſerves alſo, that *Hellanicus*, an author older than *Herodotus*, often heard the *Egyptian* prieſts pronounce the name *Oſiris*, *Hyſiris* (82): and ſays, that *Sanchoniatho* repreſented *Iſiris*, or *Mizraïm*, and *Thoth*, as *Phœnicians*, to do honour to his country. And the reaſon why our author calls the ſame perſon in this place *Iſiris*, whom he before called *Miſor*, was becauſe in the preceding part of the work he wrote his name as he found it, thinking, he ought not to recede from the records; and here he wrote it as it was ſpoken in his time, thinking, he ought to comply with cuſtom (83). To the objection, that *Iſiris* cannot well be *Mizraïm*, becauſe it is not likely, that he ſhould make the doctrines of religion allegorical, and his ſon *Thoth* ſet them down in a different hiſtorical manner; it is anſwered, *Thoth* might cauſe the *Cabiri* to write this hiſtorical account or explanation before he went to reign in *Egypt*, for a help to his memory, or to ſhew the *Egyptians* the *Phœnician* form of worſhip was elder than their fabulous repreſentations; and that this was not to aboliſh, but to explain the religion eſtabliſhed by his father. Laſtly, All that allegorical ſcene of *Egyptian* ſolemnities delivered by *Plutarch*, cannot be ſo old as *Mizraïm*'s eſtabliſhment, ſince much of it relates to his death, and is owned by *Plutarch* (84) to have been added by *Iſis* (85).

(A) Biſhop *Cumberland*, whoſe notes on this author we have hitherto given, intermixing very little of our own, having reſerved our obſervations for this place.

(B) But after all, it ſeems not neceſſary to ſuppoſe, the *Cabiri* purpoſely omitted to mention the flood, in order to ſuppreſs the memory of that judgment on the idolatrous race of *Cain*; becauſe they might have retorted the reproach on their adverſaries, and pretended their religion to have been that falſe one for which the world was puniſhed; and this might have been the eaſier, conſidering, the tradition concerning that religion muſt have been much more uncertain than that of the deluge, to which a conſiderable part of mankind then living, was able to bear teſtimony. It is more probable, that the writers of thoſe records were entirely ignorant of the deluge; and conſequently that they are not genuine, or of that antiquity which is pretended.

(81) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 94, 99, *&c.*
(82) *Vid.* PLUTARCH. *de Iſide & Oſiride, p.* 364.
(83) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 101, 102. (84) *Ubi ſupra.* (85) CUMBERL. *on Sanchon. p.* 103, *&c.*

generations higher, and makes him the ſon of *Uranus*; in which two alterations this author's ſcheme principally conſiſts. But however plauſible his hypotheſis may be, on a nearer examination it ſeems liable to ſeveral objections.

FOR as to the reaſon given for the *Cabiri*'s making theſe diſlocations, *viz.* to do honour to the line of *Cain*, it may be aſked, why they, who were of *Uranus*'s line (for they could be deſcended from no body elſe, ſuppoſing him to be *Noah*), ſhould deſire to do honour to that of another, by renouncing their anceſtors? why in doing this did they ſeparate *Miſor* from his father, and deny *Cronus* the honour which they did his ſon? or rather were they afraid *Cronus* would diſgrace the line of *Cain*, and would not have it thought *Miſor* and *Thoth* were deſcended from him, whom yet they acknowledge to be the founder of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* nations? how happened it, when they ſeparated *Nereus*, or *Japhet*, from *Cronus*, that they did not make him the ſame honourable amends as they did his brother *Sydyc* (C), but drop him by the way two, or three generations lower? was he a reprobate not fit to keep company even with *Cronus*? to be ſerious, it is not to be imagined that *Thoth*, who directed the *Cabiri* to write theſe records [g], could think it a greater honour to be deſcended from a perſon in another line, who makes no figure in the hiſtory, than from *Cronus*, ſo renowned in the antient world: nor could he, as the caſe ſtood, have any proſpect of concealing his true pedigree, if he were ſo minded, or the *Cabiri* be ſuppoſed to have ſo little regard to themſelves, or their father *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, and in all probability ſtill living, as to place themſelves in the hateful line of *Cain*. The diſlocation of *Miſor* is oppoſed by a circumſtance which ſeems to require that he ſhould belong to the generation where he is placed in the hiſtory; for its being ſaid that *Cronus*, when he came to man's age, uſed the council of *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, who was his ſecretary, ſeems to imply, that *Thoth* was a man of more years and greater experience than *Cronus* himſelf, and conſequently could not be his grandſon. It is alſo unlikely, that *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, ſhould marry a daughter of *Cronus*, or *Ham*; which the biſhop ſuppoſes he did to ſecure his quiet in *Canaan*, upon the preſumption, that *Shem* was *Melchizedec* [h], which notion we have already ſhewn to be groundleſs [i], and ſhall conſider farther hereafter.

NOR can we approve of another ſuppoſition of the biſhop's, *viz.* that *Iſiris* is the ſame with *Miſor*, becauſe ſaid to be the brother of *Chna*, or *Canaan*; for they are certainly deſigned to be two perſons, differing as well in age as other circumſtances. *Thoth* was king of *Egypt* when the *Cabiri* wrote theſe records at his command; which ſhews that his father *Miſor*, whom the biſhop ſuppoſes to have been *Menes*, the firſt king of *Egypt*, who reigned but ſixty two years, was dead; as the biſhop himſelf confeſſes [k]: the ſon of *Thabion*, who turned the hiſtory into allegory, and mixed it with phyſical matters, came after the *Cabiri*, and delivered in the new form he had given it to thoſe who preſided over the ſacred myſteries, from whom it paſſed to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them, of whom *Iſiris* was one. So that *Iſiris* ſeems not only to have been ſome generations later than the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, who reigned but ſixty two years; but alſo to have been no more than one of the *Phœnician* prieſts, and not a king of *Egypt*. Nor is this in the leaſt repugnant to the ſcripture account; it being very probable, that the nation properly called *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, did not take their name immediately from *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*, but from ſome later deſcendant of his of the ſame name, ſince we do not find the *Canaanites* among his children, or deſcendants, in the place ſet apart for giving an account of them [l]; nor do we hear of them, or the *Perizzites*, another branch deſcended from *Canaan*, before *Abraham*'s arrival in the land of promiſe [m].

MANY more objections ariſe againſt the biſhop's ſcheme, but we think it enough to have conſidered the fundamentals of it, leaving the reader to make his farther remarks from the hints we have given. Upon the whole, we think the hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho* will in no wiſe admit of the corrections the biſhop has made; it may be confuted by ſcripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of *Moſes*, and ſeems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the firſt ages; if it be not rather a hiſtory framed long after the facts ſpoken of happened, by mixing fable, or invention, with ſome vulgar notions and glimmerings

[g] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 104. [h] Ibid. p. 200. [i] See before, p. 125. [k] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 95. [l] Geneſ. x. 15. [m] Geneſ. xii. 6. and xiii. 7.

(C) The firſt writers of theſe memoirs ſeem to have nothing more in view, by the particulars relating to *Sydyc* and *Nereus*, and their deſcendants, than to account for the original of the *Cabiri*, and of navigation, and to do honour to *Berytus*, a *Phœnician* city, by making it the prime ſeat of their religion and trade.

a ings of antient tranſactions, which ſtill remained in the time of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been loſt.

But, before we cloſe this ſection, we muſt not omit mentioning a word concerning the chronology of this hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho*, in which the biſhop ſeems to vary from himſelf. In one place he ſays, it is bounded within the three firſt centuries after the flood, as ending with the beginning of *Thoth*'s reign in *Egypt* [n]: in another, that it ends within four, or five hundred years after that event [o]. But the repugnancy is more obvious with regard to *Cronus*, or *Ham*. The biſhop allows in ſeveral places, and thinks it but reaſonable, that *Ham* and the other children of *Noah* ſhould live to near about the ſame age, though he thinks *Ham* did not live altogether ſo long as
b *Shem* [p]. He ſays, it appears plain enough from *Sanchoniatho*, as in fact it does, that *Cronus*, or *Ham*, out-lived his father *Uranus*, or *Noah* [q]: and as *Noah*'s death is determined in ſcripture to have happened three hundred and fifty years after the flood, he concludes the life of *Ham* muſt be above four hundred and fifty years [r]. And elſewhere, from the circumſtance of *Chedorlaomer*'s invaſion of *Canaan* [s], concluding *Ham* to be then dead, he fixes his death in the fifth year before *Abraham*'s entrance into *Canaan*, A. M. 2078; that is, in the year of the flood 422 [t]. Notwithſtanding all which, in another place, ſpeaking of the age of *Ham*, he ſuppoſes him and his deſcendants to have ſhortened their days by debauchery, and that he only lived about three hundred years after the flood; and this, ſays the biſhop, may well be granted,
c becauſe his father lived fifty years longer, as it is certain his brother *Shem* outlived him two hundred years [u]. Such contradictions and miſtakes may the greateſt men run into when they have ſet their minds on an hypotheſis; notwithſtanding which, to do this learned writer juſtice, he has, in his remarks on our author, given great light into the hiſtory of thoſe antient times, and made many valuable obſervations.

SECT. IV.

Of the removal of mankind from about mount Ararat *to the plain of* Shinaar; *and of the building of* Babel.

d

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of *Babel* by the poſterity of *Noah*, the confuſion of languages, and the diſperſion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader ſome account of thoſe important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtleſs of great benefit to mankind. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

The firſt migration of the ſons of Noah *to* Shinaar.

AFTER the death of *Noah*, his ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, thought fit to remove, with their families, from the plains near *Ararat*, where we ſuppoſe they till then continued, and, *travelling from the eaſt, found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there* [w]. The wording of this paſſage has occaſioned ſome doubt, whether by *Ararat* could be
e meant *Armenia*, ſince then their journeying would have been from the north-weſt. Wherefore others, inſtead of *from the eaſt*, render it *eaſtward*. But there is no need to ſtrain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. *Moſes* ſpoke according to the beſt of his knowledge, or perhaps with reference to the wilderneſs where he wrote; from which *Shinaar* lying eaſtward, he might judge *Ararat* lay eaſtward too, as lying farther off: or the difficulty may be eaſily ſolved by ſuppoſing with *Kircher* [x] and others, that as mankind multiplied they ſpread themſelves in the country ſouth eaſtward of *Ararat*, and made ſmall removes between the time of their deſcending from *Ararat*, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have moved towards *Shinaar*, which might have lain weſtward of that place. But after all, the miſtake ſeems to
f lie on the ſide of the critics, and not of *Moſes*; for even the mountain, which at preſent paſſes with us for *Ararat*, lies above two degrees more eaſt than the city of *Shinaar*, or *Senjâr*, from whence the plain in all probability took the name, and if the ſons of *Noah* entered *Shinaar* on the north ſide, they muſt of neceſſity have *journeyed from the eaſt*, or, which is the ſame thing, have travelled weſtward, in order to arrive there; though at the ſame time they muſt have travelled ſouthward too; for *Ararat* lies about north-eaſt by north of *Senjâr*; but all the geographers (*De Liſle* excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place to the weſtward, the commentators, and hiſtorians who relied upon them, have been embaraſſed to reconcile

[n] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 95. [o] Ibid. p. 119. [p] Ibid. p. 103, 119, 120, 123. [q] Ibid. p. 119. [r] Ibid. p. 104. [s] Geneſ. xiv. [t] Cumberl. on Sanchon, p. 123. [u] Idem. Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 172. [w] Geneſ. ix. 2. [x] Turris Babel. p. 12.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597.

cile the words of ſcripture with what they took for certain fact, *viz.* that *Ararat* lay to the weſtward, and not at all to the eaſtward of *Senjâr*. a

The extent and ſituation of the land of Shinaar.

IT is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of *Shinaar* (D) in the early times. We are informed from ſcripture, that the city and tower of *Babel* were built in a plain within that province [y], and that *Nebuchadnezzar* carried the veſſels of the temple into the land of *Shinaar* into the houſe of his GOD [z], which in all probability was the temple of *Belus* in *Babylon*. Beſides *Babel* there are three other cities mentioned in ſcripture to have been ſituate in *Shinaar*, *viz.* *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calneh* [a]; but as all the four ſeem to have ſtood at no great diſtance from each other [b], we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be preſumed, that it took in more to the north of *Babel* than to the ſouth, and that it lay for the moſt part, b
though not entirely, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; for *Babylon*, if it was the ſame with *Babel*, ſtood on the eaſt ſide of *Euphrates* (E), which paſſed along the weſt ſide of it, before *Nebuchadnezzar* built the new city on this ſide that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

WE meet with footſteps of the name of *Shinaar* in thoſe parts, both in antient and modern authors; *Sennaar* of *Babylon* is mentioned by *Heſtiæus* the *Mileſian* [c], and the city of *Singara* in *Meſopotamia* by ſeveral [d]. Some ſpeak of a territory of that name in the ſame quarters [e]; *Ptolemy* places both the city and mountain of *Singara* there [f]: all which ſeem to be the ſame city, mountain (F), and territory, which ſtill bear the name of *Senjâr* in the eaſt [g]. The part of *Meſopotamia* choſen out by the aſtronomers c
in the time of the *Khalîfah al Mamûn*, for meaſuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the deſart of *Senjâr* [h]; which the nature of the experiment ſhews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at leaſt a part of the antient plain of *Shinaar*.

THE city of *Senjâr* ſtands, or ſtood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the deſart, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the ſame name), twenty one miles from *Balad*, and twenty ſeven from *Mûſol*, which two laſt are ſituate on the *Tigris* twenty one miles aſunder [i]. It is ſaid to lie to the ſouthward of *Niſibîn*, almoſt three ſtages weſt of the *Tigris* [k], or more particularly of *Mûſol* [l]; ſo that *Ptolemy* is in the wrong to place *Singara* on that river. As for the difference d
between the words *Shinaar* and *Singar* it is very ſmall, conſidering, in the *Hebrew* the ſame character ſtands for the *Ain* and the *Ghain* (G). We find *Senjâr* called alſo by another name, *viz.* *al Sâmara* [m], which ſeems to be the contraction of *Sarra-man-rai*, a city on the eaſt of the *Tigris*, three ſtages above *Baghdâd*, and for a time the ſeat of the *Khaliſah* [n].

The building of Babel *began.*

THE ſons of *Noah*, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the ſenſe of the paſſage which gives an account of this enterprize: *And they ſaid go to, let us build us*

[y] Geneſ. xi. 2, &c. x. 10. [z] Dan. i. 2. [a] Geneſ. x. 10. [b] See before, p. 123. in the notes. [c] Apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. & EUSEB. de pr. ev. l. 9. c. 15. [d] PLINIUS, Hiſt. Nat. AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS, EUTROPIUS, ATHANASIUS, in Epiſt. ad ſolitar. Vit. agent. [e] SEXT. RUFUS, POMP. LÆTUS. [f] Tab. 4. Aſiæ. [g] GEOGR. NUB. p. 201. THEVENOT, Voyages, part 2. c. 10. [h] Vid. GOL. Not. ad Alfragan. p. 72. [i] GEOGR. NUB. p. 201. [k] GOLIUS ubi ſupra. [l] HYDE de Relig. vet. perſ. p. 64. [m] ABU'LFARAG. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 18. [n] Vid. GOL. ubi ſupra, p. 130. GEOGR. NUBIENS, p. 203.

(D) The name in *Hebrew* is שִׁנְעָר *Shinaar*, or *Sennaar*, in *Arabic* سنجار *Senjâr*. *Bochart* ſays, it is derived from נָעַר *naar*, which ſignifies to ſcatter, and diſſipate (86); and if ſo, it could not have been impoſed by the *Noachidæ* on the plain where they firſt fixed, as *Joſephus* affirms (87), without ſuppoſing them to have foreſeen the diſperſion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

(E) Among other circumſtances it may be obſerved that the modern travellers repreſent the *Euphrates* a mile and half broad in thoſe parts; whereas *Strabo* ſays the breadth of the branch of that river which paſſed through *Babylon* was but a furlong (88), or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge according to *Diodorus* (89), was five furlongs in length, if he does not miſtake: but ſuppoſing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the preſent breadth of the *Euphrates*: which yet lower down, at *Hella*, becomes more narrow.

(F) *Haitho* the *Armenian* writes, that in *Meſopotamia* there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit trees, the more eaſterly of which is called *Sinjar*, the other *Leſſon* (90); probably the deſart, or plain of *Senjâr* lay between theſe two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground *Heidegger* charges *Haitho* with a miſtake, as if he made *Sinjâr* a mountain of *Chaldæa* (91): on the contrary, that author ſeems to have miſtaken *Haitho*, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning *Meſopotamia*, as belonging to the foregoing chapter which treats of *Chaldea*.

(G) Thus עֲמֹרָה may be written either *Gomorrah*, or *Amorrah*: עַזָּה, either *Gazah*, or *Azzah*, as we find it in the margin of our Bibles (92).

(86) *Phaleg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. (87) *Antiq. lib* 1. *cap.* 4. (88) *Lib.* 16. (89) *Lib.* 2. (90) HAYTHO *de Tartaris, cap.* 12. *apud Grinæum, nov. orb. p.* 373. (91) HEIDEGG. *Hiſt. Patr. tom.* I. *p.* 419. (92) Geneſ. x. 19.

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a *us a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth* [n]. Many imagine, that the motive which induced them to undertake this building, was their apprehension of a second deluge, and therefore they resolved to raise a structure of sufficient height to fly to in case of danger [o]. Others think, there is no room for this suggestion, for in that case they would rather have built it on an eminence than a plain, and the scripture expressly assigns the reason of their setting about it, *viz.* to *make them a name*, or leave a memorial of themselves, *lest they should be scattered*, or, as it is otherwise rendred (perhaps to serve the purpose), *before they should be scattered abroad* [p]; which implies, they knew they should be dispersed before they began to build, being warned by God,

b according to some, to separate themselves into colonies [q]. But a third sort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible, as it now stands in the several translations, will have it, that the word שם *shem* should not be rendred *name*, but *sign*; and so the passage will run, *let us make us a sign, lest we be scattered*; that is, as *Perizonius* explains it, the tower was to serve them as a beacon, or mark, by the sight of which, or of a signal made from the top of it, they might avoid straying in the open plains with their flocks (the first men being shepherds), and be brought back to the city which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to disperse themselves [r].

Their design frustrated.

But whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which seem to be dubiously expressed in the text, the effect of their consultation was, that they set on foot the

c building of the city and tower of *Babel*. But this enterprize being displeasing in the eyes of God, as tending to frustrate or delay the execution of his design, which was, that mankind should not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project before they had finished it (H), by confounding their language, so that one could not understand what another said; from whence the city took the name of *Babel* [s], which signifies *confusion*: whereupon the dispersion and planting of nations ensued.

The time of their enterprize.

This great event happened just before the birth of *Peleg*, in the year of the flood four hundred and one, when the work, according to some, had been carried on twenty two years [t], and according to o hers forty [u]; so that the foundation must have been

d laid ten, or at most, but twenty eight years after *Noah*'s death.

Whether sinful.

Many, considering the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of mankind thereupon as a divine judgment, have deemed the building of *Babel* an evil attempt (I); and being concerned for the honour of *Shem* and his race, will not allow them to have been present at it, supposing that undertaking to be set on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind [w], in which sense they understand the words *the children of men* [x]. On the contrary, others will have it, that not only *Shem*, but *Noah* and *Abraham* (who, according to one way of computing the *Hebrew* chronology, were contemporary) assisted in the raising of that structure [y], while some say *Nimrod*, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work [z], retired into *Assyria*, be-

e cause he would not give his assent to it [a].

That the building of *Babel* was a thing indifferent in itself and no way sinful, seems evident from the silence of scripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or presumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of *Shem* were concerned in the work as well as the rest, appears from their sharing in the punishment, if it be

[n] Gen. xi. 4. [o] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. Eutych. Annal. p. 50. Basnage, Antiq. Judaiques, tom. II. cap. 2. § 27. p. 419. [p] Vid. the vulgat. translat. [q] Usher's Annals in English, ad ann. mundi, 1757. [r] Vid. Perizon. Origin. Babylon. cap. 11. p. 193. [s] Gen. xi. 7, 8, 9. [t] Torniellus, Salianus, Pererius, &c. [u] Syncel. Chronogr. p. 80. Eutychius Annal. p. 53. [w] Morin. Exercit. de Ling. cap. 8. p. 47. Scotanus Hist. Sacr. p. 48, &c. Marham Chron. Canon. secul. 17. p. 478. Von der Hart Ephemer. Philol. Disc. 3. Usser. Chronol. Sacra, part 1. cap. 5. p. 26. Gurtler. Hist. Universal. cap. 9. p. 93. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 10. August. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 5. [x] Genes. xi. 6. [y] Aben Ezra apud R. Gedal. in Shalsh. hakkab. p. 7. b. [z] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. Von der Hart ubi supra. August. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 4. Constant. Manass. Annal. p. 14. [a] See before p. 123.

(H) Some pretend, that the tower was thrown down by tempestuous winds, on the builders head; and that the city of *Babylon* was built out of the ruins (93).

(I) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, supposes, that this tower (whose pyramidal form, he says, resembles fire, or the conic shape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the sun, as the most probable cause of drying up the flood (94). But of this there is not the least footstep in scripture.

(93) Abyden. *apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l.* 9. *c.* 14. & Sibylla, *apud* Joseph. *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4.

(94) Tenison *of idolatry.*

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be a punishment, that is, the confusion of tongues; though this is denied by several [b]: for the languages of *Elam*, or *Persia*, and of *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were different, as were also those even of the descendants of *Eber*, the *Arabs*, and *Jews*, whatever others [c] may pretend; and if speaking the *Hebrew* language be a proof, then the *Canaanites* were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, any more than *Eber* and his descendants, for their language was the same with the *Hebrew*.

BUT this supposed absence of the *Shemites*, as also another common opinion, current amongst those who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology, that several nations were planted before the dispersion, are overthrown by the authority of scripture, which strongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were assembled in the plain of *Shinaar* (H); and it is probable, that after the building of *Babel*, *Shem* and his descendants chose, or accepted of, the adjacent country for their settlement [d]. So that the most we can allow, with *Buxtorf* [e] and others, is, that they dissuaded the rest from that enterprize.

A description of Babel.

THE reader must needs have a curiosity to see some account of a city and tower, which employed all the men in the world for so many years in building them. The scripture informs us, that they made use of burnt bricks instead of stone, and slime instead of mortar [f]. According to an eastern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning those bricks, each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick [g]. The slime with which these bricks were cemented, was a pitchy substance, or bitumen [h], brought from a city, in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, called *Is* [i], or *Hît* (I). The oriental authors say, that the city, built by the sons of *Noah*, was three

[b] BUXTORF. in Dissertat. Philologico-theolog. p. 70. CHRYSOSTOM. Homil. 30. in Genes. FULLER. Miscell. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. SCOTANUS, Bibl. Ætat. sec. p. 91. HEIDEGGER. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. Exercit. 16. § 16. STEPH. MORIN. ubi sup. p. 44, & 68. [c] EPIPHAN. apud GLYCAM, Annal. p. 3. CONSTANT. MANASS. Annal. p. 14. [d] See § 6. [e] Dissertat. Philologico-theol. p. 70. [f] Gen. xi. 3. [g] EBN AMÎD. p. 14. EUTYCH. Annal. p. 53. [h] JOSEPHUS Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [i] HERODOTUS Clio, p. 32.

(H) There is not a fact in all the *Mosaical* history which seems to be more firmly established than this. As soon as *Moses* hath brought the three sons of *Noah* out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that *of them was the* WHOLE EARTH *overspread* (93). And, after giving us the names of their descendants at the time of the dispersion, he subjoins, *and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood* (94). Then, proceeding to give an account of that memorable transaction, he tells us, That *the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech* (95). That as *they*, namely the whole earth, *journeyed from the* East, THEY *found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there; and they said, let us make brick, and build a city and a tower; and the* LORD *came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded, and said, behold the people is one, and they have all one language* (96). These seem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind collected there in one body, had but one language, so all those who had but one language, were assembled in one body; which argument is the more cogent, because it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world at the time of the building of *Babel*, which city was so called, *because the* LORD *did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth* (97).

From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is so well preserved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to suppose, that any less than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of *Shinaar*, and assisted in the building of *Babel*; and *Moses* seems to have made those unusual repetitions to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for supposing any branch of *Noah*'s posterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments used by some, that the phrase *all the earth*, is often taken in a restrained and improper sense elsewhere in scripture, to signify only a part of the earth (98), and sometimes no more than the land of promise (99); as also that the expression *the children of men*, confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, because that phrase is also used in such a sense in other places of scripture (1), are of no force here; the sense of the whole by which that of a part is always to be governed being directly against such a meaning, and this last expression being evidently used only to vary the diction: besides, those who urge this last argument, do not seem to consider, that before the dispersion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongst mankind; who, it is but reasonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith as well as government.

(I) It is much no modern author, that we know of, excepting *Bochart* (2), out of the many who have occasionally, or professedly spoken of *Babylon*, have taken notice of this nice circumstance in *Herodotus*. That prince of historians observes, that by the city *Is*, eight days journey from *Babylon*, there runs a small river of the same name into *Euphrates*, whose waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen, which are conveyed thence to the walls of *Babylon*. *Diodorus* says, the quantity of bitumen in those parts is so great, that it suffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fewel, being dryed and burned like wood (3). *Hit* is called *Æliopolis* by *Isidore* of *Charax* (4), who mentions the springs of bitumen near it, and places it on the *Euphrates*, about two hundred and fifteen miles west of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which agrees better with *Herodotus* than the account of modern authors, who place *Hit* thirty one parasangs, or about one hundred twenty eight

(93) Genes. ix. 19. (94) Gen. x. 32. (95) Gen. xi. 1. (96) *Ibid.* v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. (97) *Ibid.* v. 8, 9. (98) Jerem. li. 7, 49. Dan. ii. 39. (99) Judg. vi. 37. 1 Sam. xvii. 46. Isai. x. 14.

(1) 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. 2 Sam vii. 14. Psal. xii. 1. (2) *Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 11.* (3) *Lib. 2. p. 109.* (4) *Inter Geog. Vet. Græc. Ed.* HUDSON I, *p.* II.

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three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one hundred and fifty one in breadth, that the walls of it were five thouſand five hundred and thirty three fathoms high, and thirty three broad, and the tower ten thouſand fathom, or twelve miles high [k]; which dimenſions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even *Jerom* affirms, from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high [l]; but *Ado* raiſes the height to no leſs than five thouſand miles [m]; but theſe are ſhameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimenſions of this tower, ſuppoſing it to be the ſame tower with that which ſtood in the midſt of the temple of *Belus*, afterwards built round it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt be taken from prophane authors. *Herodotus* tells us, it was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth [n] (K); and *Strabo* determines the height to have been a furlong [o], that is, the eighth part of a mile, or ſix hundred and ſixty foot, which is itſelf prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greateſt of the *Egyptian* pyramids in height one hundred ſeventy nine foot, though it fell ſhort of it at the baſis by thirty three [p]. It conſiſted of eight ſquare towers one above another, gradually decreaſing in breadth; which, with the winding of the ſtairs from the top to the bottom on the outſide, gave it the reſemblance of a pyramid, as *Strabo* calls it [q]. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the ſtructure, eaſily induces us to believe it to be the ſame tower mentioned by *Moſes*; *Nebuchadnezzar* finiſhing the deſign, which the ſons of *Noah* were obliged, by the confuſion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

WHAT

[k] EBN AMID & EUTYCH, ubi ſupra. [l] HIERON. lib. 5. Comment. in Eſaiam. [m] In Chronica. [n] Lib. 1. p. 33. [o] Lib. 16. p. 1073. [p] See GREAVES Deſcr. of the Pyramids, p. 68, 69. [q] Lib. 16.

eight miles weſt of *Baghdád*, (ſuppoſed to ſtand near, if not in the place of *Seleucia*) and twenty one paraſangs weſt of *Anbár*, once a famous city, on the *Euphrates* (5), not far north from *Felujiah*, and eight to the north of *Kadeſiah*, a town no leſs remarkable for the battle, wherein the *Arabs* gained the victory which decided the fate of *Perſia* (6).

Theſe ſprings of bitumen are called *Oyún Hít*, the *fountains of* Hit, and are much celebrated by the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, the latter call it *Cheſhmeh kír*, the *fountain of pitch*. This liquid bitumen they call *naſta*, and the *Turks*, to diſtinguiſh it from pitch, give it the name of *kara ſakiz*, or *black maſtic*. A *Perſian* grographer ſays, that *naſta* iſſues out of the ſprings of the earth, as ambergreeſe iſſues out of thoſe of the ſea (7). All the modern travellers, except *Rauwolf*, who went to *Perſia* and the *Indies* by the way of the *Euphrates*, before the diſcovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a ſtrange thing. Some of them take notice of the river (8) mentioned by *Herodotus* and aſſures us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that when the tower of *Babel* was building, they brought the bitumen from hence (9), which is confirmed by the *Arab* and *Perſian* hiſtorians (10).

Hit, *Heit*, (11), *Eit* (12), *Ait* (13), or *Idt* (14), as it is variouſly written by travellers, is a great *Turkiſh* town (15), ſituate upon the right, or weſt ſide of the *Euphrates* (16); and has a caſtle, to the ſouthweſt of which (17), and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many ſprings of this black ſubſtance (18), each of which makes a noiſe like a ſmith's forge, inceſſantly puffing and blowing out the matter ſo loud, that it may be heard a mile off; wherefore the *Moors* [*Arabs*] call it *Bâb al jehennam*, that is *hell gate* (19). It ſwallows up all heavy things, and many camels from time to time fall into the pits and are irrecoverably loſt (20). It iſſues from a certain lake, ſending forth a filthy ſmoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch, which ſpreads itſelf over a great field that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take; they uſed it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two, or three inches thick, which keeps out the water (21); with it alſo they pitch their houſes made of palm-tree branches: if it was not that the innundations of the *Euphrates* carry away the pitch, which covers all the ſands from the place where it riſes to the river, there would have been mountains of it long ſince (22). The very ground and ſtones thereabouts afford bitumen, and the fields abundance of ſalt petre (23).

(K) The words of *Herodotus* are; Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. *In the midſt of the temple a ſolid tower is built, of a furlong in length and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and ſo on to the number of eight towers.* It is true, the word μῆκος, which we here tranſlate *length*, may alſo ſignify *height*; but ſome authors having thence ſuppoſed, as the conſtruction ſeems to require, that the firſt tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other ſeven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant conſequence, it ſeems more reaſonable to underſtand *Herodotus* as we have rendred the paſſage, unleſs the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

(5) *Vid.* GOLII *Not. ad Alfragan. p.* 124, 125. GEOGR. NUBIENS. *p.* 199. (6) D'HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. Art. Hit, Anbar, & Cadeſſia.* (7) *Apud eundem, ibid. Art. Hit.* (8) ELDRED. *See* HACKLUIT'S *Collection of Voyages. vol.* I. (9) *Vid. le Voyage de Perſe es ann.* 1598 & 1599, *par un Gentilhomme de la ſuitte du Seigneur Sherley, a la p.* 110. *des Relations veritables & curieuſes.* (10) *Vid.* D'HERBELOT *ubi ſup.* (11) NEWBERRY. (12) BALBI. *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientale, cap.* 4. *Vid. eundem, apud de Brie, India Orientalis, vol.* VII. (13) CARTWRIGHT & FITCH. (14) RAUWOLF. (15) *Idem, in his travels, part* 2. *chap.* 6. *p.* 163. (16) ELDRED, BALBI, *&c. ubi ſup.* (17) NEWBERRY'S *Travels. See* PURCHAS'S *Pilgrims, vol.* II. *p.* 1412. (18) ELDRED *ubi ſupra.* (19) CARTWRIGHT'S, *or the Preacher's Travels, p.* 105. ELDRED *ubi ſup.* FITCH'S *Travels. See* PURCHAS *ubi ſupra, p.* 1730. (20) ELDRED & NEWBERRY *ubi ſupra.* (21) FITCH & BALBI, *ubi ſup.* (22) BALBI, *ibid.* (23) *Voyage de Perſe, ubi ſupra.*

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WHAT this most wonderful city was in its flourishing state, and the several changes of fortune which befel it till at length it was totally destroyed, the reader will find remarked in the course of this history. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curiosity with some account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are so defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their situation; and this has occasioned travellers to differ concerning it. Most of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the west, or north-west of *Baghdâd*, to be the tower of *Babel* (L). *Rauwolf* supposes, he found the ruins of *Babylon* upon the *Euphrates*, near *Felujia* (M), about thirty six miles to the south-west of

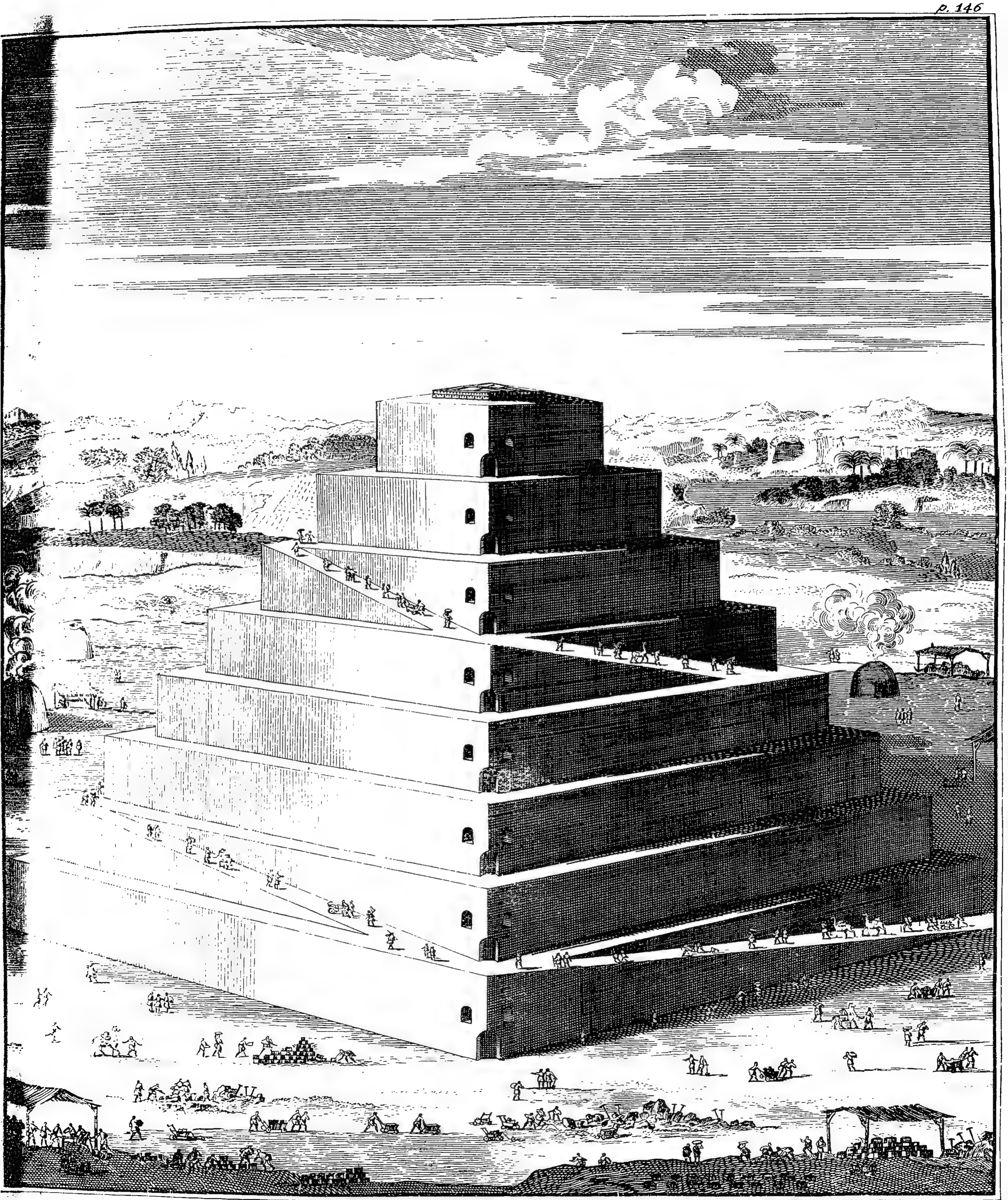
(L) The name of this monument is variously written by travellers, *Carcuftate Nemeru* (24), *Karkif* (25), *Agarcuf* (26); all who mention it call it the tower of *Nimrod*, and we are told, that the common people of the country believe it to be such (27), and that it is at present called *the remains of the tower of* Babel (28). It is situate, according to some seven, or eight miles from *Baghdâd* (29), according to others nine miles (30) towards the west northwest (31): it is conspicuous at a vast distance (32), standing by itself in a wide plain between the *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reason that, contrary to what is generally observed in other objects, it appears greater at a distance than when one draws near it (33). It is fallen to ruin on all sides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little shapeless mountain (34), which it resembles more than a tower (35), only it is rather square than round (36).

It is built of sun-burnt bricks, each a foot square and six inches thick (37); some say three quarters of a yard long and a quarter thick (38); others but ten inches square and three thick (39). Authors differ as to the manner in which these bricks are ranged, and the materials made use of for setting and binding them together: they observe first, that there is laid a bed consisting of canes, or reeds bruised to pieces, mixed with wheat-straw, and spread an inch and half thick (40); some call them matts made of canes and palm-trees leaves (41); others say only straw the thickness of three inches (42), which appears as yellow and fresh as if they were but newly laid (43), and are still very durable (44). Upon this bed lie seven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds and six rows of bricks; then a third bed with five rows of bricks, decreasing in that manner till you come to the top (45). Some say the ranges of bricks are interchangeably six and seven upon a bed (46); and others place a bed betwixt every course of bricks (47); but that is probably a mistake, though between each course of bricks there is laid a little straw (48), or rather they are set in bituminous mortar (49), consisting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at present the fashion of building at *Baghdâd*, there being not far off a great lake of pitch (50), probably that of *Hit* before mentioned. There are fifty of these ranges of seven and six bricks, insomuch that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty eight feet (51): others say, 'tis reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet (52). This heap is in compass a quarter of a mile (53), or at most three hundred paces (54), not a mile, as one writes (55), the rains having washed it away on all sides. It has no entrance (56), being a solid mass, only at the foot of it one sees a *maghâra* or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which passes quite through the building about a foot and a half square, besides a great window towards the top, into which our author threw a grapple in order to ascend it, but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall (57).

Travellers disagree in their sentiments of this tower: one says, it has been so well described by *Moses*, that the sight of the remains and ruins, would make one admire the veracity with which the writings of that great prophet are penned (58); but another declares, that, according to *Moses*'s description, there is no likelyhood, that this should be the tower of *Babel*; and therefore, rejecting the vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon that of the *Arabs* to be more probable, who say, it was built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war (59); and this seems to be the truth of the matter.

(M) *Rauwolf*, a *German* physician, who in the year 1574 passed down the *Euphrates* in his way to *Baghdâd*, being come to a village by him called *Elugo*, and by others, more properly, *Felugia*, which was the landing place for that city, writes thus; "The village of *Elugo* is situated where formerly *Babylon* stood; but at present, there is "not an house to be seen for the shelter of passengers. The country is so dry and barren that "it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I should "have doubted very much, whether this potent "city (which once was the most stately and famous in the world, seated in the pleasant and "fruitful country of *Shinaar*) did stand there, if "I had not known it by its situation and several delicate antiquities; which still are standing in great desolation; first by the old bridge "over *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces "and arches still remaining a little above where "he landed, built of brick, and of wonderful "firmness. It is admirable also how they could "build a bridge here, where the river is so deep, "and at least half a league broad; yet in all the "way from *Bîr* [near *Aleppo*] where the river is "much

(24) BALBI *Viaggio della Ind. Orient. cap.* 5. *p.* 22. (25) TEIXEIRA *Viage de la India hasta Italia, p.* 130. (26) TAVERNIER *Voyage de Perse, l.* 2. *c.* 7. (27) *Idem, ibid.* *The Preacher's Travels, p.* 99, 100. (28) *Ibid.* (29) CÆSAR FREDERIC. *See* HACKLUIT, *vol.* II. *p.* 25, & 269. FITCH's *Travels. See* PURCHAS's *Pilgrims, vol.* II. *p.* 1730. BALBI *ubi sup. cap.* 7. *p.* 26. (30) TEIXEIRA *ubi sup.* LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZE *Voyage, chap.* 55. *p.* 312. (31) LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZE, *ibid.* (32) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.* (33) BALBI *ubi supra.* (34) FITCH & BALBI *ubi supra.* (35) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup. p.* 314. (36) TAVERN. *ubi sup.* (37) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup.* (38) CÆSAR FREDERIC, & ELDRED, *apud* HACKLUIT *ubi sup.* CARTWRIGHT *ubi sup.* (39) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.* (40) *Idem, ibid.* (41) CARTWRIGHT. (42) LA BOULLAYE *ubi sup.* (43) *Idem, ibid.* (44) BALBI *ubi supra.* (45) TAVERNIER *ubi supra.* (46) BOULLAYE *ubi sup.* (47) CARTWRIGHT *ubi supra.* (48) TAVERNIER *ubi supra.* (49) CARTWRIGHT *ubi sup.* (50) BOULLAYE *ubi sup.* (51) *Idem, ibid.* (52) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.* (53) CARTWRIGHT *ubi sup.* (54) BOULLAYE & TAVERNIER *ubi supra.* (55) BALBI *ubi sup.* (56) FITCH *ubi sup.* (57) BOULLAYE *ubi sup.* (58) *Idem, ibid.* (59) TAVERNIER *ubi sup.*



THE TOWER OF BABYLON.

T. Dixon, Sculp.

a of *Baghdâd*. And *della Valle* was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days journey lower (N), near an antient city called *Hella*, ſituate upon the ſame river. Here alſo

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

" much narrower, we ſaw no bridge. Near the " bridge are heaps of *Babyloniſh* pitch to pay veſ- " ſels withal; and juſt before the village is the " hill whereon the caſtle did ſtand, in a plain, " whereon may ſtill be ſeen ſome remains of the " fortification, which is quite demoliſhed and un- " inhabited. Not far off, behind it, ſtood the " tower of *Babel*, ſtill to be ſeen, half a league " in diameter; but ſo entirely ruined, ſo low, " and ſo full of venomous beaſts, that have made " holes through it, that one dare not approach " within half a mile of it, except in two months " of the year, when thoſe animals do not ſtir " out (60).

" In the way to *Baghdâd* the road at firſt " was very rough and full of large and ſtately " buildings, arches, and turrets ſtanding in the " ſand, whereof many were decayed and lay in " ruins; others pretty entire, very ſtrong, and " adorned with artificial work, well deſerving a " more exact inſpection. The ſteeple of *Daniel* " is entire built of black ſtone, and ſtill inhabi- " ted. It hath ſome reſemblance for height and " building to that of the *Holy Croſs* church, or " St. *Maurice* in *Augsburg*: from it may be view- " ed all the ruins of the old *Babylonian* tower, " the caſtle hill, together with the ſtately build- " ings and the whole ſituation of the old town " very exactly. We reſted, after twelve hours " march, near two aſcents one behind the other, " extending themſelves like two parrallel walls " with openings in ſome places, which I take " to have been the gates of the old town (61), " and the rather, becauſe I ſaw in ſome places, " under the ſand, wherewith the two aſcents were " almoſt covered, the old wall plainly appear— Our author ſaw ſeveral other antiquities afterwards: but night coming on, in which he groped his way to *Baghdâd* he loſt them (62); and, in all probability, among the reſt, the tower of *Nimrod*, deſcribed in the preceding note, which lies in this road. A late author has given ſome account of theſe ruins, but is much out as to the ſituation of them, as he generally is in his geopraphy (63).

(N) *Della Valle*, who was at *Baghdâd* in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of *Babel*, which he went to ſee, taking the way, by the river ſide through *Ruſſeania*, a village in *Thevenot*'s time the landing place for *Baghdâd* (64) inſtead of *Felugia*, which is not far off; though in his return, taking the ſhort cut through the plain, he arrived at *Baghdâd* in two days, from which city this ruin lies ſouthweſtward, or more to the ſouth. " In " the middle of a vaſt and level plain, ſays " that excellent traveller, about a quarter of a " league from *Euphrates*, which in that place " runs weſtward, appears a heap of ruined build- " ings like a huge mountain, the materials of " which are ſo confounded together that one " knows not what to make of it. Its figure is " ſquare, and riſes in form of a tower or pyra- " mid, with four fronts which anſwer to the four " quarters of the compaſs; but it ſeems longer " from north to ſouth than from eaſt to weſt, " and is, as far as I could judge by my pacing it, " a large quarter of a league. Its ſituation and " form correſponds with that pyramid which " *Strabo* calls the tower of *Belus*, and is in all like- " lihood the tower of *Nimrod* in *Babylon*, or *Babel*, " as that place is ſtill called. In that author's time, " it had nothing remaining of the ſtairs and other " ornaments mentioned by *Herodotus*, the greateſt " part of it having been ruined by *Xerxes*; and " *Alexander*, who deſigned to have reſtored it to " its former luſtre, was prevented by death. " There appear no marks of ruins, without the " compaſs of that huge maſs, to convince one ſo " great a city as *Babylon* had ever ſtood there; all " one diſcovers within fifty or ſixty paces of it, " being only the remains here and there of ſome " foundations of buildings, and the country round " about it ſo flat and level, that one can hardly " believe it ſhould be choſen for the ſituation of " ſo great and noble a city as *Babylon*, or that " there were ever any remarkable buildings on it: " but for my part I am aſtoniſhed, there appears " ſo much as there does, conſidering, it is at leaſt " four thouſand years ſince that city was built, and " that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, it was reduced al- " moſt to nothing in his time. The height of " this mountain of ruins is not in every part " equal, but exceeds the higheſt palace in *Naples*; " it is a miſhapen maſs, wherein there is no ap- " pearance of regularity; in ſome places it riſes " in points, is craggy and inacceſſable, in others " it is ſmoother and is of eaſier aſcent; there " are alſo tracks of torrents from the top to the " bottom cauſed by the rains, and both within " ſide and upon it one ſees parts, ſome higher and " ſome lower. It is not to be diſcovered whe- " ther ever there were any ſteps to aſcend it, or " any doors to enter into it; whence one may " eaſily judge, that the ſtairs ran winding about " on the outſide, and that being the leſs ſolid " parts, they were ſooneſt demoliſhed, ſo that " not the leaſt ſign of any appears at preſent.

" Withinſide one finds ſome grottos, but ſo " ruined that one can make nothing of them; and " it is a doubt, with regard to ſome of them, " whether they were built at the ſame time with " that work, or made ſince by the peaſants for " ſhelter, which laſt ſeems to me the moſt likely. " The *Mohammedans* believe, that theſe caverns " were appointed by God as places of puniſh- " ment to *Harut* and *Marut*, two angels, who, " they ſuppoſe, were ſent from heaven to judge " the crimes of men, but did not execute their " commiſſions as they ought. It is evident from " theſe ruins, that the tower of *Nimrod* was built " with great and thick bricks, as I carefully ob- " ſerved, cauſing holes to be dug in ſeveral places " for the purpoſe; but they do not appear to have " been burnt, but dried in the ſun, which is ex- " tream hot in thoſe parts. In laying theſe bricks " neither lime nor ſand was employed, but only " earth tempered and petrified; and in thoſe parts " which made the floors, there had been mingled " with that earth, which ſerved inſtead of lime, " bruiſed reeds or hard ſtraw, ſuch as large mats " are made of, to ſtrengthen the work. After- " wards one perceives at certain diſtances in di- " vers places, eſpecially where the ſtrongeſt but- " treſſes were to be, ſeveral other bricks of the " ſame ſize, but more ſolid and burnt in a kiln, " and ſet in good lime, or bitumen; nevertheleſs, " the greater number conſiſts of thoſe which are " only dried in the ſun. I make no doubt, but " this ruin was the antient *Babel* and the tower " of *Nimrod*; for beſides the evidence of its ſitu- " ation, it is acknowledged to be ſuch by the peo- " ple of the country, being vulgarly called *Babil* " by the *Arabs* (65).

This

(60) *See his Travels, part* 2. *chap.* 7. *p.* 164. (61) *Ibid. p.* 166. (62) *Ibid. p.* 167. (63) Mac Gregory, *in his Sepulchres of the antients, p.* 48. (64) *See* Thevenot's *Travels, part* 2. *book* 1. *chap.* 9. *p.* 40. (65) *Vid. Viaggi di* Pietro della valle, *part.* 2. *Lett.* 17.

alſo muſt be placed the ruins deſcribed by a late traveller (*) into theſe parts. We a have

This is the account of that curious traveller, whoſe painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan and ſeveral proſpects of the ruins, which we do not find were ever publiſhed in any edition of his works; but *Kircher*, in his *Turris Babel*, has given two of them. However, after all, this ſeems to be only ſuch another modern ſtructure, built by the *Arabs* for a watch tower, as that already deſcribed.

(*) This gentleman (66) hath by his penetration, made ſomething of this rude maſs, and diſcovered a great reſemblance between it and the tower of *Belus*, as deſcribed by *Herodotus*, though it does not anſwer in dimenſions. He diſtinguiſhes between the firſt original deſign upon which it was antiently begun, and the ſecond different deſign upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one deſign, and partly after another. The original deſign our author deſcribes to be a high tower, exactly ſquare, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whoſe ſides at the baſe being two hundred and forty three *Babyloniſh* foot, each of which is equal to a *London* foot and two inches, it muſt be in compaſs two hundred and twenty ſix geometrical paces and four foot, or a little more than the fifth part of an *Engliſh* mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewiſe two hundred and forty three foot, equal to the root of the ſquare, and the oblique height 271½ foot. The whole being a maſs, or heap of brick and bitumen-work, incloſing a ſolid hill and rock. The execution of this firſt deſign (ſo far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, ſo many ſquare towers, in form of parallelopipeds, or flat cubes, one raiſed above another pyramidically, each twenty ſeven foot in height, but gradually diminiſhing in breadth as many foot, ſo as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the ſides of the other above, 13½ foot broad. The laſt and higheſt tower was to have been an exact cube twenty ſeven foot ſquare, and as many high.

This ſtructure is built with bricks of earth hardened with fire, each nine *Babyloniſh* inches ſquare, and three thick, laid in bitumen mixed with ſtraw, or reeds, to the thickneſs ſometimes of three quarters of an inch, and ſometimes of three inches, in the following order: firſt there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick, then a row of ſo many bricks as make up the ſquare likewiſe three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with ſtraw, three quarters of an inch thick, then a row of bricks as before; and ſo alternately a bed of bitumen and ſtraw, and a range of bricks ſeven times more, ſo as to make up in all from the baſe the height of three foot: then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick being laid, the whole is repeated in the ſame order eight times more, ſo as to compleat twenty ſeven foot, which is the height of the firſt tower. The next five towers are raiſed in the ſame manner; the ſtructure ſo far, being one hundred and ſixty two foot high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by *Nimrod*; but it was afterwards continued by *Ninus Belus* upon a ſecond and different deſign, which was that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, divided likewiſe into nine towers gradually diminiſhing in the above mentioned proportions, of which the laſt and higheſt would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty ſeven foot in diameter, and as many in height. In purſuance of this ſecond deſign, two round towers were built on the ſixth ſquare tower; the ſecond of which round towers (the diameter of whoſe baſe is fifty four foot) or eighth of the whole, has a temple practiſed, or contrived in its ſolidity along with the execution; which temple is likewiſe round twenty ſeven foot diameter, and the ſame in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [weſt] ſide towards *Babylon* nine foot ſquare, and thirteen and a half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top nine foot diameter; the floor both of the temple and entry being plain, the ſides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermoſt third part of the height. This was built by *Ninus Belus*, who died before it was finiſhed, when the ſtructure was raiſed to the height of two hundred and ſixteen foot, or juſt eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the laſt and ſmalleſt of all, the compleating of it was never afterwards thought on more by any of his ſucceſſors. So that it ended with a round flat of fifty four foot diameter, with the aforeſaid window of the temple in the middle, and ſtill continues ſo. And this tower as well as the temple, has ſerved as a model ever ſince for all nations to imitate, eſpecially the temple, which has conſtantly been followed by thoſe of all Religions, who have always built their temples round with an overture at the top, except the *Goths*, who introduced the figure of *Noah*'s ark in their churches. Though as to the overture, or window, it is a difficult queſtion among the architects, whether it was deſigned, or happened by the tower being left unfiniſhed, and wanting the laſt ninth part which according to the original deſign was to terminate it; and if ſo, would have ſtopped or covered that overture. It is commonly ſaid to have been deſigned ſo, and *Moſes* ſeems to have been of that mind, when giving an account of what followed upon the confuſion of *Babel*, he ſays, the further building of the city was given over, but is ſilent as to that of the tower, becauſe perhaps he reckoned it had been compleated. Yet it is certain, from the knowledge of the deſign, that it never was compleated, and that the overture happened by chance, as before obſerved: beſides, there are ſome temples of the ſame times to be ſeen in, and about, the ruins of *Babylon*, particularly that of *Ninus Aſſur*, done by his wife *Semiramis*, where there is no ſuch thing; which makes it more probable that it was not deſigned: though the greateſt part of the *Babylonian* temples of thoſe times we ſee, have it, which renders the matter again ſomething doubtful.

Before *Ninus Belus* began the before-mentioned temple, he made a ſepulchre for his father *Nimrod* at the bottom of the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is incloſed by the tower. This burying place is a double grot, conſiſting of two ante-grots one within another, and ſix ſepulchres, or ſmall grots, in each, two on each inner ſide (67); the ſepulchres being eight foot long, ſix foot broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the ſame level, four foot long, three broad, and three foot high. Within the ſepulchres, on the right hand, is a levée, or ſeat, the whole length of the ſepulchre, three foot broad, and 1½ high, left uncut of the rock for laying the dead body on (68). This ſepulchre was made by hollowing a paſſage into the tower after it was built, as appears by the face of the opening, which is irregular, and the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one,

(66) MAC GREGORY *in his Sepulchres of the antients, p.* 35, *&c.*

(67) *Ibid, p.* 18.

(68) *Ibid. p.* 14, 15.

A MAP of the most probable Place of the GARDEN of EDEN, PLAIN of SHINAAR, and Mountain where the ARK rested, according to this History.

Ejmiadzin or 3 Churches
Erivan
M. MASIS where the ARK rested
R. Araxes or Aras
Nackshivan
R. Kor
PART of the CASPIAN SEA
R. Tigris or Hiddekel
Seujar
SHINAAR
EDEN
Here or somewhere near
R. Shat al Arab
R. Euphrates or Frat
PART of ARABIA
KHUZESTAN or Country of CUSH
R. Pison
R. Gihon
HAVILAH
PART of the PERSIAN GULF
PART of PERSIA

40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30

S. H. Sculpt

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

a have inſerted in the notes abſtracts of the ſeveral accounts; but muſt acquaint the reader, that they do not any of them ſeem to us to be the remains of the original tower, but rather ſome later ſtructures of the *Arabs*.

SECT. V.

Of the confuſion of tongues.

Of the original of Speech.

b BEING in this ſection to give ſome account of the confuſion of tongues, it may be expected, we ſhould firſt ſay ſomething about the origin of ſpeech; one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing differences between us and the animal creation; the great bond which holds ſociety together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowledge are conveyed from one man, and one generation, to another.

IF the authority of *Moſes* be concluſive, it ſeems not to be denied, but that ſpeech was the immediate gift of GOD to the firſt man: not that we ſuppoſe GOD really inſpired him with any diſtinct, or primitive language; but that he made him ſenſible of the power with which he was endued, of forming articulate ſounds (O), and the uſe he might make of them as ſigns of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary impoſition of them to *Adam* himſelf (P), as is intimated by GOD's bringing the beaſts and birds to him *to ſee what he would call them: and whatever* Adam *called every living* c *creature, that was the name thereof* [r]. So that, excepting the firſt impulſe of the Almighty, informing *Adam* of his natural power, we are inclined to think, that ſpeech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary ſounds, to denote firſt the moſt obvious things, and after the leſs obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is poſſible *Adam* might attain the uſe of ſpeech by this method, we preſume none will deny; and if it be poſſible, we are ſure, it muſt be the moſt reaſonable and probable to all, but thoſe who are for multiplying of miracles needleſly.

WE cannot therefore approve of the opinion of thoſe who imagine, that GOD himſelf formed the body of a language, and then infuſed it into *Adam* (Q). Beſides, the much

[r] Geneſ. ii. 19.

one, to ſerve as an avenue, or paſſage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the ſame ſide towards *Babylon* (69).

This antiquity is defaced ſomewhat on all the four ſides, eſpecially on the north and weſt, where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a channel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen, which, with the reeds and ſtraw incorporated with them, continue firm and entire; neither time, weather, nor any other accident having been able to make an impreſſion on them. The people of the country have dug caves in it to retire to, and thoſe who conduct paſſengers from *Baghdad* to ſee it, break off pieces in one place to add to another, in order to make ſteps and hand-grips to render the going up and down it ſafe. So that the face of the antiquity is now very much changed from what it was, the lowermoſt ninth part [or tower] being entirely hid under ground by the earth and ruins: in ſhort, it is ſo diſfigured, that one muſt be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confuſed accounts of it (70). As to the ſituation of this ruin, which ſeems to be the ſame with that already deſcribed by *della Valle*, whom he mentions (71), he is very much out in it, ſince he places it twenty ſeven miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Beghdâd*, and but twenty nine to the north-weſt from the caſtle of *Corn*, at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* (72), whereas *Corna* is at leaſt one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from that city.

(O) We cannot conceive, that inarticulate ſounds were ever made uſe of by any nation to communicate their thoughts; nor that there are any inſtances thereof to be found, notwithſtanding what ſome travellers have related concerning ſeveral remote people. We are told, the *Samoyedes*, inhabiting the coaſts of *Siberia* and the icy ſea, have nothing human about them, except their outward form; and that the uncertain ſound they utter has no more the reſemblance of ſpeech than the chattering of apes (73): that the natives of *Greenland* uſe a ſound like beaſts, ſo uncouth, that no *Dane*, or *Dutchman* could ever yet imitate it (74); and that the ſpeech of the *Hottentots* comes nearer the gobbling of turkies than a human voice, though perhaps it may be intelligible among themſelves (75). But it may be queſtioned, whether theſe authors were proper judges in the caſe, as not being acquainted with the languages of thoſe nations: and the rather, becauſe upon enquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of theſe laſt, though commonly thought to be the moſt inarticulate of all others, is not a deſpicable one; and that thoſe of the *Dutch* ſettlement at the *Cape* of *Good Hope* underſtand, and ſpeak it tolerably well.

(P) *Mohammed* in his *Korân* ſuppoſes *Adam* came by the names of things no otherwiſe than by revelation. That book pretends, that the angels at the creation of man expreſſing ſome contempt of him, GOD taught *Adam* the names of things, and then demanded of the angels how thoſe things were called; which they confeſſing to be above their knowledge, GOD ordered *Adam* to name them to them, which he did; and the angels afterwards, at GOD's command, paid their homage to *Adam* as their ſuperior (76).

(Q) The words which are generally tranſlated, *man became a living ſoul* (77), the *Chaldee* paraphraſts

(69) *Ibid.* p. 28. (70) *Ibid.* p. 42, 43, 44. (71) *Ibid.* p. 35. (72) *Ibid.* p. 28. (73) IDES, p. 91. (74) TEN RHYNE, p. 844. (75) NIEUHOFF, p. 188. (76) *Al Korân*, c. 2. ver. 30, &c. (77) *Geneſ.* ii. 7.

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much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was; and the names of many things and operations must have been imposed several ages after *Adam*'s creation, as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beasts indeed it is natural to suppose *Adam* might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think, he went so far as to name every species of them, much less all the reptiles, trees, or plants, though some of the most familiar to him no doubt he did. The fish we presume no body will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had by miracle appeared before *Adam*, no doubt *Moses* would have mentioned it, the fish of the sea being the first part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by GOD to man [s]. a

IT has however been thought by great numbers, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment *Plato* himself seems to have been, who supposed, that the names of things originally had some natural connection or congruity with the things themselves, and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods (R) [t]. And partly from this notion, in all probability, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by GOD. b

As we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine, that *Adam* could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by *Moses*, without divine assistance. We might suppose indeed, that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds; but to frame a number of them sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason those who were unacquainted with the *Mosaical* writings, have imagined, that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech (S). Several of the antients were of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only, or else by confused sounds of no signification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language, by imposing distinct names on things, which was not brought to any tolerable perfection but by a long course of time [u]. c d

The first language consisted of few words.

IF we consider the primitive state of *Adam*, and the few things he had occasion to name, it cannot be conceived, that his language at first was very extensive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts to serve the convenience of life, by accurate distinctions of the several species

[s] Genes. i. 26, 28. [t] PLATO in Cratylo. Vid. eund. in Protagora. [u] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 8. Vid. LACTANT. de vero cultu, l. 10.

phrasis render *it*, viz. *the breath breathed into him by* GOD, *became in man a speaking soul*. Most of the *Jews* suppose the first tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by GOD himself, and so communicated to *Adam* (78). Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue only (79); others in a more special and particular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points, and accents (80).

This notion, which some christians embraced, and particularly *Eunomius*; who, because GOD is introduced by *Moses* as speaking before the creation, held, that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was strenuously opposed by *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, who declared it a silly, ridiculous, and blasphemous opinion to imagine, the great GOD would condescend to turn grammarian, and set himself down subtilly to invent names for things (81).

(R) The words of this philosopher are; Ὀνόματα δίδοται εἶναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων φύσει πεφυκότα (82). And after; ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δίδω; ἔχει (83).

(S) This notion *Horace* has expressed in the following lines:

Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum ac turpe pecus,——
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere (84).

When animals crawl'd forth from parent earth,
A vile dumb herd they were——
'Till words were found, to utter what they thought,
And names were set on things.——

And *Lucretius* to the same purpose:

At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, & utilitas expressit nomina rerum (85).

Kind nature pow'r of framing sounds affords
To man; and then convenience taught us words. *Creech.*

The latter also ridicules those who suppose speech the invention of one man (86).

(78) SEPHER COZRI. (79) R. IS. ABRAVANEL. (80) R. JUDA HALLEVI. MUSCAT. EPHODIUS, &c. (81) GREG. NYSSEN. *contra Eunom. l.* 21. (82) *In Cratyl. p.* 383. *Ed. Serrani.* (83) *Ibid. p.* 425. (84) HORAT. *Serm. l.* 1. *Sat.* 3. ver. 99, &c. (85) LUCRET. *de rerum nat. l.* 5. ver. 1027, &c. (86) *Ibid.* ver. 1043, &c.

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a ſpecies of creatures, and metaphyſical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we ſhould find the remainder contained in a very ſmall compaſs; ſo that it muſt neceſſarily be ſeveral ages before a language could be compleated to any degree, in compariſon to our modern tongues. *Scaliger*, agreeably to this notion, divides ſpeech into three ſorts or degrees, as formed either for neceſſity, uſe, or delight: the firſt is that imperfect ſpeech, or rather eſſay towards ſpeech, above-mentioned, ſerving as the means of neceſſary intercourſe between man and man. The ſecond was ſomewhat more refined and poliſhed, by being adapted and made fit for uſe and convenience, and by applying certain dimenſions, bounds, and lineaments to the firſt rude ſketch; whence aroſe a certain rule of ſpeaking. The third ſort was yet more polite,
b there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dreſs [w].

Whether more tongues than one before the flood.

WHETHER there was more than one language before the flood is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there was but one, in which it is poſſible there might be ſome difference in dialect, but none conſiderable; for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preſerved by *Noah*, or at leaſt was ſpoken by his deſcendants till the confuſion of tongues at *Babel* (T).

Enquiry concerning the primitive tongue.

IT may expected that we ſhould here enter into a formal enquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that
c the firſt progenitors of mankind ſpoke. But as this is an enquiry rather of curioſity than uſe, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being [x]; the moſt we can do will be to ſhew the vanity of the pretenſions of thoſe languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done; each nation being fond of it, as an undeniable evidence of their own antiquity (U); though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

Several languages claim this honour.

BESIDES thoſe kindred languages we commonly call the oriental tongues; the *Armenian*, the *Celtic*, the *Coptic*, the *Greek*, the *Teutonic*, and the *Chineſe* have aſpired to the preference in this reſpect. The *Armenian*, *Celtic*, and *Coptic* have little evidence to produce beſides the antiquity of their nations; though the former inſiſt, that as the ark reſt-
d ed in their country, and *Noah* and his children muſt have continued there for ſome time, before the lower and marſhy country of *Chaldea* could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe they left their language there. The *Greek* ſome writers have fancied to be the moſt antient, becauſe of its great extent and copiouſneſs [y]. The *Teutonic*, or that dialect of it which is ſpoken in lower *Germany* and *Brabant*, has found a ſtrenuous patron [z], who has endeavoured to derive even the *Hebrew* itſelf from that tongue. And the pretenſions of the *Chineſe* have been ſupported [a] not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and ſciences, and their having preſerved themſelves ſo many ages from any conſiderable mixture or intercourſe with other nations; but alſo from the nature and ſingularity of the tongue itſelf, which conſiſts of few words, all monoſyllables, is moſt ſimple in its conſtruction, having no variety

[w] SCALIGER in POETIC. l. 1. c. 1. [x] Vid. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & CLUVER. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. p. 59, 60. [y] EUTYCH. Annal. p. 50. [z] GOROPIUS BECANUS, in Origin. Antverp. [a] Vid. WEBB's Eſſay towards the primitive language.

(T) Suppoſing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that *Noah* and his three ſons could ſpeak them all, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the ſame among their deſcendants; ſo that, the reſt expiring with thoſe firſt patriarchs, there remained but one language amongſt mankind at the building of *Babel*.

(U) *Pſammetichus*, a king of *Egypt*, appears to have been of this opinion; for wanting to know who were the moſt antient people in the world, after ſeveral fruitleſs experiments, he at laſt hit on the following expedients. He took two infants newly born, and gave them to a ſhepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak a word in their hearing, but to nurſe them in a ſolitary cottage, by bringing them goats to ſuck, till they could take other food. *Pſammetichus*'s intention herein, was to find out what word the children would firſt utter when they began to articulate; imagining, as others have ſince done, that they would naturally ſpeak the primitive language, if not taught otherwiſe. At two years end, as the ſhepherd one day entred the cottage, he had no ſooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and, holding out their hands, cried *Beccos*. Of this the ſhepherd at firſt took no notice, but afterwards obſerving they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and by his order brought the children into his preſence. *Pſammetichus* having himſelf heard them pronounce the ſame word, inquired whether any nation made uſe of it; and finding the *Phrygians* called *bread* by that name, he and his ſubjects allowed this to be a proof that the *Phrygians* were the more antient people. *Herodotus* remarks, that the *Greeks*, among other ridiculous things, reported, that theſe children were brought up by women, whoſe tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpoſe (87). The *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes* (88) tells the ſame ſtory of another king of *Egypt*, named *Seſoncheſis*.

(87) HERODOT. *Euterp. in initio. Vid.* SUIDAM, *in voce* Ψαμμήτιχος. (88) *In Nubes*, p. 149, 150.

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variety of declensions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and so modest, that it is said, they have no character to express those parts which we industriously conceal [b]: all which are conceived to be strong marks of its being the first language of mankind: besides the presumption, formerly mentioned, of *Noah*'s being the founder of the *Chinese* nation [c]. a

As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partisans, yet the generality of *Eastern* authors allow the preference to the *Syriac*, or that dialect of it which was spoken in *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Assyria*, in which countries mankind made their first settlements after the flood, and where it is presumed the language of *Noah* and his sons remained. For which reason the more judicious *Arab* writers acknowledge *Yarab*, the son of *Kahtân* (or *Jerah*, the son of *Joktan*) to be the first whose speech deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*; and little regard the pretences of some of their countrymen, that their language was spoken by *Adam* before the fall, and then changed into the *Syriac*, but restored again upon his repentance; that notwithstanding in time it degenerated again into the same language, and would have been utterly lost, had it not been preserved by the elder *Jorham*, who escaped with *Noah* in the ark, and propagated it among his posterity [d]. b

THE patrons of the *Syriac* tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of persons and places mentioned by *Moses* from that language [e], and generally with better success than some writers will allow (X): but this argument, though commonly looked upon as conclusive, yet proves nothing of itself, as will be hereafter observed. However, thus much we must in justice acknowledge, that if any of these tongues in particular may claim to be the original, or mother of the rest, it seems to be the *Syriac*; which was probably spoken by all the patriarchs from *Noah* to *Abraham*, that being, after the confusion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived; though, it must be confessed, it will not thence follow, that it was in use there before the confusion c

The pretensions of the Hebrew *tongue considered.*

BUT the *Jews* are they who assert the antiquity of their tongue with the greatest warmth. They pretend, that it was immediately framed by GOD; that he spake it himself, for which reason it is called the *holy tongue*; that it is the only language understood by the angels, and wherein we can pray and be heard with effect [f]. And several christian writers [g], abating these superstitious fancies of the *Jews*, have acknowledged and maintained, that the *Hebrew* tongue is the most antient in the world; the very same which was spoken by *Adam* and *Noah*, and preserved in the family of *Eber*, who were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, nor consequently shared in the punishment inflicted on those that were. But as we have already shewn this to be a groundless imagination, we shall proceed to consider their principal argument, and indeed the only one which deserves any consideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in *Moses*; some of which that inspired writer himself derives from the *Hebrew*, and the rest are generally supposed to have been taken thence likewise. d

AND here it cannot be denied, that several proper names of persons and places, before the confusion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the *Hebrew*; and that there are some very pertinent reasons given, and allusions made by the sacred historian to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the person, or place designed by them: and this is the most that can be allowed; for though all the names in general, mentioned by *Moses* before the division, may possibly be forced from some e

Hebrew

[b] SEMEDO Rel. de la Cina, parte 1. c. 11. [c] See before pag. 115, &c. [d] Vid. POCOCK. Orat. præf. in Carmen Tograi, & Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 38, 40. [e] Vid. THEODORET. quæst. 51. in Genes. [f] Vid. BUXTORF. de ling. Hebr. orig. [g] CHRYSOST. Homil. XXX. in Genes. xi. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. 17. c. 11. ORIGEN. in Numer. Hom. xi. HIERON. Comment. in Sophon. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de Synedriis vet. Hebræor. l. II. c. 9. BOCHART. Phaleg, l. 1. c. 15. HEIDEGG. Hist. Patr. tom. I. Exerc. 16. & alios pæne innumeros.

(X) It is said in particular, that the *paronomasia*, in this passage, *she shall be called woman* [אִשָּׁה *Ishshah*], *because she was taken* [מֵאִישׁ *me-ish*] *out of man* (89), is not preserved in the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* translations, which instead of *Ish* and *Ishshah*, use the words בַּעַל *Baal* and אִתְּתָא *Itta*, or ܓܒܪܐ *Gabro* and ܐܢܬܬܐ *Atto*: whence some have concluded, that the translators were not able to express the allusion in the *Syriac* tongue (90); but this is a mistake, for the *Syrians* from the masculine ܓܒܪ regularly form the feminine ܓܒܪܬܐ *Gbarto*; which word is to be found in their lexicons and grammars, though it be antiquated, and therefore not made use of by the translators. It is likewise objected (91) with as little foundation, that *Adam* does not signify *man*, nor *Cain possession*, in that tongue. We may observe hereafter, that some names in *Moses* are more happily derived from the *Syriac* than the *Hebrew*.

(89) *Genes.* ii. 23. (90) *Vid.* HEIDEGG. *Hist. Patr. tom.* I. *Exercit.* 16. § 13. NICHOLSON *Dissert. philologic. de univ. totius orbis linguis*, p. 4. (91) HEIDEGG *ubi sup.*

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a *Hebrew* root or other, yet much the greater part of them ſeem to be inſignificant, at leaſt to have no congruity with the ſubject; nor can it be expected they ſhould, unleſs we either imagine all ſuch names as ſeem to relate to a future part of a perſon's life were given by the ſpirit of prophecy; or elſe allow them to be impoſed after the events which occaſioned them happened, and ſo to be rather ſur-names than proper names; a conceſſion which manifeſtly weakens the argument drawn from them.

THUS much being premiſed, it will be eaſy to ſhew, that this demonſtrative argument, as it is called [l], will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain that the names uſed by *Moſes* were the very original names themſelves, and not tranſlated by him from the primitive tongue into *Hebrew*, or at leaſt ſomewhat altered, to accommodate
b what he wrote to the underſtandings of the *Jews*. And how inconſiſtent ſoever ſome may think this method with hiſtorical veracity, it has been frequently practiſed by prophane as well as ſacred hiſtorians, as has been undeniably proved [m]: and *Moſes* himſelf has given a plain inſtance of his approbation of ſuch changes, in altering his own name, which was of *Egyptian* original, to adapt it to a *Hebrew* etymology (H). 2. Suppoſing the names given by *Moſes* were the true original ones, it would not be ſtrange at all, if ſome of them might by accident aptly admit of a *Hebrew* derivation; ſuch caſual conformities ſometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of thoſe names are more pertinently derived from ſome other of the oriental tongues than from the *Hebrew* (I): and
c not a few of the etymologies which *Moſes* himſelf gives us, are deduced without any regard at leaſt to the preſent rules of analogy (K). 4. A few lucky *paronomaſiæ*, or alluſions, are no proof in this caſe, becauſe they may happen by accident; and in fact, ſome of thoſe mentioned by *Moſes* may be expreſſed in other tongues as well as the *Hebrew* (L).

THIS argument has been farther enforced from the ſignificancy of the names of ſeveral animals in the *Hebrew* tongue, which are thought to have been impoſed by *Adam*, becauſe of ſome peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correſpondent to their reſpective roots [n]: but ſince the ſame may be as juſtly aſſerted of moſt other languages as the *Hebrew*, it will conclude nothing. Beſides, we are much deceived

[l] ABRAVANEL. [m] Vid. PLATON. in Critia. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & de veritate rel. Chriſt. lib. 1. HUET. in Demonſtr. Evang. prop. iv. c. 13. § 4. CLERIC. diſſert. de Lingua Heb. [n] Vid. BOCHART. Hierozoic. & HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. Exerc. 16. § 16.

(H) The original name is *Moïſe*, or (as it is in the *Coptic* verſion) *Moïſes*, with the *Greek* termination, and compoſed of two *Coptic*, or old *Egyptian* words, *moü*, *water*, and *ſe*, to *preſerve*. But *Moſes* finding the *Hebrew* verb משה *maſha*, *to draw out*, bore ſome reſemblance in ſound to his name, and in ſignification to the occaſion of it, writes it מעיה *Moſheh*; and introduces *Pharaoh*'s daughter giving this reaſon for her impoſing it, becauſe משיתיהו *maſhitihu*, *I drew him* out of the waters (1).

(I) Thus *Abel*, or *Hebel*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *vanity*, or *a vapour*, ſeems a name not very appoſite to *Adam*'s ſecond ſon, and therefore *Moſes* has given no reaſon for its impoſition. But if it be derived from the *Syriac* יהב איל *Yhab îl*, which anſwers to the *Latin* name *Deus dedit*, it is very proper; and accordingly in the margin of a manuſcript copy of *Abu'lfaragius*, we find the name of *Abel* interpreted in *Arabic* by that of هبة الله *Hebatallah*, *the gift of* GOD.

The name of *Babel* itſelf, which the *Hebrew* text tells us was ſo called becauſe GOD did there בלל *balal*, i. e. *confound* the language of all the earth (2), may likewiſe more naturally be derived from the *Syriac*, in which tongue *balbel* is *to confound*, and *bablo*, or *babel*, *confuſion*.

(K) We ſhall inſtance in the names of *Noah* and *Abraham*. The former was ſo called, becauſe, ſaid his father, ינחמנו *yenahamenu*, *he ſhall comfort us*, &c. (3). But if his name were derived from the root נחם *nibam*, *to comfort*, it ſhould have been *Nobem*, or *Menahem*, not *Noah*, which can regularly come from no other verb than נוח *nuah*, *to reſt*; and the *Septuagint* have therefore, inſtead of *he ſhall comfort us*, rendred it διαναπαυσει *he ſhall cauſe to reſt*, &c. which has induced ſome learned men (4) to think the antient and true reading was יניחנו *yaniheenu*. And *Philo Judæus* and St. *Jerome* tranſlate the name *Noah*, *reſt*.

The name of *Abraham* was changed from *Abram*, which ſignifies *high father*, by inſerting only the letter *H*, becauſe he was to be made אב המון *Ab hamon*, *the father of a multitude* of nations (5): according to which etymon he ſhould rather have been called *Abhamon*, or *abham* (though we know ſome fancy the letter ה was inſerted from the word רב *rab*, *many*). But the names of theſe two perſons, eſpecially the latter, being too famous and well known in the eaſt to admit any conſiderable change, *Moſes* was therefore obliged to retain them, and give the beſt etymology he could from the *Hebrew* tongue. We might offer a more plauſible one of the name *Abraham* from the *Arabic*, wherein ابو رحام *Abu rohâm* ſignifies *the father of a multitude*, did we not conſider, that it is one of thoſe caſual reſemblances we have already mentioned, and moſt certainly falſe.

(L) As *Adam*, which name is an appellative, common to all the ſpecies, was ſo called from *adamah* the earth, ſo the *Latins* called man *homo*, which the beſt etymologiſts derive from *humus the ground* (6). Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamed from hence that the *Latin* was the primitive tongue.

(1) Exod. ii. 10. (2) Geneſ. xi. 9. (3) Geneſ. v. 29. (4) GROTIUS *ad loc.* & LUD. CAPPEL. *Critic. Sacr.* l. 4. c. 8. (5) Geneſ. xvii. 5. (6) *Vid.* VOSSII *Etymol. Ling. Lat.*

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deceived if we imagine (as has been yet generally ſuppoſed), that the verbs were really the original roots of the *Hebrew* tongue; on the contrary the greateſt part of them, at leaſt, were themſelves at firſt derived from nouns, though they be now for grammatical convenience conſidered as the roots (M). On the whole it muſt be acknowledged, that no concluſive argument for the antiquity of any language can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occaſions, to be urged with great caution, being for the moſt part uncertain and precarious. a

Whether all other tongues may be derived from the Hebrew.

SOME learned men however have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the *Hebrew*, which they imagine to be the parent of all others [o]. That they ſhould ſucceed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues is no wonder, ſince they are manifeſtly ſprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impoſſible, to diſtinguiſh the mother from the daughters. That they have alſo given tolerable ſatisfaction in deducing from the ſame tongue ſeveral words not only in the *Greek* and *Latin*, but in ſome other *European* languages, is not matter of much ſurprize, conſidering the great intercourſe ſeveral nations of our continent had with the *Phœnicians*, whoſe mother tongue was the *Hebrew*. But when theſe writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the ſame fountain, they only ſhew their ignorance, and make themſelves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate ſkill in thoſe tongues; for a proof of which we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind [p]. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the *Hebrew* tongue by ſome of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the juſtneſs of its pretenſions, we may ſay ſomething hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language. b c

IF the *Hebrew* tongue therefore cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been ſaid in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was intirely loſt at *Babel*, at leaſt that no one can now tell where it was preſerved, which is much the ſame thing.

The confuſion of tongues.

THE ſpeaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other reſpects) yet being the great obſtacle to that diviſion of them into diſtinct nations, which GOD had for moſt wiſe purpoſes reſolved on [q], he thought fit to break this bond which held them ſo ſtrictly together, and confound their language, that they ſhould not underſtand one another's ſpeech; the natural conſequence of which was, that they were ſcattered abroad upon the face of all the earth [r]. This event is mentioned by prophane hiſtorians, who write, that mankind uſed one and the ſame language, till the overthrow of the tower of *Babylon*; at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars enſued, and thoſe whoſe ſpeech happened to be intelligible to teach other, joined company, and ſeized ſuch countries as they chanced to light upon [s]. d

How effected.

AS to the degree of this *Babyloniſh* confuſion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diverſity of ſentiments. Several learned men, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion that all the different idioms now in the world did at firſt ariſe from one original language, to which they may be reduced [t], and that the variety which we find among them is no more than muſt naturally have happened in ſo long a courſe of time, ſuppoſing a bare ſeparation of the builders of *Babel* [u], have been induced to believe, that there were no new languages formed at the confuſion, but that the moſt that was done was only to ſet thoſe builders at variance, by creating a miſunderſtanding among them (N). This ſome think to have been effected e

without

[o] Vid. HEIDEGG. ibid. § 18. [p] THOMASINI Gloſſar. Univerſal. Hebr. [q] Geneſ. xi. 6. [r] Ibid. ver. 7, 8. [s] ABYDENUS apud Euſeb. de præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 14. SIBYLLA & HESTIÆUS, apud eund. ib. c. 15. & apud Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. [t] STIERNHIELMIUS præfat. in Evang. Ulfilæ. p. 4. [u] Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi ſup. Exerc. 21. § 21.

(M) Many examples might be given of the verbs being manifeſtly derived from, and poſterior to, the noun, in all the oriental tongues: ſo in *Engliſh*, *dog*, *duck*, &c. were certainly firſt impoſed as names, and afterwards uſed as verbs, to expreſs actions proper to thoſe creatures.

(N) To ſupport this opinion it is ſaid, that the *Hebrew* word שפה *ſhaphah*, *lip*, which we render *language* and *ſpeech* (*), rather ſignifies *agreement*, or *unanimity*, and is equivalent to פה אחד *Phe echad*, i. e. *one mouth* (§), which is juſtly tranſlated *with one accord*. But this latter is an adverbial expreſſion, which the other is not: nor does it follow, that *one lip* muſt import the ſame thing as *one mouth*; the only paſſage that has been produced as an inſtance of its being uſed in that ſenſe (9), being far from proving any ſuch thing (10). Another text has been alledged which ſeems to favour this interpretation much more; it is where *David*, praying againſt his enemies, begs of GOD to *divide their tongues* (11), that is, *to ſet them at variance*. But this cannot be *Moſes*'s meaning here, becauſe he immediately explains what he means by *one lip*, by adding, *and of one ſpeech*, or more literally, *of the ſame words* (12).

(*) Geneſ. xi. 1, 6, 7. (§) Joſh. ix. 2. 1 Kings xxii. 13. (9) Iſai. xix. 18. (10) *See* Dr. WORTON's *Diſc. on the confuſion of languages*, § 9. (11) Pſal. lv. 10. (12) Geneſ. xi. 1.

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a without any immediate influence on their language [u], which ſeems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the ſacred hiſtorian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confuſion of their ſpeech, or rather of their apprehenſions, cauſing them, while they continued together, though they ſpake the ſame language, yet to underſtand the words differently [w]. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps ſome new words, which diſturbed and perverted the former manner of expreſſion: and this might occaſion different dialects, yet could not create new languages [x]. But none of theſe explications ſeem fully to anſwer the apparent deſign of *Moſes*, which was not only to inform us how mankind were at firſt diſperſed and broken into ſo many different nations, but to account for the di-
b verſity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible to do, without having recourſe to ſome extraordinary interpoſition of the divine power. For though time, intercourſe with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences, and the difference of climates (O) cauſe very conſiderable alterations in languages, yet the utmoſt effect we can imagine them to have will not come up to the queſtion [y]. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be ſo much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteriſtics ſhould diſappear. It is not eaſy to apprehend how all the words of a language ſhould be entirely changed for others; nor is there any one inſtance to be given of any ſuch total change: but it is next to impoſſible to conceive, that ſo great a diverſity as we find in the frame and conſtitution of
c languages, wherein the grand and eſſential differences between them conſiſt, rather than in the words which compoſe them, (as may be obſerved in the accounts we ſhall hereafter give of the ſeveral languages of which we have any knowledge) could ever have been occaſioned by the cauſes aſſigned above. The preſent diverſity of tongues in the world is prodigious [z]; and conſidering the time that has elapſed ſince the building of *Babel*, and the alterations made in ſome known languages in the courſe of one, two, and three thouſand years, (which alterations we conſtantly find greater or leſs in proportion to the intercourſe the nation has had with foreigners) and conſidering that there are many tongues, which when compared with others have not the leaſt affinity, ſo that a man muſt be the greateſt viſionary in the world to imagine them the offspring of the
d ſame parent, it ſeems to us that the variety of idioms now ſpoken can be no way poſſibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite ſyſtem, or allowing a formation of new languages at *Babel* [a]. A very learned man, who warmly eſpouſes the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet ſo ſenſible that exceptions muſt be made, that he himſelf excludes the languages of *America* and of the *Indian* iſlands out of the number; adding, that ſome have thence raſhly imagined, that the men who ſpeak thoſe tongues are of a diſtinct ſpecies, and not the deſcendants of *Adam* [b]: which conceſſion is enough to overthrow the hypotheſis he would maintain.

Another argument againſt the formation of new languages at *Babel*, which has been thought to be of ſome weight, is, that if ſuch a diviſion of tongues be under-
e ſtood, no good reaſon can be given why thoſe colonies, which ſpoke languages that were near a-kin, were not removed to the greateſt diſtances, and thoſe whoſe lan-

guages

[u] Cleric. Comment. in loc. Vid. Pere Simon, Hiſt. Crit. du vieux Teſt. l. 1. c. 14. [w] Judæi apud J. C. Scaliger. Exercit. in Cardan. 259. § 1. [x] Is. Casaub. Diatribe de ling. Heb. Vid. M. Casaub. de quatuor ling. p. 17, & ſub initio. [y] See Dr. Wotton's Diſc. concerning the conf. of languages, p. 57. Dr. Brett's Eſſay on the conf. of lang. p. 62, &c. [z] Vid. Calvin. in Geneſ. xi. 1, 2. [a] Vid. Dr. Wotton, ubi ſup. p. 36. Dr. Brett, ubi ſup. & Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 8. [b] Stiernhielm. ubi ſup.

(O) It has been thought by ſeveral, that the air or climate of ſome countries diſpoſes the inhabitants to a peculiar pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain ſounds or letters: whence, as they imagine, it comes to paſs, that ſome languages are ſo full of gutturals, or of conſonants, while others have ſcarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter; that the *Ephraimites* could not pronounce the letter *Sin* (13); and that the *Chineſe* find ſo much difficulty in the letter *R*, and the *Arabs* in *P*, *&c.* But we are far from being ſatisfied, that this difference is cauſed by any quality of the climate; on the contrary, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that ſuch varieties in tongues and dialects, are perfectly caſual, no one language comprehending all the ſeveral ſounds, ſome making greater uſe of one ſound, and ſome of another; and that a man accuſtomed from his infancy, for that reaſon and no other, to a peculiar pronunciation, muſt needs find it hard to imitate even the eaſieſt and ſeemingly moſt natural ſound that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the *Hurons* in *America*, who have no labials at all in their language, and therefore when they ſpeak have no occaſion ever to ſhut their lips (14), would not ſoon be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ: yet experience ſhews us how readily and perfectly a child, whoſe organs are free and not ſtiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form ſtrange ſounds, which a grown perſon is not perhaps able to do with the utmoſt pains and application.

(13) Judges xii. 6. (14) Reland. *Diſſert. de ling. Americanis, p.* 219.

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guages were entirely different, placed next one another [c]? To this it may easily be answered, that there is no necessity of supposing every family had a distinct language, or that the several dialects of the mother tongues were formed at the confusion. The dispersion might at first be effected without such an absolute separation of families derived from the same stock: mankind was not then so numerous, but that it would be sufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches and their prime families by the introduction of new tongues, which alone we contend was the work of GOD; for dialects we allow might, and necessarily would, be formed by time. a

UPON the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, with a very learned person, whose sentiments on this head we entirely approve, that upon the confusion of *Babel* there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the several dialects that are, or have been, or will be, spoken as long as this earth shall last (P), have arisen, and to which they may with ease be reduced [d]. b

IN what manner these new languages were formed is a question hard to be determined; it seems by the *Mosaical* account, which is so solemn, and represents GOD as coming down in person to view the work of these builders [e], that it was the immediate act of GOD; and some have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and instantaneously infusing others into their minds, according to their several nations [f]. The *Jews* imagine this was done by the ministry of angels, seventy of whom descended with GOD, and were each of them set over a nation to which they taught a peculiar language; but *Israel* fell to the lot of his own inheritance, *the* LORD's *portion being his people* [g], and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue [h]. Others have supposed, that GOD did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new ones as they could [i]; but this must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to enquire so curiously into this matter, as some have done [k], the best we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account [l]. c

The number of languages formed at Babel; *and the consequence of the confusion.*

IT would be of as little use to collect the several opinions in relation to the number of languages formed at *Babel*: we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from *Moses*, that the *Canaanitish*, or *Hebrew*, the *Syriac*, and *Egyptian* languages were form d so soon as the time of *Jacob* [m]. It is most probable, that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other, and that the sub-languages, or dialects within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled near, or farther from, each other. And this was sufficient to bring about the designs of GOD to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and commonwealths, and thereby to occasion the making of wholsome laws, the keeping of strict discipline, the encouragement of labour and industry, of liberal arts, and all social virtues, and the suppression of such vices as weaken government, and introduce a corruption of morals. All which opened a new scene of providence, with a surprizing variety of wisdom, in the government of the world [n]. d e

SECT. VI.

Of the dispersion of mankind, and the planting of nations in the two first general migrations.

Of the dispersion.

COMING now to speak of the dispersion of mankind, which was the consequence of that confusion of tongues we considered in the last section, we beg leave to premise something as to the time, order, and other circumstances of that event. f

THE primitive fathers distinguish between the division of the earth and the dispersion of mankind, and made them two different transactions. They suppose, that *Noah*, to

[c] RELAND apud WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 61. See also STILLINGFL. Orig Sacr. l. 3. c. 5. § 3. [d] WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 29. [e] Genes. xi. 5, &c. [f] PERERIUS in Genes. lib. 16. disp. 9. [g] Deut. xxxii. 9. [h] ELIEZER Pirke, c. 24. SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 93, &c. [i] Vid. HEIDEG. Hist. Patr. Tom I. Exerc. 21. § 19. [k] Vid. BUXTORF. Dissert. de Ling. Hebr. confusione & plurium lingg. origine. [l] MERCER. in loc. [m] Vid. Genes. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23. [n] See STACKHOUSE's Body of Divinity, p. 332.

(P) Perhaps we should except those languages, which, it is said, have been invented and made by mutual agreement, such as the *Chinese*, and that of the *Inca*'s of *Peru*; of which more in a proper place.

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a to whom the earth was well known before the flood, as proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three ſons (A), before any of their poſterity removed to *Shinaar* (B), from whence they were afterwards diſperſed to take poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſhares [a]. This *Noachical* diviſion, as groundleſs as it is, was ſo firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical [b]. *Salianus* [c], according to this diſtinction of the fathers, makes the diſperſion happen about the middle of *Peleg*'s life, though he places the diviſion in his firſt year.

Not different from the diviſion in the days of Peleg.

OTHER writers have ſuppoſed a double diſperſion, one at the birth of *Peleg*, and the other of the builders of *Babel* [d]; and an hiſtorian of ſome antiquity ſeems to have imagined, that mankind increaſed ſo very faſt, that they had peopled ſeveral countries and iſlands, and built ſeveral towns before they laid the foundation of *Babel*; abſurdly bringing them together again at that place, on purpoſe to be diſperſed a ſecond time according to the *Noachical* partition [e]. But the more received opinion [f], and the moſt agreeable to ſcripture is, that the diviſion of the earth in the days of *Peleg*, and the diſperſion of mankind at *Babel* were one and the ſame tranſaction.

b

THOSE who follow the *Hebrew* chronology, are driven to great ſtraits to fix the time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the ſacred hiſtory with the prophane, or led by ſome fancies of their own, hold a diſperſion or plantation of countries, even before the birth of *Peleg*. Sir *John Marſham* is of this number; he, to reconcile the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* chronologies, will have *Menes* to have been the ſame with *Ham*, who, in the earlieſt times after the deluge, travelled, as he ſuppoſes, into *Egypt*, ſettled there with his children, and was the firſt king of that country [g]. Others, on the contrary, place the diſperſion at *Babel* towards the end of *Peleg*'s life; for, being unable by any fair calculation to find people enough to furniſh colonies for a plantation of nations at his birth, which according to the *Hebrew* falls in the year of the flood 101, they are obliged to maintain, that his name was given him prophetically long before the diſperſion began, in order to make it fall in ſuch a part of his life as would allow time for propagating a ſufficient number of mankind for the purpoſe. The *Jews* place it in the laſt year of his life [h], wherein they are followed by St. *Jerom* and ſeveral of the chriſtian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age [i]; *Petau* about his 52d year, or 153 years after the flood; *Cumberland* about his 79th year, or the 180th after the flood [k]; *Salianus* and *Kircher* [l] in the year of the flood 275; and *Uſher* in one paſſage ſeems to place it after the birth of *Reu* [m], which fell out in the 30th year of *Peleg*'s age, or 131ſt of the flood, without mentioning the preciſe time; though elſewhere he is of opinion it ought to be referred to the time of *Peleg*'s birth [n]. Thus thoſe who follow the *Hebrew* account, ſeem to be agreed only in not connecting the diſperſion of *Babel* with the birth of *Peleg*; which yet the ſcripture requires to be placed at that juncture [o]. For if by *the days of Peleg* are to be underſtood the whole life of the man, or the middle, or the latter end of it, then *Peleg* will have nothing peculiar to deſerve the name; becauſe in that ſenſe the diviſion happened *in the days of* all his progenitors, and even of *Noah* himſelf: therefore it muſt have been peculiar to *Peleg* alone, of all the family of *Eber* or *Shem*, to be born juſt at the very time of the diviſion

The time of the diſperſion fixed.

c

d

e

[a] Vid. HEIDEGG. Hiſt. Patr. t. I. Exerc. 22. §. 9. [b] PHILASTRIUS Brixiens. Hæreſ. 11. 8. [c] Annal. Eccleſ. [d] SPANHEIM. Hiſt. Eccleſ. col. 291, 292. [e] SULPIC. SEVER. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. Vid. HORNIUM in eundem. [f] Vid. USSER. PETAV. COCCEIUM. NATAL. ALEX. &c. [g] MARSH. Canon Chron. Secul. 1. p. 23. [h] R. DAVID GANZ. ad ann. 1996. SEDER OLAM RABBA in ipſo initio. SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 7. [i] CORNEL. A LAPIDE, TORNIELLUS, ABULFARAG. p. 11. [k] Orig. gent. ant. p. 150. [l] See his Turris Babel, cap. 8. p. 20. [m] Ad ann. mund. 1757, & 1787. [n] Chronol. Sacr. part 1. cap. 5. p. 26. [o] Vid. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. 1. c. 7. AUGUST. de Civit. Dei lib. 16. cap. 2. MERCERUM & MUSCULUM in Geneſ. POSTELL. de orig. c. 20. BEROALD. PERKINS, BROUGHTON, PERER. & USSER. Chronol. Sacr. ubi ſup.

(A) The opinion of *Epiphanius* (1) on this occaſion is very ſingular; he maintained, that they caſt lots for their ſhares in the city of *Rhinocorura*, or *Rhinocolura*, in the confines of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*. He ſeems to have been led into this notion by the *Septuagint* tranſlation, where the words נחל מצרים *nahal Mizraim* (2), which ſignify *the torrent of* Egypt, are rendered *Rhinocolura*, expreſſing (as *Jerom* obſerves) *not ſo much the words of ſcripture, as the ſenſe of the words*. Whence he concluded *Rhinocolura* was in *Hebrew* called *Nahal*, which he interprets a *Lot*; as if that city had taken its name from *Noah*'s dividing the earth by lot among his ſons at that place. But he is miſtaken in the ſignification of that word, as a learned man has ſhewn (3).

(B) What gave occaſion chiefly to this notion, was alſo a wrong underſtanding of the *Hebrew* text (4), which the *Septuagint*, inſtead of *leſt we be diſperſed*, have rendered *before we be diſperſed*; from whence the fathers imagined, that *Noah* not only gave orders to the families ſprung from him to ſeparate, but actually gave to each of them a certain portion of the earth; and that before they obeyed his commands, they undertook to build the tower of *Babel*, as a monument of their having once dwelt together.

(1) *In Ancorat. c.* 114. *Hæreſ.* 66. § 83. SYNCELL. *p.* 45. *b.* (2) Iſaiah xxvii. 12. (3) HEIDEGG. *Hiſt. Patr. t.* I. *Exerc.* 22. § 10. (4) Geneſ. xi. 4.

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division, or dispersion of *Babel*; from whence, with very good reason, he had that name given him by his father [p]. a

PERIZONIUS, who finds himself obliged, by the authority both of scripture and reason, to place the *Babylonish* dispersion at the time of *Peleg*'s birth, to solve the difficulty, endeavours to prove, that neither the scripture supposes any great number of people in being at that juncture, nor did the nature of the transaction require it; the first plantations being made with only a few, and those small families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of *Shinaar* [q]. But after all, though he thinks the *Hebrew* copy ought to be followed, yet he acknowledges that the interval between the flood and the age of *Abraham* seems to be too short according to that chronology [r]; and that is the only interval wherein it differs from the *Samaritan* after the flood. b

IN a word, the dispersion is the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of those who adhere to the *Hebrew* chronology: according to which, if any regard be had to prophane history, that event must be carried higher than the birth of *Peleg*; and if a proper number of people be required for planting nations, it must be brought down a good way below his birth, if not to the time of his death; which happened within sixty years of the time wherein the *Samaritan* chronology places his birth (the true epocha of the dispersion): a plain demonstration of the defect of the one, and of the truth of the other computation.

Of the number of mankind at the dispersion.

HAVING settled the time of the dispersion at *Babel*, let us next enquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Some authors, imagining that a greater part of the earth was planted in this first dispersion, than we are obliged, either by scripture or reason, to believe, have endeavoured to swell their calculations as much as ever they can; and several as if the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilst others would reduce the number of mankind to a smaller sum than the occasion seems to have required: but a medium is to be observed between these two extremes. c

IN this enquiry no computation can be made from the number of persons mentioned in scripture as concerned in this first dispersion, which are but fifty-three, excluding *Noah* and his three sons; and if we have recourse to the number of generations, we shall meet with less satisfaction still from that quarter, for they were but three at most; *Eber*, the father of *Peleg*, (who could not be a leader in the dispersion, because it happened at his birth) being but the third from *Shem*: there are likewise only three generations mentioned in the line of *Ham*, and but two in that of *Japhet*: so that if we were to confine our calculation to that standard, it would fall vastly short. But as there were certainly many more generations procreated between the flood and the dispersion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be considered, as well as the longevity of those who lived in the first ages after the flood. d

THE chronologers (who have drawn this enquiry into their own province) have suited their calculations according to their different hypotheses. Some, relying too much on the prophane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by *Ctesias* and his followers in the time of *Ninus*, whom many take to be *Nimrod*, or at least his son. But the *Hebrew* chronology lays them under a difficulty which they cannot get over, by contracting the space between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* to 101 years; for if the calculation produces at that period such a number of men as they judge necessary, the world will be over-stocked with inhabitants, by the natural increase of the first planters, in a very few ages after; and if it be proportioned to the number of mankind in the succeeding ages, the number procreated at the dispersion must be excessive small: wherefore most of them, as has been observed, agree, contrary to the plain sense of scripture, to remove that event towards the middle or end of that patriarch's life, according as it suited their purpose. e

IT is an easy thing when a man is determined upon the number, to find out a way to help himself to it. *Petau* has made a computation, which in 285 years after the flood (or within seven years of the birth of *Abraham*, according to his computation) fills the world with above 155 times the number of inhabitants which are supposed to be at present existing in it; and yet he cannot make them rise at the birth of *Peleg* to many above 32,768 souls [s]. Dr. *Cumberland*, who hath also strained the calculation to an extravagant height, can yet bring little more than 30,000 men upon the stage in the year of the flood 101; though 40 years after he encreases them to above 300,000; and in 40 years more to 3,000,000 [t]. f

HOWEVER, others have been much more moderate: Mr. *Mede* allows there could not be above 7000 men, besides women and children, in the year of the flood 101 [u]; g a late

[p] Vid. PERIZON. Orig. Babylon. cap. 14. p. 314. [q] Vid. Eund. ibid. p 309, 310. [r] Ibid. p. 316. [s] Vid. PETAVII doctrin. temp. lib. 9. c. 14. [t] CUMBERL. Orig. gent. antiq. p. 150. [u] See MEDE's works, book 1. disc. 49.

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a a late writer, who ſtrenuouſly defends the *Hebrew* chronology, and has taken a great deal of pains in his calculations of *Noah*'s iſſue by his three ſons, cannot raiſe above 1416 males of 20 years old, at the birth of *Peleg* [w]; and Mr. *Whiſton*, whoſe principles ſeem more to be depended on than any of the others, produces by his computation about 2389, and no more, at that time [x]; the largeſt of which numbers muſt be allowed to be much too ſmall for the purpoſe: an evident demonſtration of the inconſiſtency of the *Hebrew* chronology with the circumſtances of this firſt plantation of the earth (C).

[w] See BEDFORD's Script. Chronol. p. 205, &c. old Teſtament, p. 65, &c.

[x] WHISTON's Short View of the Chronol. of the

(C) For the readers ſatisfaction we ſhall inſert tables of the gradual increaſe of mankind after the flood, according to the calculations of three of the abovementioned authors; with the principles on which they are framed.

I. *The Calculation of Father* PETAU (5).

Years of the Flood.	*Number of Sons born.*
8	8
31	64
54	512
77	4,096
100	32,768
123	262,144
146	2,097,152
169	16,777,216
192	134,217,728
215	1,065,741,824
238	8,525,934,592
262	68,207,476,736
285	545,659,813,888
Total —	623,612,358,728
The double —	1,247,224,717,456

This table ſhews the number of the male deſcendants of one only of *Noah*'s ſons, in ſo many years after the flood, and is formed on the ſuppoſition that they began to generate at the age of 17, and conſequently between that and 24 might each have 8 ſons; ſo that the 8 ſons, which a ſon of *Noah* might have had by the 8th year of the flood, might by the 24th year of the flood have each 8 ſons more. Thus adding continually 23 to the number of the years of the flood, and multiplying the next preceding number of ſons by 8, you have the number of ſons born in each interval. By this ſcheme one at leaſt of the other two ſons of *Noah* is to ſupply wives for the males. And becauſe the parents were long lived, and ſaw many generations of their own off-ſpring, whereby an exceeding great number of perſons multiplied, and were found alive together out of one ſtock, therefore the whole may be allowed to be caſt up into one ſum; and if another ſon of *Noah* be taken in to propagate males, the third being reſerved to furniſh wives for both, we ſhall have double the number which was found by the firſt calculation. This ſupputation was made to account for the number of mankind in the times of *Ninus* and *Abraham*. The method ſeems plauſible at firſt ſight; but the exceſs of its production is a plain argument againſt it.

II. *Biſhop* CUMBERLAND's *Calculation.*

Years after the Flood.	*Couples born in the 1ſt* Vicennium *after the Flood; and the couples which deſcended from them.*
20	30
60	300
100	3,000
140	30,000
180	300,000
220	3,000,000
260	30,000,000
300	300,000,000
340	3,000,000,000
The ſum —	3,333,333,330

It muſt be obſerved that this computation exhibits not quite a tenth part of the inhabitants which are ſuppoſed to have been in the world in the 340th year of the flood, which is that of *Peleg*'s death, being only the iſſue of the 3 ſons of *Noah*, for the firſt of the 17 *vicennia*, or ſpaces of 20 years, into which that period of time is diviſible (6); and is grounded on the gradual ſhortning of mens lives recorded in ſcripture, and a ſuppoſition, that the male iſſue of thoſe 3 brothers began to generate ſoon after they were 20 years old; the biſhop maintaining againſt *Voſſius*, that they were no longer in thoſe early ages before they came to puberty, than men now are (7). But experience ſeems to be in favour of *Voſſius* in this point; for the more robuſt and long lived creatures are longeſt rearing; and we perceive that generally among brutes, the time of generation is proportioned to the length of their lives; and the births of all the patriarchs before, and a good while after, the flood, being much later in the fathers lives than the time in which men now a-days begin to generate, is ſome argument, that they did not propagate quite ſo early as they do now.

This calculation was made, like the former, to account for the founding of certain kingdoms, which according to the *Hebrew* chronology began very early after the flood. Ten times the ſum in this table, gives the number of inhabitants upon earth at the birth of *Abraham* (8), *viz.* 33,333,333,300, which is a ſum 8 times greater than its inhabitants are at preſent computed at.

(5) *Doctrin. tempor. l.* 9. *c.* 14. *Orig. gent. antiq. p.* 142, 154.

(6) *See his*

(7) *Ibid. p.* 147.

(8) *Ibid. p.* 154.

III. *Mr.*

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III. *Mr.* WHISTON'S *Calculation* (9).

Number of mankind.	*Years after the Flood.*	*Years of doubling.*	*Series.*
16	4	4	(1)
32	9	5	(2)
64	15	6	(3)
128	23	8	(4)
256	35	12	(5)
512	50	15	(6)
1,024	70	20	(7)
2,048	95	25	(8)
4,096	125	30	(9)
8,192	160	35	(10)
16,384	200	40	(11)
32,768	245	45	(12)
65,536	295	50	(13)
131,072	350	55	(14)
262,144	410	60	(15)
524,288	475	65	(16)
1,048,576	545	70	(17)
2,097,152	620	75	(18)
4,194,304	700	80	(19)
8,388,608	800	100	(20)
16,777,216	1,000	200	(21)
33,554,432	1,300	300	(22)
67,108,864	1,700	400	(23)
134,217,728	2,100	400	(24)
268,435,456	2,500	400	(25)
536,870,912	2,900	400	(26)
1,073,741,824	3,300	400	(27)
2,147,483,648	3,700	400	(28)
4,294,967,296	4,100	400	(29)

This calculation of Mr. *Whiston*'s is leſs hypothetical than either of the former. It is now generally owned, that the number of ſouls upon the face of the whole earth, at preſent, does not exceed four thouſand millions, though our author imagines, it may come nearer to that ſum than many ſuppoſe (10). It is alſo now generally owned, and this from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves, at the longeſt, in four hundred years (11); which therefore is to be ſuppoſed the proportion ever ſince the preſent period of human life was fixed in the days of *David*. Mr. *Whiſton* thinks it alſo evident, that from the deluge till the days of *David* the lives of men were ſix, if not ſeven times as long as they have been ſince (though much more and leſs than that proportion at the earlieſt and lateſt times of that interval), whence he concludes, that the period of the doubling of mankind from the deluge till the days of *David*, in a mean, muſt have been, at the leaſt, ſix or ſeven times ſhorter than that which has ſince obtained, by reaſon of their ancient longer lives in that proportion (though ſtill this period of doubling muſt have been much ſhorter and longer in the earlieſt and lateſt times of the ſaid interval). Upon theſe grounds he has compoſed the preceding table, taking a ſeries of numbers beginning at eight (for ſo many ſouls ſurvived the deluge) and doubling themſelves in ſixty years at a mean, from the flood till *David*, *i. e.* for about 1300 years (according to the *Hebrew* account) and thence forward to our own times in four hundred years, *i. e.* for about two thouſand ſeven hundred years (12).

On this table Mr. *Whiſton* makes an obſervation, of which we are concerned to take ſome notice. He ſays, "We thereby ſee, that the number of "years, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, "will very naturally account for the preſent num- "ber of ſouls upon the face of the earth, and "afford as many in every age preceding as any "authentic accounts of ancient times do require. "But if, inſtead of one thouſand three hundred "years, in the firſt interval, we take, with the "*Septuagint*, above one thouſand nine hundred, "this addition of above ſix hundred years, at a "time when mankind, at a mean, doubled in ſixty "years, will produce above a thouſand times as "many as this table, or the earth for certain does "contain at preſent. So that if that longer chro- "nology were allowed, the earth in all probabili- "ty muſt have had many more inhabitants in the "days of *David*, than it has in our days, contrary "to the certain obſervations of the increaſe of "mankind. And the like is to be ſaid in due pro- "portion of the *Samaritan*, or any other chrono- "logy, which lengthens the ſpace ſince the deluge "(13).

However, Mr. *Whiſton* having, ſince he wrote this, rejected the *Hebrew* chronology, and declared in favour of the *Samaritan*, it is to be preſumed, he has changed his opinion in this reſpect alſo, and found a way to get over the objection, though he has taken no notice of it, as it might have been expected, in a later work, where he has made a calculation of the number of inhabitants before the flood (14). We ſhall therefore ourſelves endeavour to ſolve the difficulty, which we imagine may be done, by obſerving only, that the ſpace of ſixty years, which he takes for the mean period of mankinds doubling, from the flood to *David*, is much too ſhort, and the leaſt that can be allowed, even for the firſt 500 or 600 years after the flood, according to his own principles, the age of *Shem* himſelf being little more than 7 times, and that of *Peleg*, the 4th in deſcent from him, but 3 times as long as the preſent ſtandard; whereas he reckons mens lives to be 6 or 7 times as long, quite down to the time of *David*. So that we cannot but think, that for the laſt 800 years, at leaſt, of that interval, from the time of *Abraham* to *David*, the increaſe of mankind by the table, is above twice as great as it ought to be; allowance being made for which miſcomputation, we doubt not but the years added by the *Samaritan Pentateuch* will be thought requiſite, inſtead of exceſſive.

That the reader may judge whether our objection to ſo much of Mr. *Whiſton*'s calculation be well grounded or not, we ſhall annex his own table of the ages of all the perſons which are mentioned in, or can be collected from ſcripture, from the flood to the death of *David* (15).

Gen. xi.	10, 11.	*Shem*	600
	12, 13.	*Arphaxad*	438
	14, 15.	*Salah*	433
	16, 17.	*Heber*	464

Gen.

(9) *See his ſhort View of the Chronol. of the old Teſt. p.* 65. (10) *See Dr.* NICHOLL'S *Conference, part* 1. *p.* 75, 76. (11) *See before, p.* 108. *in not.* (12) WHISTON'S *Chronol. of the old Teſt. p.* 65. (13) *Ibid. p.* 68. (14) *See his Theory of the Earth, p.* 249; *and this work in the place above quoted.* (15) WHISTON'S *Chronol. of the old Teſt. p.* 10, *and Theory of the Earth, p.* 274.

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a But if we follow the *Samaritan* computation, which allows us 300 years more in the interval between the flood and the birth of *Peleg* than the *Hebrew*, these difficulties, which are otherwise insuperable, vanish at once; and we may venture to take even the lowest calculation. According to that of the gentleman we last mentioned, the number of mankind, in the year of the flood 401, will be above 240,000; which we think may reasonably be allowed sufficient to begin the dispersion, and furnish fifty three leaders with people enough to form as many colonies.

It is to be considered also, that each of these colonies increased in proportion as they removed farther from the center of their migrations, before they arrived at the countries in which they finally settled; for the earth was not planted at once, but
b by degrees; so that there is the less occasion for straining to inlarge the number of mankind at the time of the dispersion, as some have done.

Of the order of the first plantations.

As to the order, or method, wherein these first plantations of the earth were made, some have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony settled where they did by meer chance [y], every one seizing on such countries as he casually light upon [z]. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for first we are told, with regard to the sons of *Japhet*, the eldest branch of *Noah*'s posterity, that *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided in their lands*; *every one after his tongue*, *after their families*, *in their nations* [a]; in like manner
c *Moses* concludes the account he gives us of the sons of *Ham*, the youngest branch of *Noah*'s posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of* Ham, *after their families*, *after their tongues*, *in their countries*, *in their nations* [b]; and that of the descendants of *Shem* ends thus: *These are the sons of* Shem, *after their families*, *after their tongues*, *in their lands*, *after their nations* [c]. From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned *Mede* [d] has observed) that this great division of the earth we are speaking of was performed orderly, and was not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he lifted, and seated himself where he liked best [e].

We see a twofold order in these first plantations. First they were ranged *according to their nations*, and then every nation was ranked *after their families*; so that every
d nation dwelt, and had his lot by himself, and in every nation the families also dwelt, and

[y] Heidegg. Hist. Patr. t. 1. Exerc. 22. § 11. [z] Hestiæus Milesius apud Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 15. [a] Genes. x. 5. [b] Ibid. ver. 20. [c] Ibid. ver. 31. [d] See his works, Book 1. Disc. 49 and 50. [e] Wells's Geog. of the old Test. vol. 1. p. 93.

Gen. xi. 18, 19.	*Phaleg*	239
20, 21.	*Reu*	239
22, 23.	*Serug*	230
24, 25.	*Nahor*	148
32.	*Terah*	205
Chap. xxv. 7.	*Abraham*	175
xxi. 1.	*Sarah*	127
xxxv. 28.	*Isaac*	180
xxv. 17.	*Ismael*	137
xlvii. 28.	*Jacob*	147
l. 26.	*Joseph*	110
Exod. vi. 16.	*Levi*	137
18.	*Kohath*	133
	Hesron about	133
Job i. 1—4.	*Job* about	180
with xlii. 16.	*Amram*	137
	Segub about	137
	Izhar about	137
	Pallu about	137
	Jochebed about	137
	Miriam about	130
Num. xxxiii. 39.	*Aaron*	123
Deut. xxxiv. 7.	*Moses*	120
	Corah about	125
	Dathan about	125
	Abiram about	125

Josh. xxiv. 29.	*Joshua*	110
	Rahab about	135
	Booz about	125
	Obed about	110
1 *Sam.* iv. 15.	*Eli*	98
	Jesse about	95
2 *Sam.* xix. 32.	*Barzillai* above	80
(16) *Chap.* v. 4.	*David*	70

Mr. *Whiston* observes from this table, that the gradual decrease of the length of mens lives did not stop, nor was the age of man reduced to the present standard of seventy, or eighty years till the days of king *David*; and that the 90th psalm, where the lives of the *Israelites* seem to be stated, if it was composed by *Moses*, as the title informs us, had regard only to the shortening the lives of the murmurers in the wilderness (17), *by a divine judgment* (when all those were to perish in the space of forty years who were grown men at the *Exodus*), without any respect to the common period of human life at that time. *Barzillai* in the days of *David* is the first mentioned in scripture who was reckoned so old, as not likely to live long at eighty years of age (18); and *David* himself is the first who is said to have died, and that *in a good old age*, *and full of days* (19); so soon as seventy years, which are the particular numbers mentioned in that psalm, and the standard of human life in all succeeding ages (20).

(16) *See* Usser. *Chronol. Sacr. c.* 8 *and* 12, & *Annal. A. M.* 2552. (17) Numb. xiv. 29, 35. (18) 2 Sam. xix. 35. (19) 1 Chron. xxix. 28. (20) Whiston's *Chron. of the old Test. p.* 9 *and* 11.

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and had their lots by themselves; for the true import of the before-cited texts seems a
to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Of the first plantation of the earth.

THOSE who have undertaken to give an account of these first settlements of the children of *Noah*, having founded their conjectures chiefly on the similitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be trusted so far as it has been by some, who on emergencies have ransacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains, and cities, which had but the least affinity with those of the planters they were at a loss to fix; others have therefore taken the precaution to lay down some rules [f] for the more sure proceeding in this enquiry, and which we may reduce to two; 1. To suffer ourselves to be directed chiefly by scripture, not neglecting however the light b
which may be had from prophane authors. 2. To seek for the original plantations within a reasonable compass of the earth, and in an orderly disposition; looking for the families where we find the nation, and for the nation where we find the families: and these rules, we think, may be admitted; but another, *viz.* that those nations whose families are named by *Moses*, are chiefly to be sought for in the neighbourhood of *Judæa*, we conceive liable to too many exceptions to deserve the name of a rule; for it was plainly the design of that historian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowledge of them, and not only of such as had to deal with the *Jews*, or were their neighbours.

BUT after all, this is one of those enquiries about which we ought not to be over c
solicitous, for the originals of very few nations can be traced so high as the dispersion of *Babel*, much the greater part being subject to the utmost uncertainty. Since the first migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being observed by historians (D). We may form conjectures, and please ourselves with the plausibleness of our schemes, but who can be sure that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? most of the arguments, in enquiries of this nature, result from the identity, or similitude of the names of people and countries; but, for ought we know, the nations we take to be very antient, are modern in respect of the times next after the flood; and the names we suppose to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themselves: per- d
haps also many of the names of people and countries mentioned in scripture were peculiar to the *Jews*, since we find them no where else. And it must be observed, that that nation, by having lost the remembrance of the greatest part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of this nature as the *Greeks*, who began too late to keep records for us to expect any great assistance from them.

WE shall from these considerations be the shorter in our account of this matter, which we shall begin, as the migrations of the colonies did, from *Shinaar*; about which we find the branch of *Shem* placed, inclosed by that of *Japhet* on the north, and *Ham* on the south. And it is observable, that, generally speaking, the nations and families in each of these great divisions took their stations according to seniority, e
the eldest remaining nearest the center, and the youngest removing outermost.

The countries planted by the descendants of Shem.

SHEM may be supposed for the few years, *viz.* eleven, which according to the *Samaritan* chronology, he lived after the dispersion of mankind, to have dwelt in *Shinaar*: his descendants seem to have settled from *Media* westward to the sea-coast of *Aram*, or *Syria*. The number of chiefs of his line concerned in the dispersion were seven, *Elam*, *Asshur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*, the sons of *Shem*; *Salah*, the son of *Arphaxad*; and *Eber*, the son of *Salah*.

Elam.

1. ELAM settled in the country of *Elam*, lying to the southeast of *Shinaar*; in the time of *Daniel Susiana*, or *Khuzestân*, seems to have been part of it [g], and before the captivity it does not appear that the *Jews* called *Persia* by any other name. f
Elymæ, and *Elymaïs* are often mentioned by the antients: *Ptolemy*, though he makes *Elymaïs* a province of *Media*, yet he places the *Elymæi* (for which the maps corruptly read *Eldemæi*) in *Susiana* near the sea-coast [h]. *Stephanus* [i] takes it to be a part of *Assyria*, but *Pliny* [j], and *Josephus* [k], more properly, of *Persia*, whose inhabitants, this latter tells us, sprang from the *Elamites* [l]; and this seems to have been the most easterly

[f] See MEDE's works, and WELLS's Geogr. of the old Test. ubi sup, [g] Dan. viii. 2. [h] Vid. Tab. 5. Asiæ, & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. [i] De urb. voce Ἐλύμαι. [j] Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 25, &c. Vid. STRAB. l. 16. [k] Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [l] Ibid. l. 1. c. 7. See before, p. 126.

(D) Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur (21).

(21) SENEC. *de consol. ad Albin.*

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a eaſterly bounds of the poſterity of *Shem*; for adjoining on the eaſt was *Media*, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by *Madai*, the third ſon of *Japhet*.

Aſhur.

2. As *Aſhur* was the ſecond ſon of *Shem*, ſo we find his country lying next to *Elam*'s on the weſt, or north-weſt, called likewiſe after him *Aſhur*, and by the *Greeks* *Aſſyria*, at preſent *Curdeſtân* or the country of the *Curds*. *Pezron* ſuppoſes he was driven out of *Shinaar* by *Nimrod*, *Ham*'s grandſon [m], which indeed ſeems to be the caſe, though it may be objected, that if he had not ſettled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which muſt have been poſſeſſed by ſome other family. However that be, it was *Aſhur* [n], and not *Nimrod*, who went out of *Shinaar* into *Aſſyria*, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Perizonius* has clearly proved that text is to be

b underſtood [o], and circumſtances require.

Arphaxad.

3. ARPHAXAD is placed by ſome in *Arrapachitis*, a province of *Aſſyria* towards the north part of that country; but others ſettle him with his family in *Chaldea*, where indeed we find his deſcendants till the time of *Abraham*. And could it be proved, that the *Chaſdîm*, or *Chaldeans*, derive their name as well as deſcent from that patriarch, as *Joſephus* affirms [p], there would be no doubt of this laſt being the true opinion. Some who make but one and the ſame perſon of *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, who is inſerted between him and *Salah* in the *Septuagint* verſion, ſuppoſe him to be the founder of the monarchy of *China* [q].

Salah.

WHERE *Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, ſettled, is very uncertain; ſome ſuppoſe it

c to have been in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân*, in *Perſia*, becauſe they find a town there formerly called *Sala*; but *Morocco*, *Spain*, *Phrygia*, *Armenia*, and *Hyrcania* may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the ſame ground; having had each of them a town of the ſame name; and in *Colchis* we find a nation called *Salæ* [r], which ſeems to have the beſt pretenſions to him of all, ſince he ought to be conſidered rather as the founder of a nation than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except backed by ſome other proof, we ſhall not remove him out of *Chaldea*, where we ſuppoſe room enough for all his deſcendants in the right line till *Abraham*; for which reaſon we ſettle *Eber* alſo in the ſame country.

Eber.

Lud.

4. WE can ſee no more reaſon than Sir *Walter Raleigh* [s], why *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth

d ſon, ſhould ſtraggle ſo far from his friends as *Lydia*, where *Joſephus* fixes him: beſides there is a ſtrong objection againſt this opinion, the *Lydians* having been firſt called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the ſon of *Atys* [t], except we ſuppoſe the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the name of *Mæones* ceaſing, they reſumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that caſe we ought perhaps to conſider *Lydia* as poſſeſſed by the *Ludîm*, or poſterity of *Lud*, on a ſecond, or third remove, and to look for his firſt ſettlement nearer his brothers; but here the very ſimilitude of names, which are generally upon theſe occaſions ready at hand to help out at a dead liſt, ſeem to fail us.

Aram.

5. MESOPOTAMIA and *Syria* comprehending the countries weſtward of *Aſſyria*

e as far as the mediterranean ſea, ſeem wholly (if we except *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*) to have fallen to the ſhare of *Aram*, *Shem*'s fifth and youngeſt ſon, whoſe name is given both to the whole and the ſeveral regions thereof in ſcripture.

Uz.

WITHIN, or bordering on, this country of *Aram*, it is likely the four ſons of *Aram* ſettled. It is generally agreed, that *Uz* the eldeſt built *Damaſcus*, and gave name to the country about that city [u], which ſeems to be different from the land of *Uz*, where *Job* dwelt, lying towards *Edom*.

Hul.

2. *Bochart* ſuppoſes *Hul* to have ſettled in *Cholobetene*, a part of the greater *Armenia*, where he finds ſeveral places whoſe names begin with *Chol*, or *Col* [w].

Gether.

3. *Gether*, according to *Joſephus*, was prince of the *Bactrians* [x], but *Bactria* lay out of *Shem*'s lot, as well as too for the firſt plantation;

f and if we allow him a ſeat about the river *Centrites*, between *Armenia* and the *Carduchi*, it is not that we think there is the leaſt affinity in the two names to induce us to it, as *Bochart* does.

Maſh.

4. *Maſh*, or *Meſhek*, *Aram*'s fourth ſon, is ſuppoſed to fix in *Armenia* about the mountain *Maſius*, the ſame with that commonly held to be *Ararat*, and called by the *Armenians Masîs*. The people who dwelt near this mountain are by *Stephanus* named *Maſieni*. *Bochart* [y] refutes the notion of *Joſephus* [z], who derives the *Meſanæans* near the mouth of the *Tigris* from them, not conſidering that they took their name from their ſituation between the rivers. However, the *Armenians*

[m] Antiquité des tems retablie, p. 148. [n] Geneſ. x. 11. [o] Orig. Babylon. cap. 4. [p] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. See before, p. 127, a. [q] Vid. BOLDUC. de Eccleſ. ante leg. lib. 2. cap. 2. [r] Vid. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 4. [s] Book 1. cap. 8. § 15. [t] HEROD. lib. 1. STRABO, lib. 13. PLINIUS, lib. 5. cap. 29. [u] BOCHART, Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 8. JOSEPH. lib. 1. cap. 7. [w] Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 9. [x] JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. [y] Ubi ſupr. [z] Ubi ſupr.

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The nations descended from Ham.

nians themselves do not lay claim to any of *Shem*'s line as their progenitor, but say, a they are descended from *Togarmah* of *Japhet*'s posterity, as will be seen by and by.

HAM probably removed from *Shinaar*. Supposing him to be the *Cronus* of *Sanchoniatho* [a], he reigned in *Phœnicia*. According to others, who make him to be the same with *Menes*, he must have settled in *Egypt* [b], which indeed in scripture is often called the land of *Ham*; and some from the similitude of *Ammon*, and other words of the like sound, would infer, that he at least dwelt there for some time; but nothing can be concluded from such weak evidence.

Cush. 1. CUSH, his eldest son, according to *Josephus* and the antients, was the father of the *Ethiopians*, who, he says, were in his time called *Cushæans*, not only by themselves, but all *Asia* over [c]. But it is not likely, that if *Mizraim* and *Canaan* settled themselves b in the lands betwixt him and *Shinaar*, that his son *Nimrod* would be found erecting a monarchy so early in that country. It is more probable, that he seated himself in the south-eastern part of *Babylonia*, and in the adjoining part of *Susiana*, still called *Khuzestân*, or the country of *Chuz*; from whence his posterity in the succeeding generations might have passed into other countries. That a part of *Arabia* near the red sea was named *Cush*, appears from scripture. *Cushan* and *Midian* are joined together as the same, or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents [d]; and in another place [e] the *Arabs* are made to border on the *Cushites*, which therefore cannot be the *Ethiopians*; to which may be added other scriptural proofs [f]; in a word, by *Cush* in scripture is al- c ways to be understood *Arabia*. As for those texts which are alledged to prove *Cush* is sometimes taken for *Ethiopia*, they may also be expounded of *Arabia* [g]. *Cush*, according to the *Arab* and *Persian* traditions, which name him *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erâk* [h], where there were two cities of his name [i]; from whence, among other reasons, Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that *Cush* reigned in *Babylonia*, and that his descendants removed into *Arabia* [k], though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occasion to those who suppose *Cush* to be *Ethiopia*, to spread them all along the coast of *Africa* to the end of *Mauritania* [l], about their situations. To follow

THOSE who place them in *Arabia* are divided therefore the rules we have laid down, we will suppose, 1. That *Seba* seated himself

Seba. somewhere in the south of *Chaldea*, or the *Arabian Erâk*: because, 2. His second brother d

Havilah. *Havilah*'s country lay thereabouts, watered by the *Pison*, as we have formerly observed.

Sabtah. 3. *Sabtah*'s seat perhaps lay more to the south, where we find a city called *Saphtha* by *Ptolemy*, not far from the *Persian* gulph, and another named *Sabatha*, lower down in *Arabia Felix*,

Raamah. which comes much nearer *Sabtah*. 4. *Raamah* or *Rhegma* may find a place more southward still, about a city called *Rhegama* by *Ptolemy*, on the same gulph. Some moderns mention a city not far from it called *Daden* [m], which Dr. *Wells* does not doubt was the residence of his son *Dedan* [n]. Though others will have *Raamah* and both his sons, *Sheba* as well as *Dedan*, to people the parts adjacent to the *Red-sea* [o]. They con-

Sheba and Dedan. clude *Dedan* to have been near *Edom*, because *Ezekiel* joins them together [p]; as *Raamah* must have been near *Sheba*, being mentioned as joint-traders to *Tyre* in spices e by the same prophet [q]; and elsewhere [r] *Sheba* and *Seba* are joined as neighbours, though distinguished as different kingdoms: they seem to have possessed a larger part of *Arabia*, for *Pliny* observes, that the *Sabæan* nations inhabited from sea to sea, that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Persian* gulph. A late writer supposes *Sheba* lived on the borders of the land of *Midian*, and gave name to the country whose queen in after-ages went to visit *Solomon* [s]. But the *Arabs* say, the country of *Sheba* lies a great way more to the south in *Yaman*, or, as we call it, *Arabia Felix*, near the *Indian* sea; the chief city of which was formerly *Saba*, now called *Mareb* [t], and founded, according to their tradition, by a descendant of *Joktan*, or *Kahtan*. And it must be confessed, this seems f to be the country of *Sheba* mentioned in scripture, for the frankincense grows there-

Sabtecha. abouts. 5. *Sabtecha* has puzzled all the geographers to assign his quarters. *Bochart* [u] not finding a place in *Arabia* which bore any resemblance to the name, passes over to *Carmania* in *Persia*, and presses the city *Samydace* into the service, observing that the *M* and *B* are often changed the one for the other by the *Arabs* and their neighbours. On the

[a] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 111. [b] MARSHAM Chron. Canon. p. 18, 23. [c] Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7. [d] Habak. iii. 7. [e] 2 Chron. xxi. 16. [f] Ezek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. [g] Isaiah xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23. [h] ALTABARI in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 40. [i] HYDE, ibid. p. 80, &c. [k] Idem ibid. p. 39, 40. [l] Vid. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 3. [m] ORTELIUS. ODOARDUS BARBOZA, nella descrit. di Ormuz. [n] Geog. of the old Test. vol. 1. p. 197. [o] SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the Sacred and Profane Hist. vol. 1. p. 173. [p] Ezek. xxv. 13. [q] Ibid. xxvii. 22. [r] Psalm lxxii. 10. [s] SHUCKFORD ubi supr. [t] Geog. Nub. p. 26 and 52. POCOCK. Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 57. D'HERB. Bibl. Orient. Art. *Saba*. [u] Geog. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4.

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a the other hand, Dr. *Wells* [u] imagines, that the *Saracens* are the descendants of *Sabtecha*, which nation being stiled at first by the *Greeks Sabtaceni*, that name was afterwards softened into *Saraceni*; and the rather, he thinks, because alluding to the *Arabic* verb *saraka*, to *steal*, it served for a nick-name. Though indeed the word *Saraceni* is no other than *Sharkîin*, which in *Arabic* signifies *Easterlings*; as the *African Arabs* west of *Egypt*, are called *Mogrebîns*, or *Westerlings*. For our parts, being afraid to meddle in a point of so much uncertainty, we think it the safest way to pass this person by, and proceed. 6. To his brother *Nimrod*, who it is agreed kept possession of *Shinaar* and erected a kingdom there, making *Babel* the seat of his empire [w]. Nimrod.

2. MIZRAIM stands in the place of the second son of *Ham*; for there is a great Mizraim.

b dispute, whether this is the name of a single person or of a people, as having a dual termination, though the verb in the text, where he is said to beget *Ludim*, is in the singular number, which favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain, that the names of *Ludim* and all the rest of his descendants are plurals, by what we read of the *Caphtorim*, namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor* [x]. Nor do we see any harm in that opinion, which supposes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name *Mizraim*, which divided between them the country called after their name by the *Hebrews* and other eastern people [y].

As to the nations descended from *Mizraim*: 1. The *Ludim* are judged to be the Ludim.

c people above *Egypt* called by the *Greeks Ethiopians*, and at present *Abyssins*. *Bochart* endeavours to prove it by no less than ten arguments [z]. We rarely find them called otherwise in scripture than *Lud*, either from the name of their founder, or their country. In one passage of scripture *Lud* are called *a mixt people* [a]; in others [b], they are said to be very *skilful in drawing the bow*, which the *Ethiopians* were famous for; and in two of the above mentioned passages [c], *Lud* is joined with *Cush* and *Phut*, as are the *Lubims* elsewhere with the *Egyptians* [d]; from whence it may be inferred, they were all neighbouring people. 2. The *Anamim* are thought by *Bochart* to be the *Ammonians*, or Anamim. inhabitants of that part of *Lybia* where stood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* [e], descended, according to *Herodotus*, partly from the *Egyptians*, and partly from the *Ethiopians*. 3. The *Lehabim* are supposed to be the same with the *Lubim*, who, with the *Sukkiims* and Lehabim. *Cushites*, came out of *Mizraim*, or *Egypt*, with *Shishak*, to invade *Judæa* [f]: these there-

d fore may not improbably be judged to be the *Libyans* of *Cyrenaica*, or proper *Libya*, near *Egypt*. 4. The *Naphtuhim* are thought to have settled in *Marmarica*, adjoining Naphtuhim. to *Cyrenaica* [g]. It is observed, that the *Egyptians* called all the skirts of a country, and promontories washed by the sea, *Nephthys*; and *Bochart* places the *Naphtuhim* rather on the coast of the *Mediterranean* than on that of the red sea, because the *Troglodites* and *Ichthyophagi*, who are the inhabitants of the latter, are in the scripture called *Ziyim* and *Sukkiim* [h]. Some place the *Naphtuhim* about *Noph*, or *Memphis*, in *Egypt* [i]. 5. *Pathrusim* are evidently the inhabitants of *Pathros*, which some wrongly take for Pathrusim. *Pelusium*; others, more justly, for *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*, which is distinguished from the lower *Egypt* in prophane history as well as sacred [k]. *Ezekiel* [l] mentions

e it by itself; and *Isaiah* [m] distinguishes it from *Egypt*; but from *Jeremiah* the country of *Pathros* appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with *Migdol*, *Tahpanhes*, and *Noph* [n], which are known to be cities, or districts of *Egypt*. 6. The *Casluhim* are supposed to have settled somewhere towards the en- Casluhim. trance of *Egypt*, about mount *Cassius*, in that part of the lower *Egypt* called *Cassiotis* by *Ptolemy* and others, which places it is thought retain some likeness of the name; but, without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the *Caphtorim*, because the *Philistim*, as it seems, were descended from both these people [o], and consequently in *Egypt*. *Bochart*, misled by following the *Jewish* notion about *Capthor*, fancies them to be the inhabitants of *Colchis* [p], at present called *Mingrelia*. As for the Philistim.

f *Philistim*, who in the *Mosaic* account of the dispersion are derived from the *Casluhim* [q], we shall consider their original settlement in *Egypt* before they removed into *Canaan*, when we come to their particular history. 7. *Caphtorim* the last of the off-spring of Caphtorim. *Mizraim*, are, as *Bochart* [r] observes, by all the fathers said to be the *Cappadocians*, and *Caphtor Cappadocia*; as the *Septuagint* have also rendered it [s]. In this doubtless they follow the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphrasts.

[u] Geog. of the old Test. vol. I. p. 198. [w] See p. 122. [x] Deut. ii. 23. [y] JOSEPHUS Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. [z] Phaleg. lib 4. cap. 26. [a] Ezek. xxx. 5. [b] Isaiah lxvi. 19. Jerem. xlvi. 9. [c] Ezek. xxx. 5. Jerem. xlvi. 9. [d] 2 Chron. xii. 5. [e] Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 30. [f] 2 Chron. xii. 3. [g] BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 29. [h] Ibid. [i] Isaiah xix. 13. [k] Vid. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 37. [l] Chap. xxiv. v. 14. [m] Chap. xi. v. 11. [n] Chap. xliv. v. 1. [o] Compare Gen. x. 13. with Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. [p] BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 31. [q] Gen. x. 13. [r] Lib. 4. cap. 33. [s] Deut. ii. 23.

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raphrasts. But by *Cappadocia* in these writings, is not to be understood *Cappadocia* in *Asia minor*, as *Bochart*, and perhaps the rest, judged, but some place in *Egypt*, generally supposed by the *Rabbins* to be *Demyat* [t], or *Damietta*, commonly confounded with *Pelusium*. One would be inclined to think the *Caphtorim* derived from *Coptus*, a noted city of the same country (which by many is supposed to have taken its name from thence) if it was not that *Caphtor* appears to have been an island [u], and more probably situate either in the lake of *Tenis*, or *Tanis*, which extends from *Damietta* to *Tina*, the true *Pelusium*, or in the *Arabic* gulf, rather than *Crete*, as will be observed hereafter.

Phut.

3. Authors are not agreed about the country, where *Phut*, the third son of *Ham*, planted himself. *Bochart* endeavours to prove that *Mizraim* and he divided *Africa* between them [w]: what is most to the purpose is taken from St. *Jerom*, who affirms *Phut* to be *Libya*, and that in his time there was a river in *Mauritania* with the adjacent region, named from him *Phut* [x]. But to this it may be objected, that *Ezekiel* [y] mentions *Phut* with *Cush* and *Persia* as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the *Jews*, and in the army of *Gog*; and we find *Cush*, *Lud*, and *Phut*, among the nations, who, according to *Jeremiah*'s prophecy, were to over-run *Egypt* [z], as *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards did; which looks as if *Phut*'s quarters lay somewhere between *Cush* and *Babylon*. However, in points so uncertain, we will not presume to determine any thing.

Canaan.

4. We are not so much to seek for the parts planted by *Canaan* and his posterity, viz. *Sidon*, *Heth*, the *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Girgashites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Arvadites*, *Zemarites*, and *Hamathites*; of whom we shall speak more particularly when we come to treat of *Phœnicia*, in the land of *Canaan*, where they undoubtedly settled.

The countries planted by the descendants of Japhet.

The scripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the country where *Japhet* settled, as it does with regard to the particular residence of his brothers. All we can collect upon this occasion is, that he retired from *Shinaar* with his descendants, and settled among them to the north of the countries planted by the children of *Shem*. Some imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the *Japetus* of the *Greeks* [a]; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach so high as this son of *Noah* by many ages.

Gomer.

1. Gomer the eldest son of *Japhet*, according to *Josephus*, was the father of the *Gomerites*, called by the *Greeks Galatians* [b], who were the *Gauls* of *Asia minor*, inhabiting part of *Phrygia*. Of this opinion is *Bochart* [c]; and if it be right, those who derive the *Cimmerians*, or *Cimbri*, from *Gomer*, have some grounds for it, the *Cimmerians* seeming to be the same people with the *Gauls*, or *Celts*, under a different name; and it is observable, that the *Welsh*, who are descended from the *Gauls*, still call themselves *Kumero*, or *Cymro*, and *Cumeri*. Be that as it will, the *Chaldee* paraphrasts must be out in placing *Gomer* in *Africa*, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* [d] that his country lay northward of *Judea*; and that it lay also to the west, or north-west of *Madai*, or *Media*, may also be gathered from that prophet's making the house of *Togarmah* (one of *Gomer*'s sons, and consequently, according to our rules settled, in his father's lot or borders) trading to *Tyre* in *Syria*; which could not well be in case they had been situated beyond *Media*, through which it is not likely they would have been suffered to pass. We may therefore let *Gomer* rest where the learned *Bochart* settles him, *viz.* in *Phrygia* [e], without straining to make that word to be the *Greek* translation of his name.

Ashkenaz.

The plantations of *Gomer*'s sons may, not without some ground, be presumed to be thereabouts. 1. *Ashkenaz*, as it seems should be seated near *Armenia* [f], in the eastern part of *Asia minor*; for the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*: but if regard be had to the footsteps found of the name, the country which he planted seems to have been in the north-west part of that continent; for in *Bithynia* there was the *Arcanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius*, with a bay of the same name; and there was also anciently a city named *Ascania* in *lesser Phrygia*, or *Troas*, with isles on the coast called the *Ascanian* islands: and it is observed, that besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. And to prove that the *Ashkenaz* mentioned by *Jeremiah* were the people of these parts, it is shewn out of *Xenophon* [g], that *Hystaspes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellespont*, brought thence many of the horse and other soldiers which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. In a word, the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Axinus*, as it was first called by the

[t] Rabbi Saadias & Maimonides, apud Lightfoot. oper. tom. 2. p. 398.
[u] Jerem. xlvii. 4.
[w] Phaleg. l. 4. cap. 33.
[x] Hieronym in tradit. Hebr.
[y] Chap. xxxviii. 5.
[z] Chap. xlvi. 9.
[a] Bochart Phaleg. l. 3. c. 1.
[b] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.
[c] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 10.
[d] Chap. 48. 6.
[e] In loco superius citat.
[f] Jeremiah li. 27.
[g] Cyropæd. l. 7.

a the *Greeks*, is ſuppoſed to be a corruption for *the ſea of Aſhkenaz* [h]. 2. Becauſe *Riphath* probably ſettled near his brother *Aſhkenaz*, we may admit the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, not always to be depended on, who ſays the *Paphlagonians* were originally called *Riphathæans* from *Riphath* [i]. *Bochart* finds the river *Rhebas*, *Rhebæus*, or *Rhebanus* near *Paphlagonia* [j]; *Stephanus* mentions not only the river but alſo a region of the ſame name, whoſe inhabitants were called *Rhebæi*, and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphæi*, which comes nearer the name of *Riphath*. 3. *Togarmah* the laſt ſon of *Gomer* was probably ſeated to the eaſt of *Riphath*; ſome think to the north of *Armenia*, among the *Iberians*, others in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; which opinions are not out of the way, ſince theſe countries lie contiguous to thoſe of the reſt of *Gomer*'s family, and are ſituate conformable [k] to that expreſſion of the prophet, Gomer *and all his bands, the houſe of* Togarmah *of the north quarters and all his bands* [l]; which ſeems to be ſpoken of their ſituation with reſpect to *Judea*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, ſeems too remote, becauſe they are ſaid to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* [m]; and what confirms their ſettling, they brought hither, *viz.* horſes, horſemen, and mules, in, or about, *Cappadocia*; for that country produced excellent horſes and mules, which laſt are ſuppoſed to have come firſt from thence, and was famous for good horſemen, as is atteſted by ſeveral of the ancient profane hiſtorians [n]. Beſides, in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi* [o], *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades*, or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or, as the *Greeks* uſually write it, *Thorgama*. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597. Riphath. Togarmah.

c But after all, the *Armenians* give themſelves out to be deſcended from *Togarmah* (whom they make the ſon of *Tiras* the ſon of *Gomer*) by his ſon *Haik*, from whom they and their country from all antiquity have born the name of *Haikh*. They ſay alſo, that the name of *Armenia*, made uſe of by other nations, is derived from *Aram*, the ſeventh in deſcent from *Haikh*, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all ſides [p]: the *Armenians* had alſo numerous breeds of excellent horſes, which they paid to *Cyrus* inſtead of tribute [q]; and many of thoſe creatures, as a learned author [r] aſſures us, from the teſtimony of credible natives, are ſtill bred there for the uſe of the kings of *Perſia*, and for preſents to them from the governor. Upon theſe conſiderations we muſt leave *Armenia* to the deſcendants of *Togarmah*, or *Thûrgûmai*, as they call him.

d 2. We come now to *Magog*, the ſecond ſon of *Japhet*, with regard to whoſe ſettlement the learned have many different and confuſed opinions; *Joſephus*, *Jerom*, and moſt of the fathers held them to be the *Scythians* about mount *Caucaſus*, which name *Bochart* ſuppoſes was made by the *Greeks* out of *Gog haſan*, ſignifying *Gog*'s *fort* in *Chaldee*, a dialect of which he imagines to have been the language of the *Colchi* and *Armenians* [s]; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronounciation of *Cuh Kaf*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies the *mountain of Kaf*, as the *Arabs* alſo call it: that his plantation adjoined upon thoſe of *Meſhech* and *Tubal* appears from *Ezekiel*'s [t] making *Gog*, king of *Magog*, to reign over the other two. And it is thought, we ſhould come nearer ſtill to a diſcovery of his quarters, if thoſe words, *The chief prince*, or (as it is in our marginal e tranſlation) *the prince of the chief of* Meſhech *and* Tubal [u], be rendered, according to the *Septuagint*, *the prince of* Roſh, Meſhech, *and* Tubal, becauſe in the *Iſthmus*, or neck of land between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, there formerly dwelt two ſorts of people; the one called *Rhoſſi*, on the river *Cyrus*, as *Joſeph ben Gorion* has it, or rather on the *Ros*, *Ras*, or *Aras*, called by the *Greeks Araxes*; the other called *Moſchici*, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, ſtretching, according to *Ptolemy*, along the northweſt part of *Armenia*, and ſeparating it from *Colchis* and *Iberia*. From which two people, migrating or driven over *Caucaſus*, it is ſuppoſed, the *Ruſſians* and *Muſcovites* are deſcended. Magog.

Bochart alſo thinks the name of *Magog* is preſerved in a country of theſe parts [u] called *Gogarene* [u], according to *Strabo* and *Stephanus*; for *Gog* and *Magog* ſeem to be f the ſame name, the *m* not being a radical letter. But we cannot ſtrain the matter ſo far as to ſuppoſe the name of *Georgia*, a well known country in this quarter, derived thence; much leſs that the *Palus Mæotis*, and *Comagene* in *Syria*, draw their names from *Magog* [w], through ſuch a diſtorted courſe of changes, as to repeat them would put one quite out of conceit with etymologies.

The *Arabs*, who have borrowed the beſt part of their religion from the *Jews*, are acquainted with *Gog* and *Magog*, whom they call *Yajuj* and *Majuj*, and make them to inhabit

[h] Bochart Phaleg. l. 3. c. 9. [i] Joſephus Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [j] Bochart ubi ſupr. c. 10. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 14. [n] Vid. Bochart ubi ſupr. [o] Ptol. Strab. l. 12. Cicero de divinat. l. 2, &c. [p] Moſes Chorenens. Hiſt. Armen. l. 1. c. 4. [q] Xenoph. [r] Schroeder Diſſertat. de ling. Armen. p. 30. [s] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 3. c. 13. [t] Chap. xxxviii. 2. [u] Ibid. [x] Bochart ubi ſupra. [w] Geog. of the old Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 164.

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inhabit the mountain of *Kaf*, or *Caucasus*, but remove them at a great distance to the farther end of *Tartary* towards the north, or north-east [x].

WE are inclined to think the parts above-mentioned, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, are most likely to be those in which *Magog* settled; however we can by no means omit this occasion of taking notice of an error, which many of the modern writers have fallen into, who place *Magog* in *Syria*. *Bochart*'s great judgment would not suffer him wholly to come into it, however he supposes *Magog* himself gave his name to a town there [y]. Dr. *Wells* more cautiously suggests, that the name was long after taken from the *Scythians*, when they made an excursion into *Syria* and took the city, as *Bethsan* in *Judea* was also called after them *Scythopolis* [z]. But Mr. *Shuckford* fixes *Magog* himself there, with *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *Togarmah*, and *Meshech* about him [a]. What gave rise to this opinion is, a passage in *Pliny*, where he observes that *Bambyce*, otherwise *Hierapolis*, is called by the *Syrians Magog* [b]; but this proves to be a palpable mistake of the transcriber, who has written *Magog* instead of *Mabog*, as has been observed by Dr. *Hyde*, who wonders no body had corrected that error in *Pliny* [c]. *Assemani* has taken notice of it since [d]; yet it still remains uncorrected in *Hardouins*'s last pompous edition of that author.

Madai.

3. IT is generally agreed, that *Madai* planted *Media*, and the *Medes* are always called by this name in scripture [e]. To this a learned author [f], who makes *Macedonia* the settlement of *Madai*, objects, 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes* are not mentioned in scripture till the latter ages; but it may be answered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion. 2. That this situation removes *Madai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of their general lot, which was the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But according to our hypothesis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous, for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros*, or *Aras*; to which, as we have observed above, the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided* [g], relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his sons, or to a future plantation; the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer to shew there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* region in the borders of *Pæonia*; but even supposing them some later colony of *Madai*, which is the most that can be allowed, we cannot see how it tends to prove, that *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai* and *Cetim*, or *Kittim*, any more than that *Æmathia*, the ancient name of *Macedonia*, comes from *Madai*, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology.

Javan.

4. JAVAN may probably be supposed to have settled first near his brothers in the south-west part of the lesser *Asia*, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name.

Elisha.

HIS four children may find places correspondent with their names in the same parts. 1. The *Æoles*, who inhabited *Æolia* to the north of *Ionia*, are by *Josephus* made to descend from *Elisha*, *Javan*'s eldest son; but there is a greater appearance of his name in *Hellas*, the ancient name of *Greece*; the isles of which seem to be those called the isles of *Elisha* by *Ezekiel*, and most probably supplied *Tyre* with the purple and blue [h], wherewith, as *Bochart* proves at large, the coast of *Peloponnesus* and the adjacent islands abounded [i]. *Peloponnesus*, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province, by the name of *Elis*; and in *Attica* there was the city *Eleusis*, and the river *Elissus*, or *Ilissus*. 2.

Tarshish.

Tarshish, according to *Josephus*, gave name not only to *Tarsus* but to all *Cilicia*, of which it was the capital [k]: it seems also to have been the *Tarshish* to which *Jonas* thought *to flee from the presence of the Lord* [l], as well as that also mentioned so often by the prophets, on account of its trading with *Tyre* [m]. 3. To the west of *Tarshish* it is supposed *Kittim* first planted.

Kittim.

Homer mentions a people in those parts called *Cetii* [n] (from the river *Cetius*), which is the word by which the *Septuagint* have rendered *Kittim*. In *Ptolemy* we find two provinces in the western parts of *Cilicia*, one maritime called *Cetis*, the other towards the mountains called *Citis*. *Josephus* will have the island of *Cyprus* to be the seat of the *Kittim*, and the town called *Citium* which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them [o]; but in the apocrypha *Macedonia* is plainly denoted by

[x] See D'HERBELOT Bibl. Orient. Art. Jagiouge & Magiouge, p. 470. & Geog. Nubiens, p. 247, 267. [y] Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2. & l. 3. c. 13. [z] Geogr. of the old Test. ubi supr. [a] Connect. of the sacred and profane hist. V. I. p. 152. [b] Hist. Natur. l. 5. c. 23. [c] In Notis ad Peritsol. Itiner. p. 42. [d] Bibliotheca Oriental. Vol. II. Differt. de Monophys. ad voc. Mabug. [e] Dan. v. 28. Ibid. vi. 8, 12, 15. Ibid. viii. 20. Esth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Ibid. x. 2. [f] See MEDE's Works. [g] Gen. x. 5. [h] Chap. viii. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 4. [k] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [l] Jonas i. 3. [m] Isaiah xxiii. 1, 14. Ibid. ix. 19. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25. Ibid. xxxviii. 13. [n] Odyss. 11. v. 520. V. Strab. l. 13. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.

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a by the land of *Chettiim*, *Alexander* being mentioned as coming from thence [p], and *Per-*
ſeus, king of *Macedonia*, is called king of the *Citims* [q]. Nor do we ſee any thing
amiſs in ſuppoſing that country to be the original plantation of the *Kittim*, at leaſt in
the intention of *Moſes*, ſince it comes under the general denomination of *the iſles* which
were to be the portion of *Japhet*, at leaſt of the poſterity of *Javan*; and their brother
Eliſha has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not ſo eaſy to find a Dodanim.
place for *Dodanim*, the youngeſt of the ſons, or rather of the deſcendants of *Javan*,
except we admit the change of the *D* into *R*, (which letters in the *Hebrew* are ſcarcely
to be diſtinguiſhed) and call him *Rodanim*, as the *Septuagint* have done, in order to ſettle
the iſland of *Rhodes* upon him; which, for ought we know, is not a worſe ſhift than
b to extract the name of *Doris*, and the *Dorians*, in *Peloponneſus*, from *Dodanim*.

As to 5 *Tubal*, and 6 *Meſhech*, we have already ſhewn, under the article of *Magog*, Tubal *and*
that their lots lay contiguous to his; as may be gathered from the two places of *Ezekiel* Meſhech.
there mentioned [r]; and that is enough, without diſtorting names of countries in order
to provide them ſettlements in ſpite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. Tiras.
That we may ſhorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made
tedious, we ſhall in the laſt place allow *Tiras*, according to *Joſephus* [s] and the general
opinion, to have led his colony into *Thrace*.

Thus we have given an account of the nations concerned in the firſt diſperſion
of mankind, by which it does not appear, that they migrated eaſtward beyond *Media*,
northward beyond the mountains of *Caucaſus*, ſouthward beyond *Ethiopia*, or *Ha-*
c *baſhia*, or weſtward beyond a part of *Lybia* and *Greece*, including *Macedonia*; tho'
it is moſt probable, the more diſtant parts were not planted immediately by theſe firſt
colonies, but by their poſterity afterwards.

No tracing the original of moſt nations.

It is not our deſign here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order
to ſhew by what degrees, and in what manner, the ſeveral parts of the world came to
be inhabited, as ſome with more labour than ſucceſs have attempted to do; but ſhall
reſerve what may be gathered from antient writers in relation thereto, when we enquire
into the original of each particular country.

The countries poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Joktan *in a ſecond migration.*

However, we are obliged to ſay ſomething with reference to the deſcendants of
d *Joktan*; who, if they were not concerned in the firſt diſperſion, ſeem to have began
their migration ſometime within *Peleg*'s life; with regard to which patriarch we
ſhall only obſerve here, that it is not probable, the *Pelaſgians* of *Greece* and *Italy*
derive their original from him, as ſome imagine [t]; but it rather appears from ſcrip-
ture, that both he and his poſterity remained in *Chaldea*, within the lot of their great
anceſtor *Arphaxad*, till *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, left *Ur* of the *Chaldees* to remove
into the land of *Canaan*.

Moses aſſigns the habitation of *Joktan*'s ſons to have been *from* Meſha, *as thou*
goeſt unto Sephar, *a mount of the eaſt* [u]. The want of knowing the ſituation of theſe
places hath run authors into ſtrange miſtakes. Some ſuppoſe *Meſha* to be mount *Maſius*,
e or *Ararat* in *Armenia* (but it ſeems rather to be a city), and look for mount *Sephar*
beyond *Media*, towards *India*. *Jerom*, after *Joſephus*, would have both *Meſha* and *Sephar*
to be in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In ſhort, the antients have generally peopled all the eaſtern
parts of *Aſia* beyond *Media* with theſe ſons of *Joktan*; which is ſo inconſiſtent, that
Bochart might well wonder ſo many of the moderns have been led by them [x]; and
yet ſome have done worſe, and peopled *America* immediately by *Joktan*, from whom
Arias Montanus imagined the province of *Jucatan* took its name; and the ſame
author judges mount *Sephar* to be the *Andes*, mountains of *Peru*.

In all probability the places in queſtion are to be looked for in *Arabia*; but we
cannot agree in opinion with *Bochart* [y], that *Meſha* is *Muza* (ſuppoſed to be *Mokha*, a
f noted port in the *Arabian* gulf), and *Sephar* the city *Sapphar* [z], any more than with the
Arab paraphraſts, that they are *Mecca* and *Medinah*. We ſhould chooſe out of theſe
two conjectures to form a third, and ſuppoſe *Meſha* and *Sephar* to be *Mecca* and *Sap-*
phar, or rather (if the *Moſaical* deſcription would agree with it) *Dhafar*, a port in the
middle of that coaſt of *Arabia* waſhed by the *Indian* ſea, which would take in all the
country lying beyond that of *Cuſh*, and which the *Arabs* allow to have been poſſeſſed
by the poſterity of *Yarab*, the ſon of *Kahtân*, or *Joktan* [a]. We do not indeed find
Yarab, among the ſons of *Joktan* mentioned by *Moſes*; but it is no difficult matter
to ſet him there by a change of the *h*, in *Jerah* (the fourth ſon), into *b*.

We

[p] 1 Mac. i. 1. [q] Ibid. viii. 5. [r] Chap. xxvii. 13. chap. xxxviii. 2, 3. [s] Ubi ſup.
[t] See Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 268. [u] Gen. x. 30. [x] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 15. [y] Ibid.
l. 2. c. 30. [z] Vid. Ptol. Tab. 6. Aſiæ. [a] Mohammed ebn Yacub Shirazi apud Gabr.
Sionit. de urb. Orient. c. 1. Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba.

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We meet with no good signs of the settlement of *Almodad* and *Sheleph*, the two first sons of *Joktan*; but the name of the third, *Hazarmaveth*, or, as it is better written in the vulgar, *Hasarmoth*, is plainly found in *Hadhramaut*, a province of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*; both having the same radicals, and signifying *the court*, or *country*, *of death*. 4. *Bochart* discovers the name of *Jerah* in the island *Hieracon* (or of hawks) in the *Arabian* gulf, and a town so called within land on the river *Lar*, near the *Omanitæ*; and 5. That of *Hadoram* in the *Drimati* of *Pliny*, towards the *Persian* gulf [b]. 6. *Uzal* is the name given to *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, by the *Jews* who dwelt there [c]; and it appears from *Pliny* to be the same city [d]; its port was *Ocela*, or *Ocilis*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, which also bears some resemblance to the name. 7. *Diklah* signifying in the *Chaldean*, or *Syriac*, a *palm-tree*, or *a country stored with palms*, may have choice of seats in *Arabia*. 8. It is with reluctance that we must cross the sea with *Obal* from *Arabia* to the *Avalitic* port [e], in the *Avalitic*, or *Abalitic* bay, on the coast of *Africa*, just without the straits of *Bab-al-mandad* [f], for want of a place in *Arabia* bearing some likeness to his name to settle him in. It is true, there is a town called *Obollah*, towards *Basrah*, which might serve the turn, if that part had not been already disposed of by us to the family of *Ham*. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection against *Obollah*; but that would be perhaps to call all that we have already done about the migrations in question. 9. We might be obliged to look for a seat on the same coast for *Abimael*, if *Theophrastus* [g] did not luckily furnish us with the name of a place, in the aromatic quarters of *Arabia*, called *Mali*. It is true, other authors seem to write *Minæi* instead of it; and *Ptolemy* mentions the *Minæi* and *Manitæ*, but no *Mali*: but the authority of *Theophrastus* must go against them all, since it makes for our purpose. This is a rule which has the sanction of most authors who have wrote on this subject. 10. *Sheba* will not have the same difficulty with the rest of his brethren to find a place in *Arabia*. *Pliny* says, the *Sabæan* nations extended themselves from one sea to the other; that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Persian* gulf. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name possessing a large share of the south parts of *Arabia*, most authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country excellent [h], but they seem to differ in the name of their chief city; for some call it *Saba* [i], others *Mariaba*, or *Maraba* [k]. However, that causes no difficulty in the matter, since we learn from the *Arab* authors, that they are both names of the same place, and that it was the antient regal seat, which was afterwards translated to *Sanaa*. They also tell us that *Balkis*, who visited *Solomon*, reigned there; and CHRIST seems to allude to this country, when he calls her the *queen of the south*; for *yamin* with the *Jews*, as well as *yaman* with the *Arabs*, signifies the *south*; and *Saba*, or *Mareb*, is in that part of *Arabia* called *Yaman* [l]. 11. We are at a loss again about providing a settlement for *Ophir*; *Arabia* furnishes no place which resembles the name, except *Copar* [m], a place on the *Arabian* gulf, near the northern limits of the *Cinædocolpitæ*, and *Ogyris* an island in the same sea [n]. *Bochart* endeavours to squeeze *Ophir* in among the *Cassanitæ*, or *Gassandæ* [o], probably the tribe of *Ghassan*, consulting the similitude of sense in words, when that of sound fails: and he chooses rather to be put to his shifts, than to run into the common absurdity of planting *Ophir* in *India*, where the place which bears his name (so famous in scripture for gold) is supposed to be situate. We shall speak more particularly, with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of *Solomon*; and shall only observe here, that the gold of this place seeming in one passage of scripture to be called the gold of *Parvaim* [p], hath occasioned two conjectures: the first, that *Ophir* is the island of *Taprobana*; the second, that it is *Peru* [r], in *America*. The reader may easily see the latter name comes nearest that of *Ophir*: but to shew what an *ignis fatuus* the similitude of names is, *Peru*, as sir *Walter Raleigh* assures us, is not the true name of the country, but was given to it by the *Spaniards*, on their mistaking the answer of the natives to a question they did not understand. 12. *Havilah* is, by *Bochart*, supposed to have settled in the land of *Khaulan* [s], towards *Yaman*, mentioned by *Al Edrisi* [t]: but as there seem to be two places (as well as two persons) in scripture called by that name; one near the persian gulph, possessed by *Havilah* the son of *Cush* already taken notice of, and another in the borders of the *Amalekites*, towards the *Land of Promise*, the reader,

Hazarmaveth. Jerah. Hadoram. Uzal. Diklah. Obal. Abimael. Sheba. Ophir. Havilah.

if

[b] BOCHART Phaleg. l. 2. c. 19 & 20. [c] ZACUT. in Juchasin. [d] Nat. Hist. Lib. 12. c. 19. l. 6. c. 28. l. 12. c. 14. [e] PTOLEMÆUS. [f] Vid. BOCHART ubi sup. c. 23. [g] Hist. Plant. l. 9. c. 4. apud BOCHART. l. 2. c. 24. [h] AGATHARCHIDES, STRABO, DIOD. SICUL. [i] AGATHARCHIDES, PHILOSTORG. l. 3. THEOPHRAST. STEPHANUS. [k] ERATOSTHENES apud Strab. l. 16. ARTEMIDORUS, PLINIUS, l. 12. c. 14. [l] Geog. Nub. p. 26 & 52. ABULFEDA Descr. Arab. [m] PTOL. [n] PLIN. l. 6. c. 28. [o] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 27. [p] 2 Chron. iii. 6. [q] BOCHART Geog. sacr. l. 2. c. 27. [r] ARIAS MONTANUS Antiquit. Judaic. Phaleg. 5. l. 1. c. 9. [s] Geogr. sacr. l. 2. c. 28. [t] Geogr. Nubiens, p. 49.

a if he pleaſes, may fix this twelfth ſon of *Joktan* in this laſt country, and place his brother *Jobab*, who is the 13th and laſt, with him for company; unleſs he rather chooſes to quarter him upon the *Jobarites*, near the *Sachalites*, in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Arabia*, upon a preſumption that they ſhould be written *Jobabites* [u]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597. Jobab.

SECT. VII.

Of the origin of civil government, and the eſtabliſhment of the firſt kingdoms.

b WE have formerly obſerved, that the firſt form of government was certainly patriarchal [a]. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, reſpect, and ſupport which they indiſpenſibly owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all eſtates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive, how eaſy it was in the firſt ages of the world, and ſtill is, in places where the thinneſs of people gives families leave to ſeparate and plant themſelves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and ſince without ſome government it would be hard for them c to live together, it was likelieſt it ſhould, by the expreſs, or tacit, conſent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it ſeemed, without any change, barely to continue; when indeed nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the father to exerciſe alone in his family that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and by that permiſſion reſigning up to him a monarchical power while they remained in it. Thus it was almoſt natural for the children to make way for the father's authority: they had been accuſtomed in their childhood to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and leſs covetouſneſs, ſeldom afforded greater controverſies; and when they ſhould ariſe, where could they have d a fitter umpire than he, by whoſe care they had every one been ſuſtained and brought up, and who had a tenderneſs for them all? The government they were under continued ſtill to be more their protection than reſtraint; and they could no where find a greater ſecurity to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father. *The firſt government patriarchal.*

THUS fathers of families, by an inſenſible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for ſeveral ſucceſſions or otherwiſe, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various conſtitutions and manners, according as chance, contrivance, or occaſions happened to mould them [b]. *Changed into the monarchical.*

NOAH therefore being the common parent of the new world, while he lived we e may imagine all his deſcendants conſidered themſelves to be in a ſtate of dependance on him; and as he was the ſupreme governour of the whole race of mankind then in being, ſo his ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were in all probability chief governours of their reſpective branches in particular, as their ſons again were heads or rulers of their reſpective families under their fathers. Each ſon of *Shem*, for inſtance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but probably gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther; for in diſputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourſe to the deciſion of their common father *Shem*, whoſe authority alſo was limited to his proper deſcendants; ſo that in any difference betwen him and his brothers, *Ham* and *Japhet*, the f appeal muſt have been to the judgment of their father *Noah*, as the only common ſuperior. *The policy of the* Noachidæ.

ON *Noah*'s death the unity of government was diſſolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler in one of his three ſons. Upon their deaths the bonds of union were again looſed, and mankind became a ſecond time divided in their political ſtate; ſo that by degrees mankind became ranged under a great number of independant chiefs; which ſeems to have been the ſtate of the world for ſome time after the diſperſion.

BUT as families increaſed, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, leſt their different intereſts and inclinations might trouble the publick tranquillity, *The eſtabliſhment of kingdoms.*

[u] BOCHART Geog. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 29. Theatis 2. c. 6, &c.

[a] Before, p. 108. b.

[b] LOCKE of Government, Treatiſe 2. c. 6, &c.

quillity, it became neceſſary to truſt the government of each ſociety in the hands of one, or at leaſt a ſmall number of perſons, who might reunite all the chiefs under one and the ſame authority, and execute ſuch laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they ſtill retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a ſingle perſon rather than many, and of ſuch as was moſt conſpicuous for paternal care and tenderneſs. Ambition and intrigue had, it is to be thought, little part in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the moſt worthy by his known probity and moderation [c]. a

IN this firſt beginning of political ſocieties, almoſt every town had its own king, who more attentive to preſerve his dominions than to extend them, reſtrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country [d], till diſputes with neighbours, which were ſometives inevitable, jealouſy of a more powerful prince, an enterprizing genius and martial inclination, the deſire of aggrandizing ones ſelf and ſhewing ones abilities, occaſioned thoſe wars which often ended in the abſolute ſubjection of the vanquiſhed; whoſe poſſeſſions fell into the power of the conqueror, and by enlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to puſh on his fortune by new enterprizes; and thus ſeveral cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of larger, or leſſer, extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and ſucceſs. b

THESE firſt conquerors uſed their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and intereſts. Some, looking on themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, ſtripped them of every thing elſe, and reduced them into the ſtate of ſlavery, obliging them to the meaneſt offices and the moſt laborious employments; which introduced the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, which has ſince been in the world. c

OTHERS brought in the cuſtom of entirely tranſporting the vanquiſhed people with their families into new countries, where they were to ſettle and cultivate the lands which were aſſigned them.

OTHERS, yet more moderate, contented themſelves with obliging the conquered to purchaſe their liberty by a ranſom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and priviledges on payment of an annual tribute, ſometimes even leaving their kings on their throne, on their acknowledging the ſuperiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and ſubmiſſion. d

THE wiſeſt and moſt politic gained the affections of their new ſubjects by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the ſame liberties and priviledges; by that means making them one people, and uniting their intereſts [e].

Nimrod *the firſt uſurper on the rights of others.*

IF the *Phœnician* hiſtory be to be credited, and their *Cronus* be allowed to be *Ham*, the deſire of rule began to make havock in the world, even during the life-time of *Noah*, who was driven out of his ſettlements, and at laſt ſlain by his rebellious ſon [f]. But the firſt act of violence and uſurpation we find recorded in ſcripture was that of *Nimrod*, who, as it ſeems, diſpoſſeſſed *Aſſur* the ſon of *Shem*, who had at firſt ſettled in *Shinaar*, and obliged him to remove into *Aſſyria*. The acquiſitions he made on this occaſion muſt be allowed to be unjuſt, though he might have a legal right to govern thoſe who probably choſe him for their chief, on account of his perſonal merit. However, it is to be preſumed, that this revolution, which we ſuppoſe to have happened about thirty years after the diſperſion, extended only to ſome few of the new-planted nations. In the reſt, and eſpecially thoſe which lay outermoſt, we cannot but perſwade ourſelves, that a ſimplicity of manners continued ſeveral ages, and that wars did not ariſe in the world till the colonies, which were at firſt ſeparated, by the increaſe of their numbers began to preſs upon one another, and grow uneaſy for want of room; which inconvenience muſt have affected thoſe moſt who were ſettled neareſt the center: and accordingly the firſt warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of *Shinaar* and *Elam* [g]. e f

Great empires not ſoon formed.

IT is very difficult to ſettle the riſe of the firſt empires, but it is ſcarcely poſſible, they ſhould begin ſo early as hiſtorians have repreſented them. That the firſt kings were kings of ſingle cities, not of many, much leſs of large countries, is evident from what we find in hiſtory relating to the early ſtate of nations. How long was *Greece* divided into little ſtates? how many ages did they continue jarring and contending for the maſtery? By what ſlow degrees did *Rome* enlarge its territories and riſe up to empire? and how many centuries paſſed before it ſubdued the neighbouring cities which ſurrounded it? The *Iſraelites* found *Canaan* in the ſame condition that *Italy* was, in the g time

[c] JUSTIN. l. 1. c. 1. [d] Idem, ibid. [e] ROLLIN Hiſt. ancienne, &c. p. 3, &c. [f] See before, p. 135, &c. [g] Gen. xiv. 1.

a time of *Romulus*, and, notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of *Joſhua*, were above four hundred years in reducing the petty monarchies under their dominion.

THE uniting therefore of many ſmaller ſtates into one body by force, being apparently a work of time, thoſe authors who place the riſe of ſeveral great monarchies within two or three ages next after the flood, muſt be greatly deceived, either by following authors who have attributed too great antiquity to ſuch events, or by adhering to a ſyſtem of chronology which is too ſhort; and of the two evils this laſt is the worſt. How unfit the *Hebrew* computation is for adjuſting the times of prophane hiſtory, will partly be ſeen in that of *Egypt* which we are now going to enter upon: we ſhall only add here, that the firſt appearance we find of a potent and extenſive
b monarchy is in that of *Elam*, whoſe king *Chedorlaomer*, in the time of *Abraham*, over-run *Canaan* and the neighbouring countries as far as the borders of *Egypt* [h], ſome hundreds of years before we hear any thing of an *Aſſyrian* monarchy; which could not have had a beginning any number of years before *Menahem*, when its kings firſt began to paſs the *Euphrates* at the inſtigation of that prince [i].

Of the original of arts and ſciences.

THOUGH *Noah* and his ſons had doubtleſs ſome knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their deſcendants with ſuch of them as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common life, yet it is not to be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or ſpeculative ſciences, were improved in any degree, ſuppoſing them to have been known or invented, till ſome conſiderable time after the diſperſion.
c On the contrary, one conſequence of that event ſeems to have been, that ſeveral inventions known to their anceſtors were loſt, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till eaſe and plenty had given them leiſure again to poliſh their manners, and apply themſelves to thoſe arts, which are ſeldom brought to perfection under other circumſtances. For on their ſettling in any country they found it employment ſufficient to cultivate the land (which yet for want of ſeparate property and ſecurity in their poſſeſſions, in thoſe early times, they improved no farther than barely to ſupply preſent neceſſities), and to provide themſelves habitations and neceſſaries for their mutual comfort and ſubſiſtance [k]. Beſides this, they were often obliged to re-
d move from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reſide; and it was a great while before they came to embody themſelves together in towns and cities, and from thence to ſpread into provinces, and to ſettle the bounds and extent of their territories [l]. Two, or three ages at leaſt muſt have been ſpent in this manner; and it is not very likely, they ſhould amuſe themſelves with celeſtial obſervations in particular, when they had ſo many more preſſing affairs to mind. So that the aſtronomical obſervations of the *Babylonians*, of which *Calliſthenes* ſent an account to his maſter *Ariſtotle* [m], if they reached ſo far backwards as we are told, *viz.* 1903 years, are a further proof of the inſufficiency of the *Hebrew* chronology, according to which thoſe obſervations muſt have began little more than 100 years after the flood.

——and of commerce.

COMMERCE was in all probability carried on with greater eaſe before the flood,
c when there was, as it ſeems, but one and the ſame language in the world; yet it was not ſo neceſſary then as it is become ſince, not only becauſe mens wants have been encreaſed by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth and its productions [n], but becauſe they dwelt more together, and might ſupply their occaſions by bartering with their neareſt neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther; and that they had no ſhips to carry on a traffic to remote parts ſeems evident; for if navigation had been then found out, ſome others might have ſaved themſelves from the flood as well as *Noah* and his family. But after that deſtruction, and the diſperſion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who ſpeak different languages, ſo their neceſſities were encreaſed by this diviſion; the colonies, who planted
f new countries, not only perceiving their own wants by the conveniences they had left behind them, but finding ſomething uſeful in their ſettlements, which were before unknown to them or their founders. This engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and in exchange to carry what they had diſcovered thither; which ſeems to have given the firſt riſe to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occaſionally mention hereafter. The invention of ſhipping was certainly the greateſt ſtep to its improvement, which made the ſea, before the greateſt obſtacle to commerce, of the greateſt advantage to it [o].

CHAP.

[h] Gen. xiv, 5, &c. [i] 2 Kings xv. 19. [k] Vid. THUCYD. l. 1. ſub initio. [l] STILLINGFL. Orig. Sacr. book 1. c. 1. § 16. [m] Vid. SIMPLIC. de cœlo, l. 2. [n] See before, p. 108, &c. [o] Vid. HUET Hiſt. du commerce & de la navig. de anciens, c. 2. & 3.

CHAP. III.

The History of Egypt *to the time of* Alexander *the Great.*

SECT. I.

A description of Egypt.

Its names.

EGYPT, called by its ancient inhabitants *Chemia*[a], and by the *Copts* at present *Chemi*, was so named, as is supposed, from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, being more than once stiled, in the book of *Psalms*, *the land of* Ham. But the name by which it is generally denoted in scripture, is the land of *Mizraim*, from whence the *Arabians* and other oriental nations still call it *Mesr*, which the *Greeks* write *Mesre* and *Mestræa*. We have already observed, that *Mizraim* is a word of a dual termination[b], and is therefore by some thought to have been used in that number, because of the twofold division of *Egypt* hereafter mentioned, and thence given to its first planter, the son of *Ham*[c]: the singular *Masor* signifies a *fortress*, and, according to some, is also used in scripture as a proper name of that country[d]; though others, and our version in particular, translate the word as an appellative: *Bochart* is of opinion, *Egypt* received this name from the natural strength of its situation[e]. c

THIS country is best known to us by its *Greek* name *Ægypt*, the original of which is variously accounted for by authors. Some say, it was so called from one of its kings named *Ægyptus*[f]; but the contrary seems to have been the case, not only the country, but its famous river *Nile* also, being antiently called by the same name. Others say, it signifies no more than the *land of the* Copts, the word *Aia* being *Greek* for a *country*, and *Ægoptos* easily softned into *Ægyptus*[g]: yet this derivation seems as ill grounded as the former; the city of *Coptus*, whence the remains of the antient *Egyptians* are still called *Copts*, being situate far up in the higher *Egypt*, and in all likelihood utterly unknown to the *Greeks* till long after the name was in use among them. The most probable opinion therefore, to omit some other conjectures still more groundless, is, that this region was so called from the blackness of its soil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, attested by all relations. For such a blackish colour is called by the *Greeks ægyptios*, from *gyps* and *ægyps*, a *vultur*, a bird of that hue; and by the *Latins*, *subvulturius*. And for the same reason other names of the same import have been given to this country by the *Greeks*, such as *Aeria* and *Melambolus*: the river itself was also called *Melo*, or *Melas*; by the *Hebrews Shihor*, and by the *Ethiopians Siris*[h]; all which names signify *black*: and *Plutarch* seems to intimate, the inhabitants therefore called their country *Chemia*, because its soil was very black, like the sight of the eye[i]. d e

Situation and extent.

EGYPT is situate between the 48th and 53d degrees of longitude, and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude. Its length from north to south about 600 miles, and the breadth of its coast on the *Mediterranean*, from east to west near 300 miles; but above the division of the *Nile* it grows much narrower, so that in some places the two chains of mountains which rise on each side of that river, leave a plain between them of less than a days journey to cross[k]. It is bounded on the south by the kingdom of *Sennar*, which is tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, and the cataracts of the *Nile*; on the north by the *Mediterranean* sea; on the east by the *Arabian* gulph, or red sea, and the *isthmus* of *Suez*; on the west by a region of *Libya* called *Marmarica*. f

THE old geographers differ as to the ancient bounds of this country; some have thought, that the *Delta* only, or that part encompassed by the arms of the *Nile*, was properly to be called *Egypt*[l]; others make it reach westward to the greater *Catabathmus*[m], or valley, which divides it from *Cyrenaica*; but this would give it too great an extent, and include *Marmarica* and *Ammonis*, which are by every body else agreed to be no part of *Egypt*. The true limits on that side therefore, seem rather to be taken from *Plinthine*, a town beyond the lake *Marcotis*, and to extend eastward as far as the lake *Serbonis*[n], or more exactly to *Ostracine* on the *Mediterranean* sea, and *Heroopolis* at the head

[a] PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. p. 364. [b] Before, p. 165. b. [c] Vid. PERIZON. orig. Ægypt. p. 6. [d] 2 Kings xix. 24. Isai. xix. 6. Micah vii. 12. [e] Phaleg. l. 4. c. 24. [f] DIODOR. SIC. EUSEB. &c. [g] See WELLS's Geog. of the old Test. Vol. II. p. 5. [h] Vid. PERIZON. ubi sup. p. 13. [i] Ubi sup. [k] Vid. LUCAS, Voyages, Tom. II. p. 193. GOL. in Alfrag. p. 100. [l] JONES apud HERODOT. l. 2. c. 15. [m] STRABO. l. 17. [n] Vid. HEROD. ubi sup.

a head of the *Arabian* gulph. The ſouthern bounds were *Syene*, a city ſituate almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, and *Elephantine* and *Philæ*, two others which lie ſomething farther [o].

As the antients differ likewiſe in ſettling the limits of *Aſia* and *Africa*, ſome, who make the *Nile* the boundary of thoſe two parts of the world [p], place ſo much of *Egypt* as lies eaſt of that river in *Aſia*; but others place it entirely in that part, by removing the limits of *Aſia* ſo far as *Alexandria* [q], or the *Catabathmus* [r]. But we think the common opinion the moſt natural, which divides *Aſia* from *Africa* by the *Arabian* gulph and the *iſthmus* of *Suez*. However, we hope the former authorities will excuſe our including the *Egyptians* among the *Aſiatic* nations, whoſe hiſtories we give in this

b. book; which we have done meerly for convenience. *Its diviſion.*

ANTIENT *Egypt* is divided by ſome into two parts, the upper and the lower *Egypt*; by others into three, the upper *Egypt*, properly ſo called, or *Thebaïs*; the middle *Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*; and the lower *Egypt*, the beſt part of which was the *Delta*.

THEBAIS, which was ſo named by the *Greeks* from its principal city *Thebes*, is in the ſcripture called *Patros*, and at preſent *al Saïd*. It is the moſt ſoutherly part of *Egypt* next to *Ethiopia*, and is near as big as all the reſt, including the country on both ſides the *Nile* down to the *Heptanomis*; its laſt city, according to the antients, being *Lycopolis* on the weſtern, and *Antæopolis* on the eaſtern ſide of the river; which agrees pretty exactly with the preſent extent of *al Saïd*, the moſt northern city of

c which is *Manfalût* [s]. Thebais.

THERE were formerly in this part of *Egypt* a very great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples dedicated to ſeveral deities, and the tombs of their antient princes; and it is ſaid, there are not only ſeveral obeliſks and coloſſes ſtill remaining there, more beautiful than thoſe to be ſeen in the lower *Egypt*, but alſo ſome pyramids higher than thoſe near *al Kâhira* (commonly called *Cairo*) with other ſtupendous works; ſome of which we may take notice of hereafter.

ITS metropolis *Thebes*, called afterwards *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, was ſituate on the *Nile*, and deſervedly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. Its hundred gates are mentioned by *Homer*, whence it had the ſurname of *Hecatompylos* (A). It was ſo

d incredibly populous, that it is ſaid it could ſend out of each gate at one and the ſame time 200 chariots [t], and 10,000 fighting men, if the numbers are true. Its length in *Strabo*'s time was 80 furlongs [u], or 10 miles: but this was nothing in compariſon of its antient extent before it was ruined by *Cambyſes*; which, we are told, was no leſs than 420 ſtadia, or 52 miles and a half [w] (B). The riches of this city were ſo very great, that after it had been plundred by the *Perſians*, what was found on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to above 300 talents of gold, and 2,300 talents of ſilver [x]. Who was the firſt founder of this city is uncertain; ſome ſay, it was built by *Oſiris*, who gave it firſt the name of his mother [y]; but others make it the work of a ſecond *Buſiris* [z]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that formerly the name of *Thebes* was given to all

c *Egypt* [a], which makes what is ſaid above of its great power more credible,

THE other antient cities of great note in *Thebaïs*, were the leſſer *Dioſpolis*, *Ibis*, *Abydus*, *Tentyris*, *Hermonthis*, *Latopolis*, *Syene*, *Coptos*, and ſeveral others, all which are now either quite ruined, or become ſmall towns and villages. The laſt deſerves particular mention, not only as being a very antient city, but for having been the chief reſidence of the native *Egyptians* for many ages, ſince their country has been ſubject to a foreign power, and whence they received their preſent name of *Copts*.

HEPTANOMIS, or the middle *Egypt*, was ſo called from the ſeven *nomes*, or præfectures, into which it was divided, though *Strabo* ſays it contained ſixteen [b]; which difference may have been occaſioned by the adding of new nomes to thoſe it originally Heptanomis.

f comprized, as were in particular thoſe of *Oaſis*, of which name there were two cities, not properly in *Egypt*, but on the borders of *Lybia*. The *Heptanomis* comprehended all

[o] Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Ant. l. 4. c. 1. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 1. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 8. [p] STRABO. l. 11. DIONYS. Perieg. v. 18. PLIN. l. 1. p. 43. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 9 &c. [q] HIRTIUS de bello Alex. c. 14. [r] SALLUST. de bello Jugurth. c. 17. [s] LUCAS, Voy. T. IX. p. 209. [t] HOMER. Il. 10. v. 387. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. ARISTOT. Meteor. 1. [u] STRAB. l. 17. p. 1170. [w] EUSTATH. ad DIONYS. [x] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [y] Idem ibid. p. 18. [z] Ibid. p. 42. [a] HEROD. l. 11. [b] STRABO. l. 16.

(A) Others ſay this is not the number of the gates of the city itſelf; but the temples within it having many large porches, the city had thence the name, expreſſing a definite for an indefinite number (1).

(1) DIOD. SIC. *ubi ſup.* p. 43.

(B). Yet it contained but 1700 *aruras* (a meaſure of 100 cubits ſquare); for which reaſon it is ſuppoſed its length much exceeded its breadth, being probably built chiefly on the banks of the *Nile* (2).

(2) *Vid.* VOSSIUM *in Melam.* p. 371.

all the country on each ſide of the *Nile* from *Thebaïs* to the point of the *Delta*, where that river divides itſelf into thoſe branches by which it enters the ſea. Some of the antients make this tract a part of the *Thebaïs*; and ſome of the eaſtern geographers alſo give the ſame extent to *al Saïd* [c].

THIS part of *Egypt* was alſo in old times very full of large and noble cities, the principal of which was *Memphis*, built by *Menes* their firſt king, and for many ages the capital of the whole kingdom. Here alſo were the lake of *Mœris*, the labyrinths, and the pyramids ſo celebrated by antiquity, of which we ſhall give ſome deſcription hereafter.

Lower Egypt. THE lower *Egypt*, reaching from *Heptanomis* to the *Mediterranean* ſea, contained not only that part which is encompaſſed by the arms of the *Nile*, and from its triangular figure named *Delta*, but alſo *Mareotis*, and *Alexandria* with its dependencies, to the weſt; and *Caſiotis*, and *Auguſtamnica*, with ſome other territories towards *Arabia*, to the eaſt.

SOME have imagined the *Delta*, or the greater part of it, to have been an acceſſion of land to *Egypt*, and that the plains between the mountains beyond *Memphis* were formerly a bay of the ſea, which was at length filled up by the ſoil brought down by the *Nile* [d]. But this opinion ſeems very groundleſs, conſidering the little alteration which has been in this part of *Egypt* for above 2,000 years paſt, and the time allowed for this effect by *Herodotus*, which is no leſs than 20,000 years, a much longer ſpace than the world has laſted. Some *Arabs* divide the *Delta* into two parts, *al Rif* and *al Bahriya*. The former, being the weſtern part, is ſuppoſed by *Bochart* to be the *Rahab* of the ſcriptures [e], and was ſo called becauſe of its form reſembling a pear, which the *Egyptians* call *rib*, or *ribi* [f]. *Al Bahriya* is the eaſtern part of the *Delta* according to ſeveral [g], though a late traveller more truly places *al Bahriya*, or as he writes it *Beheirè*, beyond the weſtern branch of the *Nile* [h]. The chief cities of the lower *Egypt* were *Tanis*, *Saïs*, and *Xoïs*, famous for being the ſeats of ſeveral races of princes; and in later times *Alexandria* which was the metropolis of the whole kingdom, while in the poſſeſſion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

Its diviſions into nomes. BESIDES this larger diviſion, *Egypt* was alſo diſtributed into ſeveral governments, or præfectures, called by the *Egyptians Tabir*, and by the *Greeks Nomes*; whence that paſſage of ſcripture [i], which our verſion renders, *I will ſet the* Egyptians *againſt the* Egyptians, *and they ſhall fight kingdom againſt kingdom*, the *Septuagint* have rightly tranſlated, *nome againſt nome*. The number of theſe are uncertain, being, according to the pleaſure of the prince, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs; for which reaſon antient authors differ in their accounts of them: but they were about thirty ſix, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This diviſion is attributed to *Seſoſtris* [k].

IT is not our purpoſe here to enter into a particular detail of the cities of *Egypt*, or any geographical diſquiſitions as to their antient and modern ſtates, names, and ſituations; but we ſhall in the courſe of this work occaſionally make ſuch obſervations in relation thereto, as we ſhall judge curious or neceſſary.

Climate. THE climate of *Egypt* muſt needs be very warm, from its near ſituation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet there fall great dews after the ſwelling of the *Nile*, which continue for ſeveral months; in the lower *Egypt* it often rains in the winter, notwithſtanding what ſome of the antients ſay to the contrary [l]; and even ſnow has been obſerved to fall at *Alexandria*, contrary to the expreſs aſſertion of *Seneca* [m]. In the upper *Egypt* indeed, towards the catadupes, or cataracts of *Nile*, it rains very ſeldom [n]. The firſt ſummer (for they reckon two in *Egypt*), which is in *March*, *April*, and *May*, is the moſt inconvenient and ſickly ſeaſon, becauſe of the unequal weather, exceſſive heats, and hot winds which reign at that time, and cauſe ſeveral diſtempers: but in return, in their ſecond ſummer, in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, and in their autumn and winter, one breaths a much cooler air, the weather is more conſtant, and it is then moſt delightful living in this country. Though the cold is ſeldom felt there, except only for about ſeven days, which the *Arabs* call *Berd al ajûz*, *the old woman's cold*, from the 7th to the 14th of *February*, yet thoſe who are tolerably rich wear furs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the ſeaſon [o].

Fertility. THE fertility of *Egypt*, and the excellence of its productions and fruits are greatly celebrated by ancient writers, and by *Moſes* himſelf [p], who muſt needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all ſorts, but particularly rice; inſomuch that

[c] Vid. GOLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 100. [d] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 30. HEROD. l. 2. c. 5. [e] Pſal. lxxxvii. 4. and lxxxix. 10. Iſai. li. 9. [f] BOCHART Geogr. Sacr. l. 4. c. 24. [g] KIRCHER. Oedip. Ægypt. T. I. p. 8. LUCAS, Voy. T. II. p. 195. [h] Eſſay d'une carte d'Egypte par SICARD. [i] Iſaiah xix. 2. [k] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 50. [l] PLATO in Tim. POMP. MELA. [m] Nat. quæſt. l. 4. [n] Vid. GREAVES's Deſcrip. of the Pyramids, p. 74, &c. RAY's Collect. of Travels, T. II. p. 92. [o] Ibid. & LUCAS, Voy. T. II. p. 239. [p] Geneſ. xiii. 10.

a that, as it was formerly the granary of *Rome*, while ſubject to the *Roman* empire, it is now the principal country which ſupplies *Conſtantinople*.

THE moſt plentiful parts of *Egypt* are the *Delta*, and that province which is now called *el Feyyûm*, ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Heracleotic* nome [q]; the capital of which, bearing the ſame name, is thought to have been either *Heracliopolis*, *Nilopolis*, or *Arſinoe*, and is ſaid by the natives to have been built by *Joſeph*, to whom they own themſelves obliged for the improvements of this territory; which, being much the loweſt part of *Egypt*, was before nothing but a ſtanding pool, till that patriarch, by cutting canals, and particularly the great one which reaches from the *Nile* to the lake *Mœris*, drained it of the water, and clearing it of the ruſhes and marſhy weeds, rendered it b fit for tillage. It is now the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above 360 villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing, even in thoſe years, when the *Nile*'s not riſing to its uſual height occaſions a ſcarcity in the other parts of *Egypt* [r].

Of the river Nile.

HAVING ſpoken of the plenty of *Egypt*, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to ſay ſomething of the river *Nile*, to which this country is indebted for all its fertility and happineſs. The ſources, or ſprings, of this river were ſo abſolutely unknown to the antients, that they thought it even impoſſible to diſcover them: they are now well known to be in *Ethiopia*, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them, as will be ſeen when we come to deſcribe them in a more proper place. The *Nile* enc ters *Egypt* almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, violently pouring itſelf, as it paſſes, down no leſs than ſeven cataracts, or falls, from a very conſiderable height, between ragged rocks and precipices, with ſo great a noiſe that it may be heard ſeveral miles off. The people of thoſe parts uſed formerly to entertain ſtrangers with a ſurprizing ſpectacle, which ſome modern travellers ſay is ſtill continued: two of them get into a ſmall boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water; after having born the violence of the agitated waves for ſome time, they dexterouſly ſteer their boat through the narrow channels, thereby avoiding the rocks, and letting themſelves be carried down by the falling river, direct their little veſſel with their hands, and ruſhing headlong, to the great terror of the ſpectators, who think them utterly loſt and ſwallowed up, they d appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been ſhot out of an engine [s]. The *Nile*, having paſſed through the upper and middle *Egypt*, a little below the ancient *Memphis* divided itſelf into two large arms, which afterwards forming ſeven channels, emptied themſelves into the ſea by as many mouths. Theſe ſeven mouths of the *Nile*, much ſpoken of by the antient writers, were, to begin from the weſt, the *Canopic*, the *Heracleotic*, the *Bolbitic*, the *Sebennytic*, the *Phatnic*, or *Pathmetic*, the *Mendeſian*, the *Tanitic*, or *Saïtic*, and the *Peluſian*; which had their names from ſo many cities ſtanding on their ſeveral branches. Beſides theſe, there were the two *Pſeudoſtomata*, or falſe mouths, as they called them, of *Pineptimi* and *Diolcos*, which were too ſmall to carry larger veſſels. But the greater part of e theſe mouths have been ſince ſtopped up, and others formed, ſo that there are now reckoned to be above thirty channels which carry the waters of the *Nile* into the ſea, eſpecially at the time of its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire [t]; the two chief, and indeed only conſiderable arms of that river at preſent, being that of *Roſetta*, or *Raſhîd*, to the weſt, and that of *Damietta*, or *Dimyât*, to the eaſt.

Its annual overflowing.

THE annual inundation of the *Nile*, on which the fertility of *Egypt* depends, is one of the greateſt wonders of that country. The antient writers tell us, that it begins to riſe in *Egypt* about the ſummer ſolſtice, and continues ſo to do till after the autumnal equinox, for about the ſpace of one hundred days; and then it gradually f decreaſes for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not riſe to the height of ſixteen cubits, or fifteen at leaſt, the country was not covered with water, and a dearth enſued [u]: this account comes very near to thoſe given by modern travellers. Though the river begins to ſwell in *May*, yet no public notice is taken of it till the 28th, or 29th, of *June*, by which time it is uſually riſen to the height of ſix, or eight, pikes (a *Turkiſh* meaſure of about twenty ſix inches); and then the public criers proclaim it through the capital and other cities, and continue in the ſame manner to publiſh how much the river encreaſes every day, till it riſes to ſixteen pikes, and then they cut down the dam of the *Khalîj*, or great canal at *Bulâk*, which paſſes through the midſt of *al Kâhira*, and let in the water on their lands,

[q] Vid. STRABON. l. 17. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 205.
[r] GOLIJ not. ad Alfrag. p. 157, &c. KIRCHER Oedip. Vol. I. p. 8.
[s] SENEC. Nat. queſt. l. 4. c. 2.
[t] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 313.
[u] HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. Vid. PLIN. l. 5. c. 9.

lands, by an artifice we ſhall mention by and by. If the river want but an inch of this a
height, they will not cut the dam, becauſe in ſuch caſe no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which ſhould be watered by them, the produce being then ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore at preſent, if the *Baſha*, or governor, of *Egypt* cut this dam before the river riſe to that determinate height, he is anſwerable for the conſequence, and muſt pay the *Turkiſh* emperor his tribute, whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water encreaſe to the height of twenty three, or twenty four, pikes, it is judged moſt favourable; but if it exceed that, it does a great deal of miſchief, not only by overthrowing houſes, and drowning cattle, but alſo by engendering a great number of inſects which deſtroy the fruits of the earth [w].

THE *Khalîj* abovementioned is always opened with great ſolemnity in the preſence b
of the *Baſha*, accompanied by all his great officers, and attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greateſt feſtivals in *Egypt* [x]; and in former times, we are told, the *Egyptians* uſed annually at this ceremony to ſacrifice a girl, or, as others ſay, a boy and a girl, to the *Nile*, as a tribute paid to that river for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman cuſtom continued, it is ſaid, till the *Turks* made themſelves maſters of *Egypt* (C); the firſt governor under whom reſolved to aboliſh it, and by his prudent remonſtrances prevailed on the *Egyptians* to omit it: but the river unfortunately did not riſe that year to the accuſtomed height. The year following it was ſtill worſe, ſo that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, *Turks*, *Jews*, and c
Chriſtians, to a mountain on the eaſt of *al Kâhira*, and after a pathetic exhortation, he obliged all that were preſent to offer up their prayers to GOD for the obtaining his mercy; in which exerciſe they paſſed all the reſt of that day and the following night. The next morning before day, ſome women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor, that the *Nile* had riſen in the night no leſs than twelve pikes; whereupon nothing was heard but the praiſes of GOD and acclamations of the people. Coming down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten foot high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive, which laſt, as they ſay, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to GOD than the former innocent victim; and they continue ſtill to erect ſuch an altar every year, and when they break d
down the dam, and the water enters the *Khalîj*, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. The year when this event happened the *Nile* roſe two pikes higher than it uſed to do, and there was very great plenty; ſince which time, a final ſtop being put to the abovementioned ſuperſtitious practice, whenever the waters fail of their accuſtomed height, they have recourſe to prayers on the ſame mountain [y].

Of the Nilometers.

THAT they may the better judge of the daily encreaſe of the water, and the conſequent plenty or ſcarcity of the enſuing year, the gradual riſe of the river is very exactly meaſured either by wells ſunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpoſe. There was one of the former, we are told, on the bank of the *Nile*, in the upper *Egypt* near *Syene* [z]; and one of the latter was ſet up in *Memphis* [a]. A very antient co- e
lumn, which ſerved for the ſame uſe, is alſo yet to be ſeen in the caſtle of old *Kâhira*, ſaid to be erected in the time of the emperor *Heraclius*. The preſent *Nilometer* (D), or *Mikyâs*, as the *Arabs* call it, is in the ſame caſtle; it is a large ſquare reſervoir, round which runs a handſome gallery, ſuſtained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a baluſtrade to lean on when one looks into the water. In the midſt of this baſon, through which paſſes a canal drawn from the *Nile*, is an octogonal pillar of white marble,

[w] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 327, &c. Vid. THEVENOT, Voy. part 1. c. 22, 45, 46, &c. [x] Vid. eoſd. ubi ſup. [y] LUCAS, ubi ſup. Vid. THEVENOT, ubi ſup. [z] STRABO, l. 17. p. 817. [a] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 53.

(C) It ſeems very ſtrange, that ſuch a practice ſhould be ſuffered, not only during the time *Egypt* was ſubject to the chriſtian emperors of *Conſtantinople*, but while the *Arabs* were maſters of it. *Amoſis*, one of the ancient *Egyptian* kings, is ſaid to have aboliſhed the human ſacrifices offered to *Juno*, as will be obſerved hereafter; and it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, he would alſo have put a ſtop to thoſe offered to the *Nile*. Perhaps we may ſet this matter in a clearer light, when we come to the *Arabian* and *Turkiſh* hiſtory.

(D) This *Nilometer* is different from that built in an iſland of the *Nile*, between *Jizah* and *al Foſtât* (which from its pleaſant ſituation, and being planted with ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, is much celebrated by the oriental writers, and called *al Rauzat*, or *the Garden*) by *Aſâmah ebn Yazid* (3), collector of the tribute in *Egypt*, in the reign of the *Khalîfah Soleymân ebn Abd'almalek*. Some years after the *Khalîfah al Mâmûn* ordered it to be pulled down, on account of ſome defect therein, and a new one to be built in its room, which was at laſt finiſhed in a magnificent manner by *al Motawakkel* (4). The eaſtern hiſtories mention ſeveral other ſtructures of this ſort, built, or repaired by the *Khalîfahs*, while maſters of *Egypt*.

(3) ELMACIN. *in vita Soleymân.* (4) *Vid.* GOLII *Not. ad Alfrag. p.* 156. & D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient. p.* 672.

a marble, divided into twenty two equal parts; the firſt is again divided into twenty four inches, but the ſecond is not; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to obſerve the height of the water by the meaſure; and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is ſo exactly finiſhed and nicely levelled, that the water in the reſervoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river [b].

Of the Sphinxes.

As theſe *Nilometers* ſerved to meaſure the overflowing of the river, the *Sphinxes*, of which there were alſo a great many in ſeveral places, ſhewed the beginning of the waters riſing; being a ſymbolic repreſentation, or figure, with the head of a woman and the body of a lion, ſignifying, that the *Nile* began to ſwell in the months of *July* and b *Auguſt*, when the ſun paſſes through the ſigns of *Leo* and *Virgo* [c]. There are ſeveral of theſe *Sphinxes* ſtill to be ſeen; one in particular near the pyramids much ſpoken of by the antients, being of a prodigious ſize, and cut out of the rock itſelf: the head and neck only appear at preſent, the reſt of the body being hid in the ſand. It is, according to *Thevenot* [d], twenty-ſix foot high, and fifteen foot from the ear to the chin; but *Pliny* aſſures us, the head was no leſs than one hundred and two foot about, and ſixty two foot high from the belly, and that the body was one hundred and forty three foot long, and was thought to be the ſepulchre of king *Amaſis* [e]. There is another alſo at the end of the lake of *al Matariya*, which lies on its ſide, the head being ſeparated from the body [f].

The manner of conveying the water on their lands.

c As it may eaſily be conceived, this river could not of itſelf overflow the lands every where in the neceſſary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vaſt number of canals and trenches from one end of *Egypt* to the other, to convey the water to every part; ſo that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water ſucceſſively conducted to the moſt diſtant places. Theſe canals, or trenches, are not permitted to be opened till the river has roſe to a certain height, nor yet all at once, becauſe in ſuch caſe ſome lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them firſt in the upper *Egypt*, and then gradually lower, according to a publick regulation of the meaſures made for that purpoſe. By this means the water is ſo carefully huſbanded, that if it d riſes to twenty four pikes it ſuffices the whole country; which is ſo large, and the canals ſo numerous, that it is thought ſcarce a tenth part of the waters of the *Nile* enter the ſea for the firſt three months of its overflowing. However, as ſome places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raiſe the water to cover them by engines. Formerly they made uſe of *Archimedes*'s ſcrew, thence named the *Egyptian* pump [g]; but they now generally uſe wheels, which carry a rope or chain, of earthen pots, holding about ſeven, or eight, quarts apiece, and draw the water from the canals. There are beſides a vaſt number of wells in *Egypt*, from which the water is drawn in the ſame manner to water the gardens and fruit trees; ſo that it is no exaggeration of the matter to ſay, that there are in *Egypt* above two hundred thouſand oxen daily em- e ployed in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baſkets, ſo cloſe and well made that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little ſquare beds, which are all ſurrounded with trenches higher than the level of the gardens, ſo that when they want to water one of theſe beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furniſhes as much water as is neceſſary; after which they ſtop it up again, and thus they manage the reſt; by which means they have the fineſt and moſt fertile gardens in the world. Pomgranats, oranges, lemons, and ſeveral other ſorts of trees, afford a ſhade and coolneſs, which, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the ſide of a lit- f tle trench, and in two, or three, years it grows to be a tree big enough to tranſplant.

The fecundity occaſioned by the Nile.

The *Nile* differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud, or ſlime, it brings down with it fattens the earth and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other manure. The *Egyptians* have not the laborious taſk of ploughing, digging, or breaking the clods, but when the river is retired they have no more to do, than to mingle a little ſand with the earth to abate its ſtrength; after which they ſow with little pains, and almoſt without charge. Anciently, we are told, they uſed to put in their hogs to tread the ſeed into the ground, expecting the harveſt without any further care; and when that ſeaſon came they let in the hogs again to ſhake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up their corn [h]. They ſow ordinarily in *October* and *November*, as the waters

[b] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313, 321, &c. [c] Ibid. p. 323. [d] Thevenot Voy. part. 1. c. 5. [e] Pliny Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 12. [f] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313. [g] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 30, & l. 5. p. 313. [h] Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 32.

waters fall: within two months the ground is covered with all ſorts of grain and pulſe; and their harveſt is in *March* and *April*. The ſame piece of ground produces the ſame year three, or four, different ſorts of fruits and garden ſtuff: firſt, they ſow lettice and cucumbers, then corn; and after harveſt, melons, and thoſe ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to *Egypt*.

WHAT is moſt extraordinary is, that this ſurprizing fecundity, cauſed by the inundation of the *Nile*, reaches not only to the earth, but alſo to mankind and animals [i]. It is found by conſtant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bath in them, or only drink them: they uſually conceive in *July* and *Auguſt*, and are delivered in *April* and *May*. As to the cattle, the cows almoſt always bring two calves at a time; the ſheep yean twice a year, having two lambs the firſt time, [b] and but one the ſecond; and a goat is often ſeen followed by four kids, which ſhe has brought in ſix months: the paſtures of *Egypt* are moſt excellent, the graſs generally growing to the height of the cattle: on this they feed in winter, during which ſeaſon great numbers are driven thither from about the *Euphrates*; in ſummer, the grounds being either burnt up by the ſun, or overflowed by the *Nile*, they are taken up, and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

Two different appearances of Egypt *in two ſeaſons.*

THERE is not a more pleaſant ſight in the world than *Egypt* in two ſeaſons of the year; for if you aſcend ſome mountains, or one of the great pyramids of *al Kâhira*, about the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, you ſee a wide ſea, out of which there ariſe a vaſt number of villages, turrets, and ſpires, appearing like the iſles in the *Ægæan* ſea [k], [c] with ſome cauſeways for communication, intermixed with groves and a great number of fruit-trees, whoſe tops only are ſeen; all which affords a moſt enchanting proſpect. This view is terminated by mountains and woods, which at a diſtance forms the moſt agreeable perſpective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about *January* and *February*, all the country is like a fine meadow, whoſe verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the ſight. You ſee on every ſide herds and flocks of cattle ſcattered over the plain, with an infinite number of huſbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by the prodigious quantity of flowers, furniſhed by the oranges lemons, and other trees; and is ſo pure, that a man cannot breath one more wholeſom or agreeable: ſo that nature, which is then as it were dead in ſo many other climates, [d] ſeems to revive only for the ſake of ſo delightful an abode. If there be any places left which are not quite dried, they are covered with water-fowl in great plenty, which afford diverſion to the ſportſmen, who kill as many of them as they pleaſe.

THE cities, towns, and villages in *Egypt*, to ſecure them from the inundation of the *Nile*, are all built either on ſome riſing ground formed by nature, or elſe, which is generally the caſe, on mounds raiſed by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the cauſeways abovementioned or boats. When the river is retired within its banks, the canals ſerve for the ſame purpoſe, and to furniſh the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be ſeen fetching thence, according to the an- [e] cient cuſtom ſo often taken notice of in ſcripture [l].

The cauſe of the inundation of the Nile.

AS the ancients were ignorant of the true cauſe of the inundation of the *Nile*, which ſeemed the more unaccountable to them, becauſe contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the ſummer, and was loweſt in winter, they made ſeveral ſubtil conjectures to explain this phænomenon [m]. But it has been long ſince well known to be occaſioned by the great rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, about the ſprings of the *Nile*, and ſwell that river into the ſea, which firſt lays *Ethiopia* almoſt entirely under water, as it afterwards does *Egypt*. *Agatharchides* of *Gnidos* [n], and ſome others, gueſſed this to be the cauſe, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye- [f] witneſſes; *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a very inquiſitive prince, having ſent ſome perſons on purpoſe to examine into the matter. It has been thought, that this piece of natural hiſtory was not unknown to *Homer* himſelf, and that he alludes to it when he ſays [o], that the *Nile* came down from heaven [p]. Theſe rains conſtantly fall in *Ethiopia* during the months of *April* and *May* [q]; at which time it alſo rains with the ſame regularity in the *Indies*, cauſing the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to overflow their banks, in the ſame manner as the *Nile* does [r].

THE divine providence has been juſtly admired, in ſending the rains in *Ethiopia* ſo very punctually for the ſupply of *Egypt*, where it rains ſo ſeldom, and thereby rendering a moſt dry and ſandy ſoil one of the moſt fruitful in the univerſe. Nor is it to

[i] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 32. [k] Vid. HEROD. & DIODOR. SIC. ubi ſup. [l] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 328, &c. [m] Vid. HERODOT. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 33, &c. [n] DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 39. [o] HOM. Odyſſ. 4. v. 581. [p] STRABO. l. 17. p. 1137. [q] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 321. [r] BERNIER, Voyage de Cachemire, p. 343, &c.

a to be omitted, that in the beginning of *June* and the four following months, the *Etesian* winds (which some formerly imagined to be the great cause of the inundation [s]) constantly blow from the north-east, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itself into the sea too fast [t]. As the fertility of the land of *Canaan* was owing to a very different method of providence, that is, to the *former and latter rains*, which regularly fell at two appointed seasons of the year, while the children of *Israel* continued in their duty, *Moses* thought proper to acquaint them before-hand with so material a difference between the promised land and that they had lately left; *The land whither thou goest in to possess it*, says that lawgiver, *is not as the land of* Egypt, *from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a gar-*
b *den of herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year* [u].

Of the animals of Egypt.

Let us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of *Egypt*. The crocodile, and hippopotamus, or river-horse, are, it is to be presumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular description here [u]: they are both inhabitants of the *Nile*. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of flesh stuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which is fastened to a stake: when the crocodile has seized the bait, he is drawn
c to land, and knocked on the head [w]. *Herodotus* describes this manner with very little variation [x]. Another more dangerous way is sometimes practised, by striking them, as they sleep, under the belly, with a stake armed with a bearded point of iron, and also fastened to a rope [y]. A more extraordinary method still was made use of to catch one of these creatures that had done much mischief: the person, who undertook it for a reward, bound his son, a young lad, to a stake in the place where the crocodile used to come, and laid himself flat on his belly with two short clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of course thread dipped in pitch, and so waited for the crocodile; who coming out of the river and smelling the boy, made directly towards him; but as he opened his mouth to seize him, the father
d thrust the staff with the pitched ball into his jaws, which sticking in his teeth and entangling them as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him with the other [z]. The inhabitants of *Tentyris* are reported to have been very bold and dexterous in hunting these creatures, and that they would even leap on their backs in the water, and clapping a stick across their mouths, as they opened them to bite, manage them as with a bridle, and bring them to land; so that these creatures were terrified even by their voice and smell [a]. The flesh of the crocodile is white and fat, and is a delicious dish when young; the *Arabs* of the upper *Egypt* are very fond of it [b], and formerly the inhabitants of *Elephantis* used also to eat these animals [c].

e The hippopotami are common in the upper *Egypt*, especially near the cataracts, but are scarce to be met with in any part of the lower *Egypt*. These creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to see two of them together. They are so distrustful, and fly with that swiftness from their pursuers, that they are very seldom taken [d].

Besides wild and tame oxen, camels, asses, goats, and sheep, of which there is great plenty in *Egypt*, and the flesh of the last very delicate food, there are a vast number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head somewhat like a dog, whence it was called *cynocephalus*: the *Egyptians* often used the figure of this beast as a hieroglyphic. The camelion is also common in the hedges near *al Kâhira*.

f The animal called the little, or land crocodile (which we take to be the *scincus* of *Pliny* [e]) is about the bigness of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with scales. It is found near the *Nile* and the red sea, and usually feeds on the most odoriferous flowers: the flesh is of use in physic, great numbers of them being for that reason carried to *Venice* and other places.

The *Egyptian* rat, called by the ancients *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, camelions, rats, and other animals; and is of great service in *Egypt*, by its natural instinct hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rowling itself in mud,

[s] Herod. ubi supr. [t] Le Bruyn Voyag. Tom. II. [u] Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12. [u] Vid. Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 32. Strabo. l. 17. [w] Lettre du P. Sicard, dans les Mem. des Missions. Tom. VI. p. 252. [x] Ubi supr. [y] Sicard, ubi supr. [z] Lucas, ubi supr. Tom. I. p. 88. [a] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 25. [b] Sicard, ubi supr. [c] Herod. ubi supr. [d] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 251. [e] Nat. Hist. ubi supr.

mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again [f]. This animal is easily tamed, but must not be kept where cats are, with which they are at perpetual enmity [g]. a

Of birds there are also great numbers in *Egypt*, particularly ostriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingoes, or *phœnicopteri*, wild geese, herons, ducks, and various other sorts. Those which are proper to the *Nile*, are the *ibis*, the goose with golden feathers, the rice-hen, or hen of *Dimyât* and the *saksak*; which last is the *trochilus* of the ancients [h], observed by them to be the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendship, because this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infest it [i]. The *ibis* deserves particular notice, not only because it is so peculiar to *Egypt*, that it pines away and dies if carried elsewhere, b but for the great use it is of in that country, by destroying the flying serpents, which the south winds bring from the deserts of *Libya*, and are shaped, as the water-snakes, with wings like a bat: in the proper season of the year, these birds in vast numbers, by a peculiar instinct, go and wait on the frontiers for these serpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter *Egypt*. There are two kinds o the *ibis*, one is of a deep black, and about the bigness of a heron: this is the *ibis* which kills the serpents, and is seldom found except only in the lower *Egypt*: the other is white, but has the head, neck, and ends of the wings and tail as black as the former; and are so common that one often sees vast numbers of them. The bill and legs of this bird resemble those of a stork; its usual food (besides the serpents above-mentioned) are snails, locusts, and c other insects [j].

Besides the lakes which are in other parts of *Egypt*, those in the *Delta* near the sea, of which there are three pretty large ones between *Alexandria* and *Tinah* [k], the ancient *Pelusium*, afford great numbers of fish, though not of above seven or eight sorts; two of which they salt; and send large quantities to *Syria*, *Cyprus*, and *Constantinople*. The revenues of one of these lakes alone, called *Manzalah*, bring into the *Turkish* emperor's treasury no less than forty thousand crowns a year. Those who live near these lakes eat a great deal of fresh fish, and very cheap, as the *Israelites* formerly did [l]; but the heat of the climate will not suffer them to be carried far; for which reason the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* are obliged to content themselves with the d fish which the *Nile* affords them. The bed of that river, being very full of mud and slime, communicates a muddy taste to all the fish that are fed in it, except four sorts, which are very excellent. These are the *kesher*, or *lates*, the *latos* of the ancients, which is often so large as to weigh two or three hundred pounds; the *cashouc*, formerly called *oxyrinchus*, from the sharpness of its nose; the *bonni*, which weighs sometimes twenty or thirty pounds, and is the *lepidotus* so much esteemed by the old *Egyptians*; and the *karmûd*, known in ancient writers by the name of *phagrus*: this last is black, grows to the same size as the *bonni*, and is a very voracious fish. What makes these fish the more serviceable to the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* is, that they are to be found in the *Nile* at all seasons of the year, and are very easily taken [m]. e

Of the vegetables of Egypt.

Though woods are very rare in *Egypt*, yet there are some forests of palm-trees towards the deserts of *Libya*; and near *Dandera*, the ancient *Tentyra*, there is one of *doums*, or wild date-trees [n], whose fruit is excessive hard, but much admired by those of the country. Palm-trees are the most common of all others in this country; besides which there are several sorts of fruit-trees, and also some cedars, though not so large, or so frequently to be seen as in *Syria*; and a great thorny tree called *al hilaji*, out of which perhaps the ancient *Egyptians* made those boats mentioned by *Herodotus* [o]. However, *Egypt* is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to plants, the case is very different; the kinds are so very various, that we shall mention only a few, and chiefly those which may give some f light into ancient history.

The first we shall take notice of is the reed *papyrus*, or *byblus*, called at present by the natives *al berdi*. It grows on the banks of the *Nile*, and shoots out a stalk of nine or ten foot high; the trunk is composed of a great number of long strait fibres, which produce small flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a sword, and they make use of them to keep wounds open; the ashes of the stalk also cure those that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the ancients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the stalk, which they worked into a white paste, or glew, and of that made the paper, almost in the

[f] Vid. Diod. Sic. p. 32, 78. [g] Vid. Lucas, ubi supr. p. 245. [h] Sicrad Mem. des Miss. Tom. VI. p. 249. [i] Herodot. ubi supr. [j] Vid. Herod. ibid. Lucas, ubi supr. p. 246. [k] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 233, &c. [l] Numb. xi. 5. [m] Ibid. p. 245, &c. Lucas, ubi sup. p. 242. [n] Sicard, ubi supr. p. 157. [o] Lib. 2.

a the ſame manner as we do our linen rags; but others ſay, it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in *Egypt*, this reed was of great ſervice; for they did not only uſe it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domeſtic utenſils of it; and alſo crowns for their gods, and ſhoes for their prieſts. But more uſeful inventions have ſet all this aſide, and the plant is now entirely neglected [p].

THE flax of *Egypt*, eſpecially one ſort of it, was ſo exceeding fine, and they dreſſed and ſpun it ſo curiouſly, that the threads could ſcarce be ſeen [q]. It grew in ſo great plenty, that they had not only enough to cloath their prieſts (who wore nothing elſe) and people of condition [r], and to make ſhrouds for their dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of *Egypt* was in great requeſt
b over all the eaſt [s]; that ſuperfine ſort of it, called *byſſus*, was often died in purple, and was ſo dear, that none but rich people could afford to wear it.

THE *lotus*, which grows plentifully in the lower *Egypt*, eſpecially near *Raſhîd*, or *Roſetta*, is called by the inhabitants *al baſhnîn*, and is a ſpecies of *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lilly*. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the ſurface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The antient *Egyptians* made bread of the middle, or pulp of this plant dried, which reſembled that of a poppy; and the root of it, which is round, and as big as an apple, was alſo eaten by them [t]. This *lotus* is different from that fruit of the ſame name whereon the *Lotophagi* lived [u]: the *Arabs* at this day make a drink of the *Egyptian lotus*, which
c is very good for inward heat; and they eat the ſtalk and heads of them raw, which are very moiſt and cooling [w].

THE *henna*, called *alcanna* by the botaniſts, is a ſhrub which ſhoots forth a great many branches. Its leaves are like that of an olive tree, but ſhorter, broader, and of a more pleaſant green. The flowers, which are ſet like thoſe of the elder, have an agreeable ſmell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths [x]. The women dye their nails and other parts with a reddiſh colour extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

OTHER plants, the fruits or roots of which are eaten by the inhabitants, are in ſo great abundance, and ſo excellent in their kind, that they are almoſt ſufficient to main-
d tain them without the uſe of corn [y]; and formerly the labouring people ſcarce lived on any thing elſe. It is not therefore ſo ſurprizing, that the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs regretted *the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick* [z], which they uſed to eat ſo freely in *Egypt*.

THE buildings, and other works of the antient *Egyptians*, which have raiſed the admiration of all ſucceeding ages, deſerve a more particular view. *Of the artificial rarities of* Egypt.

THE firſt enquiry generally made by thoſe who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures, which were deſervedly reckoned by the antients among the wonders of the world. *The pyramids.*

THERE are many of them in ſeveral parts of *Egypt*, and particularly in the upper
e *Egypt*, as we have already obſerved; but thoſe which have been chiefly taken notice of and deſcribed by travellers, ſtand on the weſt ſide of the *Nile*, not far from *Jîzah*, which ſucceeded the antient *Memphis*. The number of theſe pyramids is about twenty, of which three, ſtanding pretty near together, are moſt remarkable, and are thoſe which have been ſo often deſcribed. The other lie far ſcattered in the *Libyan* deſert, and are leſſer models of the other, though ſome of them are very conſiderable, particularly one, which ſtands ſouth and by weſt from them, at about twenty miles diſtance more within the deſert, and has been undeſervedly neglected both by antient and modern writers, though it be as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle as any of the former three.

f IT is the common opinion, that the word *pyramid* is derived from the *Greek pyr*, or *Whence ſo named.*
pur, *fire*; and that theſe ſtructures were ſo called from their ſhape, aſcending from a broad baſe, and ending in a point like a flame of fire; others, whoſe opinion *Voſſius* [a] ſeems to approve, ſay, they took the name from *pyros*, which in the ſame language ſignifies *wheat*, becauſe they will have them to be the granaries of the antient *Egyptian* kings; but a late writer, verſed in the *Coptic* tongue, has given us another etymology from that language, wherein *pouro* ſignifies a *king*, and *miſi*, a *race*, or *generation*: and the reaſon why the pyramids had this name given them was, as he tells us, becauſe they were erected to preſerve the memory of thoſe princes and their families; and that thoſe who

[p] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 249, &c. Vid. ROLLIN. Hiſt. anc. V. I. p. 106. Vid. PLIN. l. 13. c. 11.
[q] Vid. PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 19. c. 1. [r] Vid. Geneſ. iv. 42. [s] Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii 7.
[t] HEROD. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 30. [u] HEROD. l. 4. [w] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 257.
[x] Idem, Ibid. [y] PLIN. l. 21. c. 15. [z] Numb. xi. 5. [a] Etymol. ling. Lat. voce Pyramis. Vid. STEPH. de urb. voce Πυραμίδες.

who were deſcended from them, had therefore recourſe to thoſe pillars to prove their pedigree [b] (E). a

By whom built. WHO were the builders of theſe *pyramids* has been matter of much diſpute. *Joſephus* [c], followed by ſome modern writers [d], ſuppoſed, they were erected by the *Iſraelites* during their heavy preſſure under the tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. The ſcriptures however ſeem to be againſt this opinion, for they expreſly make the ſlaviſh employment of that people to have been the making of bricks, whereas all theſe pyramids are of ſtone. Others pretend, they were built by the patriarch *Joſeph*, for granaries to lay up the corn of the ſeven plentiful years [e]; and to ſupport this imagination, alledge the abovementioned derivation from *pyros*, *wheat*: but this opinion is much more groundleſs than the former; for beſides that their figure is the leaſt capacious of any b
regular mathematical body, and therefore improper for ſuch a purpoſe, the ſtraightneſs and lowneſs of the rooms within (the reſt being a ſolid fabric of ſtone) do utterly overthrow ſuch a conjecture.

HERODOTUS ſays, the firſt or greateſt of the three moſt remarkable pyramids was built by *Cheops*, whom *Diodorus* names *Chemmis*; for that they were the ſame perſon will appear hereafter. The ſecond, both thoſe hiſtorians agree to have been erected by *Cephren*, brother and ſucceſſor to the former prince. And the third was the work of *Mycerinus*, the ſon of *Cheops* [f]. This laſt, ſome of the *Greeks* pretended was built by *Rhodopis* [g], or *Rhodope*, a courtezan, whom *Sappho* called *Doricha*, miſtreſs to her brother *Charaxus* [h]. But this is very improbable, if we conſider either her condition, c
or the vaſtneſs of the expence; though ſome, to amend the ſtory, ſay ſeveral governours of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution [i]: beſides, *Herodotus* has ſhewn that ſhe lived long after theſe pyramids were in being [k]. Yet, after all, *Diodorus* confeſſes, that there is little agreement as to theſe pyramids, either among the natives or hiſtorians; ſome ſaying, that the largeſt was built by *Armæus*, the ſecond by *Amaſis*, and the third by *Inaron* [l]; and this uncertainty *Pliny* mentions as a juſt reward of the vanity of the undertakers [m].

THE *Arab* writers aſſign other founders of theſe three pyramids different from thoſe mentioned by the *Greeks*. To omit the fancy of thoſe who thought them built by *Jân ebn Jân*, univerſal monarch of the whole world before *Adam* [n], and the above- d
mentioned opinion, which attributes them to *Joſeph*; ſome ſay, they were erected by *Nimrod*; ſome, by queen *Dalûka*; and others, by the *Egyptians* before the flood. The *Copts* report, that the eaſt pyramid is the ſepulchre of king *Saurid*, the weſtern of his brother *Hûjib*, and the coloured pyramid of *Fazfarinân* the ſon of *Hûjib*. The *Sabians* pretend, that one of them is the ſepulchre of *Seth*, the ſecond of *Hermes* (or *Enoch*), and the third of *Sabi*, from whom this ſect ſay they are denominated: it is alſo ſaid, they go in pilgrimage thither, and ſacrifice at them a cock and a black calf, and offer up incenſe [o]. But the general opinion is, that they were built by *Saurid* before the flood; and the *Copts* mention an inſcription engraven on them to this effect. *I* Saurid, *the king, built the pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years: he that* e
comes after me, and ſays he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down than to build; and when I had finiſhed them I covered them with ſattin, and let him cover them with mats [p].

As the antients have omitted ſpeaking of ſeveral pyramids ſtill remaining in the *Libyan* deſert, ſo have they on the other hand mentioned the names and founders of ſome

[b] WILKINS Differt. de ling. Copt. p. 108. [c] Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. [d] SPONDANUS de cœmet. ſacr. l. 1. c. 6. PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. p. 387, &c. [e] STEPH. de urb. ubi ſupr. NICETAS, NONNUS, &c. apud Greaves, ubi infra. [f] Vid. HEROT. l. 2. DIOD. SIC. l. 1. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] STRABO. l. 17. [i] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. [k] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [l] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. [m] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. 36. c. 12. [n] D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 311. See Introd. p. ult. [o] MERAT ALZEMAN. apud Greaves, ubi infr. Vid. KIRCH. Oedip. Vol. I. p. 74. [p] EBN ABDIAL HOKM.

(E) This gentleman endeavours to ſupport his aſſertion by the authority of *Herodotus*, as if he affirmed, that the *Egyptians* preſerved their genealogies on pillars, and that thoſe pillars were called pyramids: but we do not remember any ſuch thing in that author. The paſſage quoted is no more than this; than when *Hecatæus* the hiſtorian acquainted the prieſt of *Jupiter* with his genealogy, and derived himſelf from no leſs than ſixteen gods, the prieſts would by no means admit, that a man could be begotten by a god, but ſhewed him three hundred and forty five large wooden images of their high-prieſts in a ſpacious edifice, which ſtood in regular order, the ſon being placed after the father; and told him, that none of them had been reputed either a god or a hero; but that each image which he ſaw repreſented a *piromis*, begotten by another *piromis*; the word *piromis* ſignifying no more in their language, than *an honeſt man* (1). It may be obſerved, that *romi*, and, with the article, *piromi*, ſignifies a *man* in the preſent *Coptic*.

1) HEROD. *l.* 2.

a ſome others, not much inferior to theſe three in magnitude, which have been long ſince ruined and defaced by time. *Herodotus* ſays, there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which ſtood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in ſculpture, and a ſubterraneous paſſage to it [q]. This ſeems to be that pyramid wherein *Strabo* tells us *Imandes*, or, as *Diodorus* names him, *Oſymanduas*, was buried [r], and therefore probably built by him; though he differs from *Herodotus* as to the dimenſions, making each ſide of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much [s]. *Pliny*, who agrees with *Herodotus* in this laſt particular, mentions ſeveral pyramids built near the labyrinth, but, if his expreſſion [t] be not miſtaken, deſcribes them to be ſexangular. *Mæris*, who lived after *Oſymanduas*, but long before *Cheops*, alſo
b built two pyramids, one for himſelf and the other for his wife, in the midſt of a lake which he dug, and which we ſhall take notice of by and by. Theſe pyramids were each a furlong in height, and ſtood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble ſtatue, or coloſſus, ſitting on a throne [u]. It is ſaid, that *Cheops*, having exhauſted his treaſures in building the firſt and largeſt pyramid, proſtituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as ſhe could; and that ſhe, at the ſame time ſhe obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herſelf alſo, and aſked every one that came to her to give her a ſtone towards the ſtructure ſhe deſigned: by which means ſhe built a pyramid, which ſtood in the midſt of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to
c the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty foot) on every ſide of the baſis [x]. This ſtory has ſome reſemblance to that of *Rhodopis* abovementioned, and might perhaps have given occaſion to it. After all theſe, *Aſychis*, the ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus*, built a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription cut in ſtone: *Compare me not with the pyramids of ſtone, for I as far excel them as* Jupiter *does the other gods: for, ſtriking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which ſtuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner* [y]. *Diodorus* mentions three other pyramids, each ſide of which contained two hundred feet, and ſays, that *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus* were reputed to have erected them for their wives [z]. Theſe likewiſe are not now to be ſeen, unleſs they ſhould be ſome of thoſe in the deſart,
d which well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by *Diodorus*; but if thoſe princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered why they placed them ſo remote from their own ſepulchres, or at ſuch large and unequal diſtances of ſeveral miles from one another [a].

The time when the pyramids were built.

SINCE it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids that are now ſtanding, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the ſeveral princes to whom they have been attributed, will beſt appear when we diſcourſe of the *Egyptian* chronology: in the mean time we ſhall obſerve, that the leaſt antiquity which can be allowed the ſtructures, ſeems to be near three thouſand years; ſince *Herodotus*, who lived two thouſand two hundred years ago, was able to find ſo little ſatisfaction in his enquiries after them; and *Diodorus*, who lived
e before the birth of our Saviour, ſuppoſes the great pyramid to have been built at leaſt one thouſand years before his time [b].

The end for which they were erected.

NOT to mention a ſecond time the improbability of their conjecture, who imagine theſe buildings were deſigned for granaries, it is the conſtant opinion of moſt authors who have wrote on this ſubject, that they were intended for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead. *Diodorus* expreſly tells us, that *Chemmis* and *Cephren* deſigned thoſe built by them for their ſepulchres, though it happened that neither of them were buried in them [c]; and *Strabo* judges all thoſe near *Memphis* to have been royal ſepulchres [d]: to which the writings of the *Arabs* are conſonant, as has been obſerved above. And if none of theſe authorities were extant, the tomb, which ſtands at this day in the
f firſt pyramid, puts it out of controverſy.

WHY the *Egyptian* kings ſhould have been at ſo vaſt an expence in building of theſe pyramids, is an enquiry of a higher nature. *Ariſtotle* makes them to have been the works of tyranny [e]: and *Pliny* conjectures, that they built them partly out of oſtentation, and partly out of ſtate policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions [f]. But the true reaſon depends on higher conſiderations, and ſprang from the theology of the *Egyptians*; who not only believed the reſurrection, but that as long as the body endured, ſo long the ſoul continued with it; which laſt was alſo the opinion of the *Stoics* [g]. And hence it was, that this nation took that exceſſive

[q] HERODOT. l. 2. [r] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 44. [s] STRABO, l. 17. [t] Senas radicum oras obtinentes. PLIN. l. 36. c. 13. [u] HEROD. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. [x] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [y] Idem ib. [z] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. [a] Greaves Deſcr. of the pyramids, p. 113. [b] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 57. [c] Idem ibid. p. 58. [d] STRABO, l. 17. [e] ARISTOT. polit. l. 3. [f] PLIN. l. 36. c. 12. [g] Vid. SERVIUM in Virgil. Æn. 3.

ceſſive care to preſerve the corps from corruption, and were at ſo great coſts in raiſing monuments for them, as will be ſpecified hereafter a

The reaſon why they frequently made uſe of the pyramidal figure for theſe monuments (for they were not always of that ſhape), to omit ſeveral philoſophical fancies of little ſolidity [h], ſeems to have been, becauſe it is the moſt permanent form of ſtructure; for by reaſon of the gradual contracting and leſſening of it at the top, it is neither overpreſſed with its own weight, nor is ſubject to the ſinking in of rain, as other buildings: or elſe they might thereby intend to repreſent ſome of their gods; pyramids, and obeliſks, which are but a leſſer ſort of pyramids being both by them and other heathens, antiently made uſe of and worſhipped as images of ſeveral deities [i].

This practice of the *Egyptians* of erecting pyramids, or columns of that ſhape, for ſepulchres, was alſo ſometimes, though not very frequently, imitated by other nations. That of *Porſena* king of *Etruria*, built by him near *Cluſium* in *Italy*, was accounted almoſt miraculous; though it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any exceſſive magnitude [k]. The tomb of *C. Cæſtius*, now ſtanding at *Rome* near the *mons teſtaceus*, or *il Doliolo*, is built after the model of thoſe of *Egypt*, but is much leſs. b

Their deſcription.

The dimenſions and deſcriptions of the three greateſt of the pyramids of *Memphis* have been given by ſeveral writers, both antient hiſtorians and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimenſions. A countryman of our own, who meaſured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greateſt accuracy, ſeems to have been the moſt exact; for which reaſon we ſhall chiefly adhere to his obſervations. c

The dimenſions of the firſt pyramid.

The firſt and faireſt of theſe three pyramids is ſituated on a rocky hill, in the ſandy deſart of *Lybia*, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of *Egypt*; above which the rock riſes 100 feet or better, with a gentle and eaſy aſcent. Upon this advantageous riſe and ſolid foundation is the pyramid erected; the height of the ſituation adding to the beauty of the work, and the ſolidity of the rock affording it a ſtable ſupport. The north ſide, near the baſis, being meaſured by a *radius* of 10 feet in length, taking two ſeveral ſtations, was found by our author to be 693 *Engliſh* feet. The other ſides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient diſtance to place the inſtruments. The altitude, if meaſured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid aſcends inclining; then is it equal in reſpect of the lines ſubtending the ſeveral angles, to the latitude of the baſis (F). Whereby it appears, that though ſeveral of the antients have exceſſively magnified the height of theſe pyramids, yet the biggeſt of them falls ſhort of the height of St. *Paul*'s church in *London*: which, from the ground to the top of the lanthorn only, is no leſs than 470 feet. If we imagine on the ſides of the baſis, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral triangles mutually d

[h] Vid. Auctor. anonym. ad calcem Hieroglyph. Pierii. [i] Vid. Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 62.
[k] Vid. eund. ibid. p. 64. [l] Vid. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 45. Ammian. Marcel. l. 23.

(F) According to *Herodotus*, each face of this pyramid contains 8 *plethra*, or 800 *Grecian* feet, in length (1). *Diodorus Siculus* (who comes neareſt the truth) makes this dimenſion but 7 *plethra*, or 700 feet (2): and *Strabo*, leſs than a furlong (3); that is, leſs than 600 *Grecian*, or 625 *Roman* feet. Whereas *Pliny* equals it to 883 (4). As to the height, *Herodotus* ſays, it is equal to the breadth of one of its ſides; which is true, if taken for the inclining, and not the perpendicular altitude. By *Strabo*'s computation, the height exceeds the breadth: but *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be ſomething leſs. The altitude of this pyramid was taken by *Thales* the *Mileſian*; but his admeaſurement is not preſerved. The method propoſed by him to do it, muſt be very uncertain; for it was by obſerving the hour when the ſhadow of the body is equal to its height (5).

Of the modern travellers, *Belon* or rather *Gyllius* (for the other it is ſaid was a plagiary, and publiſhed the obſervations of *Gyllius* in his own name) (6) makes the breadth of each ſide 324 paces; and the height 250 ſteps, each ſtep being 45 inches high (7). *Marco Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia* and afterwards cardinal, computes it to be 270 paces broad, and as much in height (8). Prince *Radzivil* ſays, it is reported to be 300 cubits every way (9). *Della Valle* ſets down nothing preciſely, but acquieſces in the meaſures of *Belon* (10). *Thevenot* tells us it is 520 feet high, on a ſquare baſe of 682 feet (11). And *Le Bruyn* calculates the height to be 112 fathom; which, at 5 feet and a half to the fathom, is 616 feet: and the breadth 300 paces, or 128 fathom; that is, according to the ſame proportion, 704 feet (12). *Wanſleb* ſays, the ſides of the pyramids are not equal; it being viſible in the largeſt, and ſo in the others, that the north ſide is longer than that which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt; (which expreſſion perhaps the reader may underſtand, but we do not): the dimenſions he gives us, are thoſe of *Thevenot* (13). The *Arab* writers make the perpendicular height 317 cubits, and the breadth of each ſide 460 (14).

(1) Herod. *l.* 2. (2) Diod. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 57. (3) Strabo. *l.* 17. *p.* 1161. (4) Plin. *l.* 36. *c.* 12. (5) Plin. *ibid. Vid.* Diog. Laert. *in vita Thaletis.* (6) *Vid.* Thuan. *Hiſt. l.* 16. (7) Belon. *Obſerv. l.* 2. *c.* 44. (8) *Apud Kircher Oedip. Vol.* III. *p.* 294. (9) Radzivil. *Jeroſol. peregr. p.* 161. (10) Della Valle *Lett.* 11. *p.* 359. (11) Theven. *Voy. l.* 1. *c.* 5. (12) Le Bruyn. *Voy.* (13) Wansleb, *apud Ray, Collect. of travels, Vol.* II. *p.* 137, 138. (14) *Vid.* Kircher *ubi ſupr. p.* 300.

a mutually inclining till they meet in a point (for ſo the top ſeems to thoſe who ſtand below,) then we ſhall have a juſt idea of the true dimenſions and figure of this pyramid ; the *area* of whoſe baſis contains 480,249 ſquare feet, or ſomething more than eleven *Engliſh* acres of ground ; a proportion ſo monſtrous, that did not the ancients atteſt as much, and ſome of them more (G), it might appear incredible.

The outſide of the pyramid.

THE aſcent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or ſteps, the lowermoſt of which is near 4 feet in height, and 3 in breadth; and running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the ſtones were entire, on every ſide. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, benching in near 3 feet. In the ſame manner is the third row placed on the ſecond ; and the reſt in order, like ſo many ſtairs, riſing one
b above another to the top ; which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or ſquare of 13,280 *Engliſh* feet broad, and conſiſting of 9 ſtones, beſides two which are wanting at the corners (H). This pyramid, by reaſon of the ſtones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently aſcended, except on the ſouth ſide, or at the north-eaſt angle. The ſteps are made of maſſy and poliſhed ſtones, ſaid to have been hewn out of the *Arabian* mountains [m], which bound the upper *Egypt* on the eaſt ; and are ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every ſtep is one ſingle ſtone. *Herodotus* makes the leaſt ſtone to be 30 feet [n] ; and this may be granted in ſome, but not in all, unleſs his words be underſtood of cubical feet ; which dimenſion, or a greater, in the exterior ones, may, without difficulty, be admitted. It
c is alſo to be obſerved, that the ſteps are not all of equal depth ; for ſome are near 4 feet, and others want of 3, diminiſhing the higher one aſcends: and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth ; ſo that a right line, extended from the baſis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of theſe ſteps is not mentioned by any of the antients ; but modern travellers differ very much in their computation (I). Our author and two others counted them very carefully, and found them to be 207 ; though one of them in deſcending reckoned 208.

HENCE it may be conſidered, how far we may credit what ſome ſay, *viz.* that an arrow ſhot from the top of this pyramid cannot fly beyond the baſis, but will fall on ſome of the ſteps ; it being certain, that an indifferent arm can eaſily ſhoot an arrow
d much farther than one half of the breadth of this pyramid : it is confeſſed, however, that a man, unleſs he be very ſtrong, cannot throw a ſtone from the top, ſo as to make it fall beyond the ſteps [o]. Some of the antients have reported, that theſe pyramids caſt no ſhadow [p] ; which if taken ſtrictly, muſt be alſo a miſtake : it is true, for almoſt three quarters of the year they caſt no ſhadow at noon ; but in winter they certainly do.

The inſide of it.

As to the inſide of this pyramid, the antients are altogether ſilent except only that *Herodotus* ſays, there were ſubterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it ſtands ; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the *Nile* thither by a trench, and formed a little iſland in the midſt of the water, deſigning to place his ſepulchre on that ground [q]. *Strabo* alſo mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be
e ſeen on removing a ſtone which covered it [r] ; and *Pliny* takes notice of a well of 86 cubits

[m] HEROD. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. BRUYN. Voy. Yet ſee LUCAS, T. I. p. 45. MARCELL. l. 22. CASSIODOR. var. 7. form. 15.

[n] HEROD. ubi ſup. POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 9.

[o] LE

[p] SOLIN. Polyhiſt. c. 45. AUSON. Idyll. 3. AMM.

[q] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

[r] STRABO ubi ſupr.

On this platform *Proclus* ſuppoſed the *Egyptian* prieſts made their aſtronomical obſervations (10) ; but it is far from being probable, that theſe ſtructures were deſigned for obſervatories. And it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the prieſts would take the pains to aſcend ſo high, when they might make the ſame obſervations with more eaſe, and as much certainty below ; having as free and open a proſpect of the heavens, and over the plains of *Egypt*, from the rock itſelf, as from the tops of the pyramids (11).

(I) *Belon* counts 250, *Sandys* 255, *Lewenſtein* 260, *Helfricus* 230, *Grimani* and *Le Bruyn* 210, *Lucas* 243, and *Thevenot* 208 (12). This laſt author obſerves, it is very difficult to count them exactly ; not only becauſe a man may miſcount, but becauſe ſeveral of the lower ſteps are, in ſome places, covered with ſand.

(G) The area, according to *Herodotus*, muſt be 640,000 ; and according to *Diodorus* 490,000 ſquare feet. *Pliny* aſſigns the baſis to be but 8 *Roman jugera* ; which is probably a miſtake of the tranſcriber ; for the ſquare of the ſide, by his admeaſurement, muſt be no leſs than 779,689 *Roman* feet, almoſt equal to 28 *jugera* (1).

(H) *Herodotus* gives no dimenſions of this flat ; *Diodorus* ſays, it is 9 feet (2) ; but *Pliny* ſeems to make it 25 feet, if we rightly underſtand the paſſage of that author ; for *Hardouin* is ſurely miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to mean that the pyramid was 15,000 feet high (3). *Belon* ſays, the diameter is 2 paces (4), *Radzivil* 10 cubits (5), and *Thevenot* about 16 feet and 2 thirds (6). They differ alſo in the number of ſtones which cover it ; one will have it a ſingle ſtone (7) ; another counts 3 (8) ; and a third 11 or 12 (9).

(1) *Vid.* PLIN. *l.* 36. *c.* 12. (2) DIOD. SIC. *l.* 1. *p.* 57. (3) PLIN. *ubi ſupr. Vid.* HARDUIN. *in loc.* (4) BELON, *ubi ſupr.* (5) RADZIV. *Ieroſ. pereg. p.* 162. (6) THEV. *ubi ſupr.* (7) *Voy. de* VILLAMONT. (8) SANDYS *Trav. p.* 100. (9) THEVEN. *ubi ſupr.* (10) PROCL. *in* Tim. (11) GREAVES, *ubi ſupr. p.* 73. *Vid* CICERON. *de divinat. l.* 1. (12) *See the places quoted above, and* LUCAS *Voy. T.* I. *p.* 45.

cubits in depth, into which he ſuppoſes the water of the *Nile* was brought by ſome a
ſecret aqueduct *. What the *Arabs* relate of the inner parts of theſe buildings, is no
better than a romance; for which reaſon we ſhall proceed to thoſe accounts that may
be better depended on.

THE entrance into the pyramid is by a ſquare narrow paſſage, which opens in the
midſt of the north-ſide on the 16th ſtep, or aſcending 38 feet (K), on an artificial
bank of earth. The ſtone that is over it is very big, being near 12 feet long, and a-
bove 8 feet wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in
breadth exactly 3,463 *Engliſh* feet, and in length 92 feet and an half. The ſtructure
of it has been the labour of an exquiſite hand, as appears by the ſmoothneſs and
evenneſs of the work, and cloſe knitting of the joints, a property long ſince obſerved b
by *Diodorus* to have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of
this paſſage there is another like the former, but goes a little riſing: at the meeting
of theſe two paſſages, the one deſcending, and the other aſcending, the lowermoſt
ſtone of the roof, perpendicular to it, forms a ſharp ridge, between which and the
ſand there is ſometimes not a foot ſpace to paſs through; ſo that a man muſt ſlide on
his belly cloſe to the ground, and yet grate his back againſt the above-mentioned
ſtone, unleſs he be very ſlender. However, this difficulty is occaſioned chiefly by the
ſand which the wind drives into this place; for if the paſſage be cleared, it is of the
ſame demenſions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in
this pyramid to admit the light, it may eaſily be conceived, that thoſe who would c
view the inſide muſt carry lights with them.

HAVING paſſed this ſtreight, on the right hand there is an ugly broken hole of
about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy conſiderati-
on: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curioſity, or
hopes of diſcovering ſome hidden treaſure, is uncertain. On the left hand, adjoin-
ing to the narrow entrance, climbing up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone, 8 or 9 feet in height,
one enters on the lower end of the firſt gallery; the pavement of which riſes with a
gentle acclivity, conſiſting of ſmooth poliſhed marble, and where not ſmeered with duſt
and filth, appearing of a white and alabaſter colour; the ſides and roof of unpoliſhed
ſtone, not ſo hard and compact as that of the pavement; the breadth of this gallery d
is almoſt 5 feet, the height about as much, and the length 110 feet. At the end of
it there are two paſſages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the
other high and riſing like the former. At the entry of the lower paſſage, on the right
hand, is the well mentioned by *Pliny*, which is circular, and a little above 3 foot dia-
meter: the ſides are lined with white marble, and the deſcent is by fixing the hands
and feet in little open ſpaces cut in the ſides within, oppoſite and anſwering to one an-
other in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for deſcending into moſt of the wells
and ciſterns at *Alexandria*. This well might lead to the vault above-mentioned; but
it is almoſt now ſtopped up with rubbiſh, and not above 20 feet deep.

LEAVING the well, and going ſtrait on the diſtance of 15 feet, one enters another e
paſſage opening againſt the former, and of the ſame dimenſions, the ſtones of which
are very maſſy, and exquiſitely joined. This paſſage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads
to an arched vault, or chamber, ſtanding due eaſt and weſt, of a grave-like ſmell,
and half full of rubbiſh; its length not quite 20 feet, the breadth about 17, and the
height leſs than 15: the walls are entire, and plaiſtered over with lime; the roof is
covered with large ſmooth ſtones, not lying flat, but ſhelving, and meeting above in
an angle. On the eaſt ſide of this room, in the middle of it, *Greaves* ſays, there
ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place, but neither *Thevenot*, nor *Le*
Bruyn could diſcover any ſuch.

RETURNING back through the narrow horizontal paſſage, you climb over it, and f
enter into the other, or ſecond gallery, on the left, divided from the firſt gallery by
the wall, in which is the entrance to the laſt mentioned paſſage. This ſecond gallery is
a very ſtately piece of work, and not inferior, either in curioſity of art, or richneſs of
materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent buildings: it riſes with an angle of
26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but if meaſured on the
pavement, ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity of about 15 feet, before de-
ſcribed, between the well and the ſquare hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the
breadth 6,870 feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midſt,
there

* PLIN. ubi ſupr.

(K) In the following deſcription we have only given the meaſures of *Greaves*, though other travellers vary both from him and one another therein. But we did not think thoſe variations conſiderable enough to be particularly ſet down.

a there being a ſtone bench on each ſide of the wall, of one foot and $\frac{7}{10}\frac{1}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of theſe benches, near the angle where they cloſe with the wall, are little ſpaces, cut in right-angled parallel figures, ſet in each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than ornament. The ſtone of which this gallery is built, is a white and poliſhed marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernable by a curious eye: but what adds grace to the whole ſtructure, though it makes the paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the aſcent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated by certain holes made in the floor, about ſix hands breadth from one another, into which a man may ſet his feet, while he holds by the
b bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the ſide walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful; and that is, that all the courſes, which are but ſeven, do ſet and ſlag over one another about 3 inches, the bottom of the upper courſe overſetting the higher part of the next below it, in order as they deſcend.

HAVING paſſed this admirable gallery, one enters another ſquare hole, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, which leads into two ſmall antichambers, or cloſets, lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of *Thebaic* marble. The firſt of theſe is almoſt equal to the ſecond, which is of an oblong figure, one ſide containing 7 feet, and the other 3 and a half: the height is 10 feet, and the floor level. On the eaſt and weſt ſides,
c within 2 feet and a half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three ſemicircular cavities, or little ſeats.

THE inner antichamber is ſeparated from the former by a ſtone of red ſpeckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a ſluice) between two walls, more than 3 feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. From this ſecond cloſet you enter another ſquare hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; beſides which, no other ſculptures, or engravings, are obſerved in the whole pyramid (L). This ſquare paſſage is of the ſame wideneſs as the reſt, and in length near 9 feet, being all of *Thebaic* marble moſt exquiſitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very ſumptuous and well proportioned room. The diſtance from
d the end of the ſecond gallery to this entry, running upon the ſame level, is 24 feet.

THIS magnificent and ſpacious chamber, in which art may ſeem to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, ſtands, as it were, in the heart and center of the pyramid, equidiſtant from all the ſides, and almoſt in the midſt between the baſis and the top. The floor, the ſides, and the roof of it are all made of vaſt and exquiſite tables of *Thebaic* marble, which, if they were not obſcured by the ſteam of torches, would appear gliſtering and ſhining. From the top of it deſcending to the bottom, there are about ſix ranges of ſtone, all which being reſpectively ſized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the ſame altitude run round the room. The ſtones which cover this chamber are of a ſtupendous length, like ſo many
e huge beams lying flat and traverſing the room, and withal ſupporting that infinite maſs and weight of the pyramid above. Of theſe there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are leſs by half in breadth than the reſt, the one at the eaſt end, and the other at the weſt. The length of the chamber on the ſouth ſide, moſt accurately taken at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 34.380 *Engliſh* feet; the breadth of the weſt ſide, at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 17.190 feet; and the height 19 feet and a half.

WITHIN this glorious room ſtands the monument of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell; which laſt particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but becauſe ſome authors have taken notice
f of it as ſuch. Some write, that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already obſerved, that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the ſame kind of ſtone with which the whole room is lined, being a ſpeckled marble, with black, white, and red ſpots, as it were, equally mixed, which ſome call *Thebaic* marble; but Mr. *Greaves* rather conceives it to be that ſort of porphyry which *Pliny* calls *Leucoſtictos*, of which there were, and ſtill are, an infinite number of columns in *Egypt*; though *Burretini*, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from mount *Sinai*, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the ſame colours, and that he had

(L) It may therefore be juſtly wondered whence the *Arabians* borrowed thoſe vain traditions, that all ſciences are inſcribed within the pyramids in hieroglyphics; and alſo upon what authority *Cornelius* (or rather *Ælius*) *Gallus* is ſaid to have therein ingraven his victories (1).

(1) XIPHIL. *in Cæſ. Aug.*

had ſeen among them a great column of the ſame marble left imperfect, almoſt as big as that called *Pompey's* pillar, near *Alexandria*. a

The figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely ſet together; it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture, or engraving. The outward ſuperficies is in length 7 feet 3 inches and a half, and in depth 3 feet 3 inches and 3 quarters. The hollow inſide is in length on the weſt ſide 6.488 feet, in breadth at the north end 2.218 feet, and in depth 2.860 feet. As this monument could not have been brought hither through the abovementioned narrow paſſages, it is ſuppoſed to have been raiſed and placed there before the roof of the chamber was cloſed. It ſtands exactly in the meridian, or due north and ſouth, and as it were equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber, except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt. Under it b there is a little hollow ſpace dug away, and a large ſtone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which *Sandys* imagined to be a paſſage into ſome other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding ſome treaſure hidden there; it being a ſuperſtitious prodigality practiſed by the antients, and continued to this day in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to conceal money in their ſepulchres. In the ſouth and north ſides of the chamber there are two inlets oppoſite to one another, ſeven tenths of a foot broad, four tenths of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a ſtrait line 6 feet and farther into the thickneſs of the wall: that on the ſouth ſide is larger and ſomewhat round, not ſo long as the former, and by the blackneſs within ſeems to have been made uſe of for ſetting of lamps. c

This is all that is to be ſeen within this firſt pyramid; but there is one thing more to be obſerved, and that is a very ſurprizing echo, which *Plutarch* takes notice of, and ſays, that it anſwers four or five times [t]; but a late traveller aſſures us, that it repeats no leſs than ten or twelve times very diſtinctly [u]. If we conſider the narrow entrance of the pyramid, and the length of the two galleries, which all lie as it were in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loſs to account for this effect; for the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe ſmooth paſſages, as in ſo many pipes, or trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects on itſelf, and cauſes a circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes as the motion ceaſes [w].

The ſecond pyramid.

Scarce the flight of an arrow diſtant from the firſt, towards the ſouth, ſtands the d ſecond pyramid, of which, beſides the miracle, both antient and modern writers have delivered very little. *Herodotus* ſays it falls ſhort of the other in magnitude, he having meaſured them both, but he does not give the dimenſions: he adds, that it has no ſubterraneous chambers, neither is the *Nile* conveyed into it by a channel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude [x]. *Diodorus* is ſomewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in reſpect of magnitude; each ſide of the baſis containing a ſtadium, or 600 *Grecian* feet, in length [y]; ſo that, by his computation, each ſide ſhould want 100 *Grecian* feet of the former pyramid. *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet [z]. Moſt of the modern travellers do alſo agree this pyramid to be leſs than the other [a]. *Thevenot* makes it but e 631 feet ſquare [b]. However, *Strabo* ſuppoſes theſe pyramids to be equal [c]; and Mr. *Greaves*, on the credit of a perſon who meaſured the ſecond with a line, aſſures us, the baſes of both are alike; and that the height taken by a deliberate conjecture (which it is eaſy to do by reaſon of the nearneſs of this and the former, and their ſtanding on the ſame plain) is not inferior to that of the firſt. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white ſtones, not near ſo vaſt as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with degrees like that, but are ſmooth and equal; the whole fabric (except where it is oppoſed to the ſouth) ſeeming very entire, free from any deformed breaches [d].

The prieſts lodgings near it.

On the north and weſt ſides of this ſecond pyramid are two very ſtately and elaborate pieces, about 30 feet in depth, and above 1400 in length, cut out of the rock f in a perpendicular, and ſquared by the chiſſel; being deſigned, as is ſuppoſed, for lodgings of the *Egyptian* prieſts. They run parallel to the two ſides of the pyramid, at a convenient diſtance from it, and meeting in a right angle make a very fair proſpect. The entrance is by ſquare openings hewn out of the rock, much of the ſame ſize with the narrow paſſages of the firſt pyramid, each leading into a ſquare chamber, arched above with the natural rock. In moſt of them was a paſſage opening into ſome other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbiſh. On the north ſide without, there is a line engraven in ſacred *Egyptian* characters [e].

The

[t] Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 4. c. 20. [u] Lucas, ubi ſupr. T. I. p. 43. [w] Vid. Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 67—101. Thevenot, part 1. c. 5. Le Bruyn. T. 2. Della Valle, lit. 11. p. 359, &c. [x] Herod. l. 2. [y] Diod. Sic. l. 1. [z] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. [a] Radzivil. p. 163. Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 46. Sandys, p. 102, &c. [b] Theven. ubi ſupr. [c] Strabo, l. 17. p. [d] Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 103, &c. [e] Idem ibid. p. 106, &c.

a THE third pyramid ſtands at the diſtance of about a furlong from the ſecond, on an advantageous riſing of the rock, whereby afar off it ſeems equal to the former, though the pile be much leſs and lower. *Herodotus* ſays it is 300 feet on every ſide (M), and to the middle built of *Ethiopic* marble [f]. *Diodorus* gives the ſame dimenſions of the baſis, and adds, that the walls were raiſed fifteen ſtories with black ſtone, like *Thebaic* marble, and the reſt finiſhed with ſuch materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet for the ſtructure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them; and that in the ſide, towards the north, the name of *Mycerinus*, the founder, is engraved [g]. *Pliny* writes to the ſame effect, except only that he makes this pyramid 363 feet be-
b tween the angles [h]. *Belon* tells us, that it is but a third part greater, than that of *C. Cæſtius* at *Rome*; and that it is ſtill perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, conſiſting of a kind of *Ethiopic* marble called *Baſaltes*, harder than iron itſelf [i]. The deſcriptions of others of the moderns concur in the ſame tale as to ſubſtance, only differing as to ſome circumſtances; ſo that they all ſeem to have copied *Herodotus*, or one another, and ſurfeited with the view of the two other pyramids, not to have been near this, ſince they ſo conſtantly agree in what is moſt evidently falſe; for they have miſtaken both the quality of the ſtone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white ſtone ſomewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the two other pyramids: there are indeed the ruins
c of a pile of buildings on the eaſt ſide of it, of a ſad and duſky colour, which might be the occaſion of the error. But *Belon*, and thoſe who follow him, are more inexcuſable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of *Cæſtius*, which exactly meaſured, on that ſide which ſtands within the city, is compleatly 78 *Engliſh* feet in breadth, to which if we add a third part, the reſult will be 104, which ſhould be equal to this *Egyptian* pyramid. An unpardonable overſight, of no leſs than 200 feet in a very little more than 300. For ſo much beſides the authority of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, Mr. *Greaves* takes the ſide of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the ſame proportion. The name of *Mycerinus* is not now to be ſeen on it, the engraving having been defaced by time [k].

The third pyramid.

d To the deſcriptions of theſe three pyramids we ſhall add that of a fourth, which ſtands near the *mummies*, and which we take to be that remarkable one mentioned above. This pyramid would fall nothing ſhort of the beauty of the firſt, if it had been finiſhed: it has 148 ſteps of large ſtones like the firſt pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the ſtones being ſet together without order, which ſhews, that it has not been finiſhed, and yet it is much more antient than the other; as is evident by the ſtones which are all worn out and crumbled into ſand. It is 643 feet ſquare, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the north ſide, as the former, being diſtant from the eaſt ſide 316 feet, and by conſequence 327 from the weſt. There is but one paſſage into it, 3 feet and a half broad, and 4 feet high, which reaching 267 feet
e downwards, ends in a hall with a ſharp arched roof 25 feet and a half in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another paſſage, or gallery, parallel to the horizon, 3 feet ſquare within, and 9 feet and a half long, which leads to another chamber 21 feet in length and 11 in breadth, with a very high arched roof alſo, having at the weſt end a ſquare window raiſed 24 feet and two thirds from the floor, by which one enters into a paſſage indifferent broad, and of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and 2 inches. There is a great room, or hall, at the end of this paſſage, with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet 8 inches, and in breadth 24 feet and 1 inch: the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all ſides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little ſmooth and even ſpace in the
f middle encompaſſed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room or the foundation of the wall [l].

A fourth pyramid.

In what manner theſe wonderful ſtructures were erected, and by what contrivance the ſtones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were raiſed to that height, has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. *Herodotus*, whoſe expreſſions are not very clear, ſuppoſes, that when they had laid the firſt range, they raiſed other ſtones thither from the ground,

How the pyramids were built.

[f] HERODOT. l. 2. [g] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 57. Vid. STRAB. ubi ſupr. [h] PLIN. ubi ſupr. [i] BELON Obſerv. l. 2. c. 44. [k] GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 108, &c. [l] THEVENOT, Voy. part 1. c. 6.

(M) Yet he tells us that it wants but 20 feet on on each ſide of the firſt pyramid, which muſt be a miſtake; unleſs we charge it rather on the copies, and inſtead of 20 read 500 feet. Mr. *Littlebury*, in his tranſlation of *Herodotus*, ſuppoſes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a miſtake as the other.

ground, by ſhort engines made of wood; that when the ſtone was lodged on this row, it was put into another engine ſtanding on the firſt ſtep, from whence it was drawn up to the ſecond row by another, there being as many engines as orders of ſtone; or elſe there might be but one engine, which they might remove as there was occaſion. He ſays alſo, that the higheſt parts were firſt finiſhed, and the reſt in order, but laſt of all thoſe that are loweſt and next the ground [m]. *Diodorus* imagines the work was erected by the help of mounds, which he ſays the *Egyptians* pretended were raiſed of ſalt and nitre, and that they were diſſolved and waſhed away by letting in the river [n]. With this writer *Pliny* agrees, adding, that others were of opinion that bridges were made of bricks, which, the work being ended, were diſtributed into private houſes; conceiving that the *Nile* being much lower, could not come to waſh them away [o]. *Greaves* thinks, it was done none of theſe ways; but that they firſt built a large tower in the midſt, reaching to the top; to the ſides of which he conceives the reſt of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like ſo many buttereſſes, ſtill leſſening in height, till at laſt they came to the lowermoſt degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the eaſieſt projection.

If what the antients deliver be true, that the ſtones made uſe of in the building of theſe pyramids, were fetched either from the quarries in the *Arabian* mountains, *Thebaïs*, or *Ethiopia*, we need not be ſurprized when we are told, that *Cheops* employed 100,000 men in this labour, 10,000 every three months [p]. But ſome modern travellers, obſerving that theſe ſtructures are built not with marble, but with a white ſandy ſtone, and very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they ſtand [q]. We think a middle opinion the moſt probable; that the aforeſaid rock indeed ſupplied them with great part of the materials, but that the marble of the inner rooms and paſſages was brought thither from ſome other place. *Wanſleb* imagines the greateſt pyramid to be nothing but a rock cut in that ſhape, and covered with a wall of ſtone [r]; a piece of work, to our apprehenſion, full as difficult as erecting a like maſs of ſtones from the quarry.

Diodorus makes the number of men employed in building the firſt pyramid 360,000, and *Pliny* 366,000. It is agreed, that twenty years were ſpent in the work: and *Herodotus* adds, that there was in his time an inſcription on the pyramid, though it be ſince worn out, declaring, how much was expended in radiſhes, onions, and garlick for the workmen, which, his interpreter told him, amounted to no leſs than 1600 talents of ſilver, or about 413,333 *l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling [s].

Some late writers think, there is no beauty in theſe ſtructures, except their prodigious ſize [t], though they might formerly be reckoned among the wonders of the world, when they were, as is ſuppoſed, caſed with marble, before the latter kings of *Egypt* took it away to adorn their palaces [u]; which is a piece of hiſtory we cannot warrant. However, a very intelligent traveller judges them, in their preſent condition, worthy the magnificence of the old *Egyptian* kings; adding, that no prince now in the world (without diſparagement to any) is able to raiſe ſuch a pile of building [w]: and antient writers ſay, that they were magnificent beyond expreſſion, and ſingly comparable to many of the greateſt ſtructures in *Greece* conſidered together; that they exceeded all other works in *Egypt*, not only in the maſſineſs of the building, and in the expence, but alſo in the induſtry and ſkill of the workmen; the *Egyptians* themſelves, thinking (very juſtly), that the architects were more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence; for the former erected them by their own abilities and contrivance, the latter by their wealth received by inheritance, and the labours of others [x].

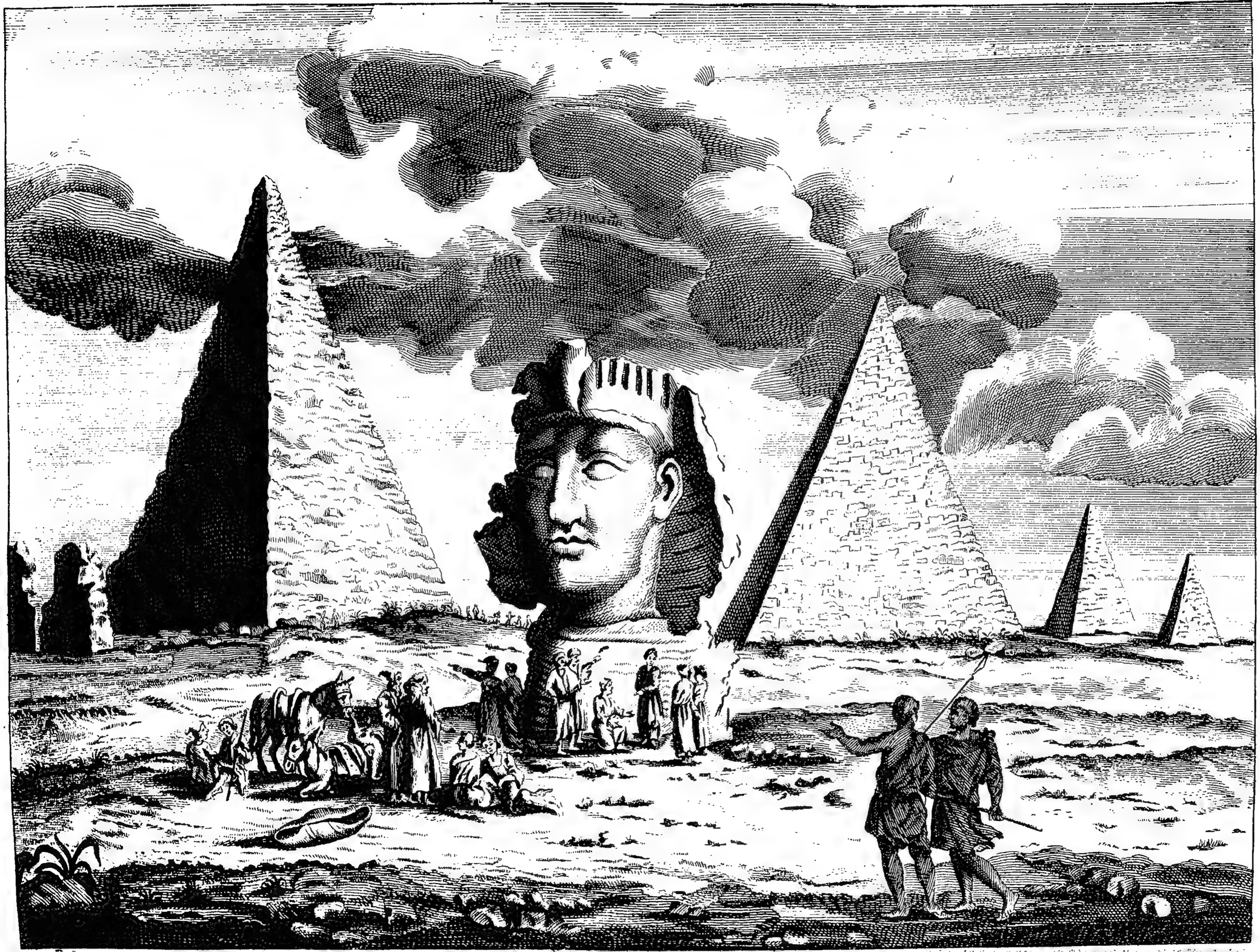
One thing more remarkable in the firſt pyramid is, that the ſides of it do ſtand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and conſequently mark the true meridian of the place (N); which preciſe poſition could not well have been owing to chance, but was in all probability the effect of art and deſign; and that it was really ſo, is confirmed by the ſame poſition of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progreſs made by the *Egyptians* in aſtronomy [y].

Hero-

[m] Herod. l. 2. [n] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. [o] Plin. ubi ſupr. [p] Herod. l. 2. [q] Thevenot, part 1. c 5. Wansleb, ubi ſupr. [r] Wansleb, ibid. [s] Vid. Herod. Diodor. & Plin. ubi ſupr. [t] Figueroa Emb. di Perſia. Sicard, Mem. des Miſſ. T. II. p. 281. [u] Sicard, ibid. [w] Thevenot, ubi ſupr. [x] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſupr. [y] Vid. Fountenelle, Elog. de Mr. de Chazelles. p. 91. Lucas, Tom. I. p. 366.

(N) Mr. *de Chazelles*, who made this obſervation, and was on the ſpot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we ſhall here ſet down the dimenſions of this pyramid as taken by him, and the rather, becauſe they come the neareſt to thoſe of Mr. *Greaves*. The ſide of the baſe as, according to this gentleman, 110 *toiſes*, which is, as we compute, 704.880 *Engliſh* feet; and the perpendicular height 77 *toiſes* and 3 quarters, or 498.222 *Engliſh* feet (1).

(1) *Vid.* Rollin. *Hiſt. anc. T.* I. *p.* 20.



a HERODOTUS mentions a bridge near this pyramid, and little leſs conſiderable than the pyramid itſelf: but there are now no remains of it to be ſeen. It was 40 ſtadia, or about 5 miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the higheſt part 80 feet in altitude; all of poliſhed ſtones, and carved with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years [z].

Other pyramids.

HAVING been ſo diffuſive in the deſcription of the pyramids of *Memphis*, we may be excuſed taking notice of thoſe which are to be ſeen in other parts of *Egypt*; obſerving only that they are not all of the ſame form, ſome being round and almoſt like a ſugar-loaf, and others riſing with a leſſer inclination, and not ſo pointed at the top [a]. *Lucas* aſſures us, that there are no leſs than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, b and two in *al Feyyûm*, nothing inferior to thoſe of *al Kâhira* [b].

Of the labyrinth.

THE *Egyptian* labyrinth, from whence *Dædalus* is ſuppoſed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in *Crete*, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it [c], was a celebrated ſtructure; and yet *Herodotus*, who ſaw it, ſays, that it far ſurpaſſed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids [d]. As there were at leaſt 3 buildings of this kind, antient writers, not diſtinguiſhing them, generally ſpeak but of one, and conſequently with great confuſion and diſagreement.

THEY tell us, it ſtood in the *Heracleotic* nome, near the city of *Crocodiles*, or *Arſinoe*, a little above the lake *Mœris* [e]. *Pliny* ſays, it was built by *Peteſuccus*, or *Tithoes*, c one of the demigods, 4600 years before his time; but that *Demoteles* would have it to be the palace of *Motherudes*; *Lyceas* the ſepulchre of *Mœris*; and others the temple of the ſun [f]. It is recorded by *Manetho*, that *Lachares*, or *Labares*, the ſucceſſor of *Seſoſtris*, provided a labyrinth for his monument [g]. And *Diodorus* writes, that *Mendes*, or *Marus*, alſo built one for the ſame purpoſe, which was not ſo conſiderable on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it [h]: but this ſeems to be a different building from that deſcribed by him a little after, which is in all probability the ſame with the labyrinth of *Herodotus*; for they both agree in the ſituation, that it was the work of twelve kings, among whom *Egypt* was at one time divided; and that they built it at their common charge, as a public monument of their reign, and d were buried there [i].

THIS ſtructure ſeems to have been deſigned as a *pantheon*, or univerſal temple of all the *Egyptian* deities, which were ſeparately worſhipped in the provinces. It was alſo the place of the general aſſembly of the magiſtracy of the whole nation, thoſe of all the provinces, or *nomes*, meeting here to feaſt and ſacrifice, and to judge cauſes of great conſequence [k]. And for this reaſon every *nomæ* had a hall, or palace, appropriate to it; the whole edifice containing, according to *Herodotus*, twelve; *Egypt* being then divided into ſo many kingdoms. But *Pliny* makes the number of theſe palaces ſixteen, and *Strabo*, as it ſeems, twenty ſeven [l]. The firſt of theſe writers tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors oppoſite to one another, ſix e opening to the north, and ſix to the ſouth, all encompaſſed by the ſame wall; that there were three thouſand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many under ground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted, by thoſe who kept the palace to go into the ſubterraneous part, becauſe the ſepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth were there. He reports, that what he ſaw ſeemed to ſurpaſs the art of man: ſo many ways out by various paſſages, and infinite returns, afforded a thouſand occaſions of wonder, as he paſſed from a ſpacious hall to a chamber; from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other paſſages out of the cabinets, and out of the chambers into the more ſpacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incruſted with f marble; but the walls farther adorned with figures of ſculpture. The halls were ſurrounded with pillars of white ſtone finely poliſhed; and at the angle, where the labyrinth ends, ſtood the pyramid formerly mentioned [m], which *Strabo* will have to be the ſepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth [n].

To this deſcription of *Herodotus* others add, that it ſtood in the midſt of an immenſe ſquare, ſurrounded with buildings at a great diſtance; that the porch was of *Parian* marble, and all the other pillars of marble of *Syene*; that within it were the temples of their ſeveral deities, and galleries, to which one aſcended by 90 ſteps, adorned with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and ſtatues of their kings, of

[z] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [a] LUCAS Voy. T. II. p. 10. [b] Idem, T. I. p. 99, and II. p. 75. [c] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 55. [d] HEROD. l. 2. [e] Idem. ibid. PLIN. l. 36. c. 13. [f] PLIN. ibid. [g] SYNCELL. Chronogr. p. 59, 60. [h] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [i] Idem ibid. p. 59. HEROD. ubi ſupr. [k] STRABO, l. 17. p. 1165. [l] See the places above quoted. [m] HEROD. ubi ſupr. See before, p. 185 a. [n] STRABO, ubi ſup.

of monſtrous ſize; that the whole edifice conſiſted of ſtone, the floors being laid with a
vaſt tables, and the roof appearing like a field of ſtone; that the paſſages met, and
croſſed each other with ſo much intricacy, that it was impoſſible for a ſtranger to find
his way, either in or out, without a guide; and that ſeveral of the apartments were
ſo contrived, that on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noiſe of
thunder [o].

WE ſhall ſubjoin part of the deſcription given by *Diodorus* of a fabric, which though
he does not call it a labyrinth, but a ſepulchre, yet appears to be the ſame we are now
ſpeaking of. He ſays it was of a ſquare form, each ſide being a furlong in length,
built of moſt beautiful ſtone, the ſculpture and other work of which poſterity could
not exceed; that when one had paſſed the outer encloſure, a building preſented itſelf b
to view, ſurrounded by a piazza, every ſide conſiſting of 400 pillars; and that it con-
tained the enſigns, or memorials of the country of each king; and was, in all re-
ſpects, a work ſo ſumptuous, and of ſuch vaſt dimenſions, that if the twelve princes
who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finiſhed, the magnificence of it
could never have been ſurpaſſed [p]. Whence it ſeems, that *Pſammetichus*, one of the
twelve, who, expelling his aſſociates, made himſelf maſter of all *Egypt*, finiſhed the
deſign, but not with a grandeur anſwerable to the reſt of the ſtructure; though *Me-
la* attributes the glory of the whole to that king [q].

THE ſolidity of this wonderful building was ſuch, that it withſtood for many ages
not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who, worſhip- c
ping the *ichneumon*, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of
Arſinoe, bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *labyrinth*, which ſerved alſo for a ſepulchre
to the ſacred crocodiles, and therefore aſſiſted to demoliſh it. *Pliny* ſays, it was re-
maining in his days, and that about 500 years before *Alexander*, *Circummon*, eunuch
to king *Nectabis*, was reported to have beſtowed ſome ſmall reparations on it, ſup-
porting the building with beams of *Acacia*, or the *Egyptian* thorn boiled in oil, while
the arches of ſquare ſtone were erecting [r].

THOUGH the *Arabs* have alſo, ſince the days of *Pliny*, helped to ruin this ſtructure,
yet a conſiderable part of it is ſtill ſtanding almoſt at the ſouth end of the lake *Mœris*,
a little to the eaſt, and about ten leagues from the ruins of *Arſinoe*. The people of the d
country call it the palace of *Charon*, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething by and by.

THE remains we ſpeak of retain yet ſome marks of the antient ſplendor of the
whole. The firſt thing one ſees is a large portico of marble, facing the riſing ſun,
and ſuſtained by four great pillars of marble alſo, but compoſed of ſeveral pieces:
three of theſe pillars are ſtill ſtanding, and one of the two middle ones is half fallen.
In the middle is a door, whoſe ſides and entablature are very maſſy; and above is a
frize, whereon is repreſented a head with wings ſtretched out along the frize, and ſe-
veral hieroglyphics underneath. This head is covered with a kind of vail, and ſur-
rounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this firſt entablature runs a frize,
the ſtones of which are cut into the figures of ſerpents, very big below the head, but e
growing inſenſibly leſs to the tail. On this frize are the ruins of ſeveral doors, in
different ſtories, by which probably they entred into the apartments that were above,
but they are at preſent entirely ruined: on each ſide of that in the middle there is an
Anubis full of hieroglyphics.

THIS edifice reſembles none of the four orders of architecture which we received
from the antients. Having paſſed through the portico, one enters into a fine large
hall, all of marble, the roof conſiſting of twelve tables of marble, exquiſitely joined,
each 25 feet long and 3 broad, which croſs the room from one end to the other; the
roof, being not arched (as *Herodotus* ſays) but flat, ſtrikes one with admiration at the
boldneſs of its architecture; it being ſcarce conceivable, how it could continue ſo f
many ages in a poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſo prodigious a weight. This hall is at
preſent 40 feet high, without making any allowance for the duſt and rubbiſh with
which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over-againſt the firſt door, there
is a ſecond portico, with the ſame ornaments as the firſt, but leſs, by which one en-
ters into a ſecond hall, not ſo big as the firſt, which is covered with eight ſtones. At
the end of this room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third portico, ſtill leſs than the ſe-
cond, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen ſtones to roof it.
At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, ſet againſt the wall, and placed
there for ſymmetry only to anſwer the reſt. The length of theſe three halls is the whole
depth of the building in its preſent condition: it was on the two ſides, and eſpecially g
under

[o] PLIN. & STRABO, ubi ſupr. [p] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 59, 60. [q] POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 9.
[r] PLIN. ubi ſupr. Vid. STRABO, p. 1166.

a under ground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have deſcribed having ſeveral openings made in them, through which one may go into other rooms on the ſame level, from whence there are ſtair-caſes to go up into thoſe above, and down into thoſe under ground. Our author having firſt taken the precaution which *Ariadne* taught *Theſeus*, and provided himſelf with above 2000 fathom of thread, and ſome chopped ſtraw to ſtrew in his way, went into above 150 of theſe chambers, but was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbiſh which choaked up the paſſages; but with all his endeavours he was not able to go very far.

To have a perfect idea of the conſtruction of this edifice, you muſt imagine, that b you go from one chamber into another, ſometimes into an alley, which has apertures in ſeveral places anſwering to other avenues, from which often, without perceiving it, you come to the place from whence you ſet out. All theſe chambers and paſſages, where a perfect obſcurity reigns, are not of equal dimenſions, nor of the ſame figure; ſome being long, ſome ſquare, and others triangular.

The diſagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the antients, and even among the ſeveral deſcriptions of the antients themſelves in a building of ſo great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it, ſeems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls anſwering to them; the reſt being c decayed by time, or demoliſhed by deſign, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be ſeen all around it[s].

Of the lake Mœris.

How admirable ſoever the labyrinth was, yet the lake *Mœris*, by which that monument ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful. The antients make it no leſs than 3600 ſtadia in circumference[t], which is ſomewhat incredible (O); but later relations aſſure us, that it is not above half a league broad and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about 12 or 15 leagues[u]: which is prodigious enough, if we conſider that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midſt of it, which were ſtanding in the time of *Herodotus*. In the deepeſt parts it has 50 fathom of water. This lake ſtretches from north to ſouth, and is not fed by the ſea, d the adjacent country being exceſſively dry, but by water derived from the *Nile*, by a channel cut for that purpoſe, 80 ſtadia long and 300 feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake ſix months of the year, and back again to the river the other ſix months: yet we are told, by a modern traveller, that there are two conſiderable ſprings in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in thoſe years that the *Nile* encreaſes but little, it has not much water, and then ſeveral fine ruins are diſcovered, which at other times are not to be ſeen[w].

This lake was dug by a king of *Egypt*, called by *Herodotus Mœris*, and by *Diodorus Myris*, whoſe name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*, by receiving the ſuperfluous waters when that river roſe too high, and thereby c preventing their ſtagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by ſupplying water for the lands when the river failed; which was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main channel[x]. Theſe canals are ſtill ſubſiſting, and almoſt entire at this day, their number and ſtructure being worthy admiration. And as they were of the greateſt benefit to the antient inhabitants, ſo are they no leſs ſerviceable to the preſent, who, as has been obſerved, attribute theſe works, and indeed almoſt all other antient works of public utility, to *Joſeph*[y].

The canal of communication between the *Nile* and the lake, had antiently large ſluices to let the water in or out as occaſion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or ſhut, the charge of doing it was no leſs than 50 talents, or about f 12,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the other hand, the lake brought in a very conſiderable revenue to the prince; the fiſhery, during the ſix months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of ſilver, or about 258*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* every day to the royal treaſury; and the reſt of

[s] Lucas Voy. T. II. p. 18, &c. [t] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 49. [u] Lucas Voy. T. III. p. 63. [w] Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 53. [x] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [y] Lucas, ubi ſupr. See before, p. 177, a.

(O) *Pomponius Mela* makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being ſo very diſſonant from what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have delivered, the critics will have it to be a miſtake in *Mela*'s copy, and have corrected it by thoſe authors (1); but, as we imagine, without reaſon: though we muſt not diſſemble the tradition of the people of the country, who ſay, the lake was formerly much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quickſand, wherein men and cattle are ſometimes loſt (2).

(1) *Vid.* Vossium *& alios in Melam, l.* 1. *c.* 9. (2) Lucas, *ubi ſupr. p.* 64, 71.

of the time 20 *mine*, or a fourth part of that ſum; there being twenty two ſorts of fiſh in this lake, and in ſuch plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in ſalting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. *Mœris*, it is ſaid, gave theſe revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we expreſs it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake, was, as the *Egyptians* told *Herodotus*, carried to the *Nile*, and diſperſed by the current of that river [z]. a

THERE is an iſle in the middle of the lake *Mœris*, of about a league in circumference: but nothing is now to be ſeen of the two pyramids which were built here, though they ſay there are ſeveral ruins of temples and tombs in the iſle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther ſide of the lake there are ſome little mountains with grottos in them, which were formerly made uſe of for ſepulchres [a]. b

THE inhabitants, at preſent, call this lake, *the lake of Charon*, concerning whom they tell the following ſtory; that being a perſon of mean extraction, and reſolved to get money by any means, he planted himſelf by this lake, and exacted of every corps that was ferried over to be interred a certain ſum: though he did this without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the impoſition for ſeveral years, till refuſing paſſage to the dead body of the king's ſon, unleſs the uſual ſum were paid him, the cheat was diſcovered: however, he made the king ſo ſenſible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be conſtantly paid for the future, appointing *Charon* his firſt miniſter, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the firſt poſt in the kingdom. And *Charon* got ſuch vaſt riches in it, that he became powerful enough to aſſaſſinate the king, and mount the throne in his ſtead [b]. There is ſo much correſpondence between this fable and what the antients ſay of *Charon*, that we could not omit it. c

THE time would fail us if we ſhould go through an exact deſcription of the other buildings and admirable works of the antient *Egyptians*, though perhaps they deſerve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very ſpoils of them making at this day the principal ornament of *Rome*; where is ſcarce a column, or an obelisk, worthy of note, but what has been formerly brought thither out of *Egypt*. We may, however, find occaſions in the progreſs of this work to ſpeak of what we here omit; and ſhall only take notice, as briefly as we can, of two or three things more, which we judge extraordinary, and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place. d

A palace near the Cataracts.

ONE is a moſt magnificent palace in the upper *Egypt*, not far from *Aſwân*, the antient *Syene*; the ruins whereof are enough to ſtrike a ſpectator with aſtoniſhment. It is as large as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many *porticos*. At each gate, between two pillars of porphyry, there ſtand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues conſiſt of columns, ſet three and three together in a triangle on one pedeſtal; on the chapiter of each triangle is placed a *Sphinx* and a tomb alternately. Every column is 70 feet high, all of one ſtone. There are in the whole, in all the four avenues above five or ſix thouſand of theſe columns, a great many of which are fallen down. e

THE firſt hall of this palace is painted with fine pieces of hiſtory, and it ſeems as if the painting had not been long finiſhed. In ſome places they have repreſented the hunting of antelopes, in others feaſts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From hence you go into other apartments, encruſted with marble, the roofs being ſupported by pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of rubbiſh, our author made ſhift to get up to the top of this building, from whence he had a proſpect of the ruins of the greateſt city that had ever been, as he thought, in the world. He ſuppoſes it might be the antient *Thebes* [c], though that city probably ſtood much lower. f

Grots near Oſyût.

THE grots near *Oſyût* ought not to be neglected. One of them is large enough to contain above 600 horſe in battle array: it is cut out of the rock by the chiſſel, and ſupported by vaſt ſquare pillars of the ſame rock. In this grotto ſeveral little ſeats are made to reſt on; and it ſeems by ſome footſteps which ſtill remain of them, that formerly the figures of ſeveral deities were painted there; but they are now almoſt entirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the ſame mountain, more beautiful than this. They are ranged in order, with doors anſwering one another, on which there are ſeveral images of the antient gods of *Egypt* in *baſſo relievo*; ſome having a ſtaff in their hand, as if they guarded the entrance. In theſe grottos various apartments have been made, and ſome wells ſunk; but, what is moſt wonderful of all, g

at

[z] HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi ſup. [a] LUCAS, ubi ſup. [b] Idem. [c] Idem, T. I. P. 98, &c.

a at the further end there are *catacombs* hollowed in the rock, where there are a great number of *mummies*, and tombs adorned with ſepulchres in *baſſo relievo*, which have been almoſt all disfigured by the *Arabs*. Our author went into above two hundred of theſe grots, each of them more ſingular than the other; and he aſſures us there are above a thouſand of them. It is ſurprizing to conſider the time and number of men that muſt have been employed in a work of ſuch difficulty; there being ſcarce a monument in any other part of the world, which carries ſuch evidence of the power of thoſe who executed it; for which reaſon the people of the country believe theſe grots the work of dæmons, who have hid immenſe treaſures in them. As to the time when they were cut, and for what purpoſe, it is in vain to expect any light from hiſtory [d].

A magnificent ſtructure at Dandera.

b AMONG the antiquities of *Dandera*, the antient *Tentyra*, there is ſtanding part of a temple, or palace, of ſurprizing height and dimenſions. The back-part of this ſtructure is a vaſt wall, without any windows, built of large ſtones of greyiſh granite, covered with *baſſo relievo*'s bigger than the life, repreſenting the antient *Egyptian* deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horſes, ſtand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The ſide is about 300 paces long, filled alſo with ſculptures of the ſame kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the ſame ſize with the former. The front of this glorious edifice expoſes to view, in the midſt, a porch, ſuſtained by ſquare pilaſters of a prodigious ſize; a large piazza ſupported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly
c fathom, extends itſelf on each ſide the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of ſtones of 6 or 7 feet broad, and of an extraordinary length. This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and ſome colours, which time has ſpared, are ſtill to be perceived. The columns, made of great ſtones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their corniſh, a capital compoſed of four womens heads, with their head-dreſs, ſet back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double *Janus*: theſe heads are of a proportion ſuitable to the columns: there is above them an *abacus* of a ſquare ſtone, of about 6 feet high, ſomewhat longer than it is broad, which ſupports the roof. A kind of corniſh, of a ſingular conſtruction, runs all round this piazza; and in the middle, over the porch, there are two great ſerpents interwoven,
d whoſe heads reſt on two large wings extended on each ſide. Though theſe columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by their circumference; and according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at leaſt, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120 including the baſis with the capital. From this porch one enters directly into a large ſquare hall, where there are three doors, opening into different apartments which lead ſtill into others, ſupported alſo by a great many fine columns, though dark and full of rubbiſh.

AS this edifice is almoſt entirely buried on one ſide under the ruins and heaps of ſtones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may eaſily get up to the top; and to give ſome idea of its dimenſions, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the *Arabs* had formerly
e built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. At ſome diſtance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, and above 40 feet high, which ſeems to have been the firſt gate.

THE tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of *Serapis*; which ſeems to be confirmed by a *Greek* inſcription on the frize, wherein the name of that deity appears; but the whole is ſo imperfectly taken, that there is no making any certain judgment of it. They alſo pretend, that this temple had as many windows as there are days in the year, and that thoſe windows were ſo diſpoſed, that each anſwering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the ſun every day ſaluted the deity who preſided there, through them in order, one after another [e].

f WE ſhall conclude this ſection, which is perhaps already too long, with a reflexion made on occaſion of this ſtructure: That if in ſuch cities as *Tentyra*, and ſome others of inferior note, there are found monuments of ſuch exquiſite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of thoſe erected in the principle cities, which were the ordinary reſidence of the kings; as *Thebes*, *Memphis*, and *Alexandria*? and how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the antient inhabitants of *Egypt* [f]?

SECT.

[d] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. T. II. p. 76, &c. [e] SICARD, Mem. des miſſions, T. II. p. 158. LUCAS, T. II. p. 133, &c. [f] LUCAS, ibid. p. 139.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the antient Egyptians.

The antiquity of the Egyptians.

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the *Egyptians*. Their country is the only one in the world which has born the name of a son of *Noah*; though it be uncertain, whether *Ham* himself made any settlement there. However, his son *Mizraïm* certainly peopled *Egypt* with his own issue, which inhabited several parts of it, under the names of *Mizraïm*, *Pathrusim*, *Casluhim*, and *Caphtorim*[a]. a

And yet the *Egyptians* themselves, being ignorant of their true descent, pretended even to a greater antiquity than this, asserting themselves to have been the first men in the world, which (as well as animals) they imagined must have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, because of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the *Nile*, and its spontaneous bringing forth several kind of vegetables, as proper food for the newly produced men and animals. And to support this opinion by fact, they instanced in the great numbers of mice which were every year bred out of the mud left by the *Nile* on its retreat, some of them, as they say, appearing alive, and formed so far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth[b]. That the concurrence of proper causes, in certain seasons, will occasion a prodigious encrease of those vermin, is observed in other countries; but as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that season in *Egypt*, are of the same kind with those mentioned by antient authors to breed in that country, and some other parts, which have but two legs[c], and which an incurious spectator might therefore easily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this mistaken notion of their original, the *Egyptians* built their history, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the most flourishing kingdom in the world, under the administration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of *Psammetichus* they acknowledge the *Phrygians* to be more antient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the second rank to themselves[d]. b c d

Their government and laws.

The *Egyptians* are said to have been the first who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life easy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and institutions were not only highly reverenced by those who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the *Grecians*, whose first sages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themselves therewith, and borrowed thence the best part of those which they afterwards established at home.

Their kings manner of life.

The crown of *Egypt* was hereditary; their first kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleasure, subject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themselves to the established laws of the land, not only in the management of public affairs, but even in their private way of life. No slave bought with money, or servant born in their own house, was admitted into their service; but they were attended by the sons of the priests of most distinguished birth; who after having had a suitable education, were at the age of twenty placed about the king's person; that, being waited on both day and night by men of such extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majesty, and be in the less danger of falling into any vicious excess; which princes seldom do, unless they find, among those who approach their persons, encouragers of their debauchery, and ministers of their passions. e

There were stated hours of night as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indispensably obliged to give attention to business and serious employment. When he arose early in the morning, the first thing he did was to peruse the publick dispatches and letters, which came from several parts of his dominions, that so he might be well acquainted with the state and affairs of his kingdom. Then bathing himself, and putting on splendid attire, and assuming the ensigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to sacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, f

the

[a] See before, p. 165. [b] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 9. [c] Theophrast. in fragm. de animalibus. Plin. nat. hist. l. 10. c. 65. Herod. l. 4. [d] Herod. l. 2. sub init. See before, p. 151. not. U.

a the chief prieſt, in the preſence of the king and the aſſiſtants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and proſperity of the king, who governed according to juſtice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occaſion he enlarged on his royal vertues, obſerving, that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, of ſtrict veracity, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below, and rewarding above, deſert. He then ſpake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through ſurprize or ignorance; but withal abſolving him, and laying the guilt on his miniſters and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of vertue; not by ſharp admonitions, but by the pleaſing praiſes due to good actions. The ſacrifices being duly performed, the ſcribe read,
b out of the ſacred records, ſuch of the counſels and actions of the moſt famous men as might be of uſe in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be inſtructed to govern his ſtate by their maxims, and regulate his adminiſtration, in every reſpect, according to the eſtabliſhed laws.

Nor was the king obliged to this exactneſs in public affairs only; but he was ſo little maſter of himſelf in private, that he could not take the air, lie with his queen, bath, or do the moſt indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed, and ſet apart for this or that purpoſe. He was not permitted to chooſe what he would eat, but his table was furniſhed with the moſt ſimple food, generally veal or gooſe; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And
c this regulation was ſo moderate, that it ſeemed not to have been the inſtitution of a legiſlator, but the preſcription of an experienced phyſician for the preſervation of health; to which it was ſo conducive, that one of the kings of *Egypt*, named *Tachos*, who had the beſt of conſtitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into *Perſia*, ſoon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation [e]. It is ſaid, that there was, in a certain temple in *Thebes*, a pillar, with an inſcription on it, containing imprecations againſt a king, who had firſt introduced luxury among the *Egyptians* [f].

So great a reſtraint laid on the prince in matters ſeemingly of little conſequence, is indeed extraordinary; but what deſerves greater admiration is, that it was not in his
d power to ſatisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppreſſing the ſubject; for he could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment in any caſe otherwiſe than as the laws ordained. And all this was ſo far from being thought hard or diſhonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they eſteemed it a ſingular bleſſing, that while other men were ſubject to the ill conſequences of indulging their natural paſſions, themſelves were exempt from ſuch dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved by the moſt prudent perſons. While the princes behaved themſelves with this juſtice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; not only the colleges of prieſts, but the whole *Egyptian* nation being more ſollicitous for the king's ſafety, than that of their wives, children, or poſſeſſions. Wherefore, ſo long as
e theſe laws were obſerved, their ſtate was flouriſhing, and the people happy; they extended their dominions by the conqueſt of ſeveral nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and enabled to adorn the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence [g].

The honours paid them when dead.

The affection of the *Egyptians* to their king appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them when dead; for upon the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rending their garments, ſhutting up their temples, and putting a ſtop to all ſacrifices, feaſts, and ſolemnities, for the ſpace of ſeventy two days. Companies of 200 or 300, both men and women, having thrown dirt on their heads, and being girt with linen
f girdles, marched ſolemnly in proceſſion twice a day, ſinging his praiſe in mournful dirges, calling on the virtue of the deceaſed. All this while they abſtained from fleſh and wheat, as alſo from wine and all delicacies; they neither bathed, nor anointed themſelves, nor ſlept in their beds, nor uſed the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loſs of a beloved ſon. In the mean time the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the laſt day, the body was expoſed in a coffin at the entrance of the ſepulchre, where, in purſuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at free liberty to accuſe him. The prieſts pronounced his elogy; and if it ſo happened that the deceaſed had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude, aſſembled on the occaſion, ſeconded the ap-
g plauſes of the prieſts; but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expreſſed their diſap-

[e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 1. [f] Plutarch de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354. [g] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

diſapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceaſed prince ſhould be honoured with a ſolemn burial, which through their diſlike was denied to ſeveral. Upon which account (among others), and leſt their dead bodies ſhould be abuſed, and their memory blaſted with eternal infamy, they did their utmoſt to deſerve the good opinion of their ſubjects by an unblameable conduct. a

The political diviſion of the kingdom.

As to the adminiſtration of public affairs, each *nome*, or province had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his juriſdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the prieſts, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for the providing ſacrifices and all other expences of public worſhip. The ſecond belonged to the king, and was appropriated to defray the charges of his wars, and for the ſupport of the regal dignity with ſplendor. By ſuch an abundant proviſion, he was enabled liberally to reward men of diſtinguiſhed merit; and had no occaſion to lay any burthenſome taxes on his people. The third part was the ſoldiers, who, having ſo handſome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country: for they thought it abſurd to truſt the ſafety of the whole nation in the hands of thoſe, who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for[h]. b

Herodotus ſays, the *Egyptians* were diſtinguiſhed into ſeven orders of men; prieſts, ſoldiers, herdſmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and ſeamen; who took their names from the profeſſions they exerciſed[i]. But *Diodorus* mentions no more than five; prieſts, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, huſbandmen, and artificers, including probably ſome of the former denominations under ſome of theſe. c

Of the prieſts.

The king, prieſts, and ſoldiery made as it were the three eſtates of the kingdom. The prieſts were held in great reverence and eſteem, not only for their attendance on the worſhip of their gods, but becauſe by their learning and prudence they were of great ſervice to the ſtate; being for that reaſon always near the king's perſon, as the chief of his council, to aſſiſt him with their advice, to give their judgments as to the event of any enterprize, by their ſkill in aſtrology, and in divination by inſpection of the ſacrifices; and to read uſeful points of hiſtory out of the ſacred commentaries. Theſe were exempt from all taxes, and were the next in power and dignity to the king[k]. d

The prieſts wore linen garments and ſhoes, being not permitted to dreſs in any other manner; they took particular care to waſh them often, and have them always clean: and for greater neatneſs, they ſhaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed conſtantly twice by day, and twice by night in cold water, with a great deal of ſuperſtition. The ſervice of every god was performed, not by one, but by many prieſts; and they had a chief prieſt over them, in whoſe room, when he died, his ſon was ſubſtituted. The prieſthood enjoyed very great advantages, being never diſturbed with domeſtic cares; for they eat the conſecrated bread, and were daily furniſhed with beef and geeſe in abundance, and had alſo an allowance of wine; but they might not taſte of fiſh. Beans, which were never eaten by the other *Egyptians*, the prieſts abhorred the ſight of, accounting them impure and abominable: whence *Pythagoras* took the averſion he had to that kind of pulſe. e

Of the ſoldiery.

The military men were called *Calaſirians*, or *Hermotybians*, according to the different nomes they inhabited. Thoſe of the latter were the nomes of *Buſiris*, *Saïs*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the iſland *Proſopis*, from whence 160,000 men might be drawn, when they were moſt numerous. The nomes of the *Calaſirians* were thoſe of *Thebes*, *Bubaſtis*, *Aphthis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Athribis*, *Pharbæthus*, *Thmuïs*, *Onuphis*, *Anytis*, and *Myecphoris*; which laſt was ſituate in an iſland over-againſt the city of *Bubaſtis*. And theſe nomes of the *Calaſirians* might furniſh 250,000 men at the moſt. The ſoldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn, or exerciſe any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to ſon, to apply themſelves to the art of war only[m]; wherein it may be ſuppoſed, they therefore, made a more than ordinary proficiency; but their great excellency ſeems to have been in horſemanſhip, and the ſkill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from ſcripture[n]. For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were puniſhed only by marks of infamy; it being thought more adviſable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chaſtiſement[o]. f

The lands conferred on the militia were exempted from public taxes, as well as theſe of the prieſts. The portion aſſigned to each man was 12 *aruræ*, every one containing

[h] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 66. [i] Herod. ubi ſupr. [k] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [l] Herod. ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Exod. xiv. 7, &c. Cant. i. 9. Iſai. xxxvii. 9. [o] Diodor. l. i. p. 70.

taining a ſquare of 100 *Egyptian* cubits (A). The king's guard conſiſted of 1000 *Hermotybians*, and as many *Calaſirians*, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For, beſides the revenues of their lands, thoſe that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal proviſion for the militia, was alſo an encouragement for them to marry, helping to people the country, and leaving behind them a ſucceſſion of troops ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom [p].

a

But after all, the *Egyptians* cannot be ſaid to have been a warlike nation; it being real and not imaginary combats that form a ſoldier. They rather extended their dominions by ſending out colonies, than by their arms: however, we ſhall find ſome conquerors of great fame among their kings.

b

We had almoſt forgot to obſerve, that if the *Egyptians* at any time created a new king by election (which ſometimes happened), he was always choſen, either out of the prieſts, or the ſoldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of prieſts, and initiated in their learning and myſteries [q].

Of the inferior claſſes.

The huſbandmen taking the lands from the king, prieſts, and ſoldiers, at an eaſy rent, and employing themſelves wholly in their tillage, and the ſon continually ſucceeding the father in the ſame occupation, they became the moſt expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The ſhepherds, in like manner, were always ſhepherds from generation to generation; and, by the obſervations of their fore-fathers, and their own experience, arrived at great ſkill in their way; endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to encreaſe the breed of the animals they fed. One thing in particular deſerves to be mentioned, which was practiſed by thoſe who fed hens and geeſe. For, not contented with the ordinary way of natural encreaſe, they did not ſuffer them to ſit, but themſelves hatched the eggs by an artificial fecundation; and by that means raiſed prodigious flocks of thoſe fowls [r]. The method was moſt probably by ovens, which are ſtill uſed in *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe, and much ſpoken of by travellers (B).

c

The

[r] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſupr. [q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354. [r] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr.

(A) The *Egyptian Arura* muſt therefore have been ſomewhat more than three quarters of an *Engliſh* acre.

(B) It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of this method; which perhaps might be practicable in other countries as well as *Egypt*.

The houſes built for this uſe have a long entry, on each ſide of which are fourteen ovens on the ground (ſome places have more, and ſome leſs): the bottoms and ſides of which are all of ſun-dried bricks; upon them they put mats, and on the mats eggs. The tops of theſe ovens are flat, and covered with ſticks, except two long channels or hearths, of ſun-dried bricks, three or four inches deep, wherein the fires are made, to heat the eggs lying under them in the lower ovens.

Above theſe lower ovens are ſo many other, alſo of ſun-dried bricks, and arched at the top; where are ſome holes, which are ſtopped, or left open, as they pleaſe, to govern the heat in the ovens below. Theſe upper ovens have not only mouths opening into the long entry, but mouths of communication with each other, and every one of them has two of the abovementioned hearths. The depth of the lower oven is about two feet and a half *Engliſh*; that of the upper above four.

They begin to heat the ovens in the middle of *January*, burning every morning one hundred *kintars* (or hundred weight) of camels or buffaloes dung, and the like proportion at night, till the middle of *February*, about which time the ovens are ſo hot, that one cannot well endure to lay his hand upon the walls.

After this they put the eggs into the ovens to hatch the chickens; which they continue ſucceſſively to the end of *May*. The eggs are firſt put on mats in the lower ovens, ſeven or eight thouſand eggs in number, and laid only double, one upon another. In the upper ovens the fire is made in the long channels, or hearths, from whence the heat is conveyed into the lower ovens. The eggs which are directly under theſe hearths, lie treble one upon another; the reſt, as was ſaid, only double.

At night, when they make new fires in the hearths, they remove the eggs that were directly under them, and lay treble, into the place of thoſe which lay on the ſides, and double only; and theſe being now removed lie treble under the hearth, becauſe the heat is greater there than on the ſides.

Theſe eggs continue in the lower ovens fourteen days and nights: afterwards they remove them into the upper ovens, which are juſt over the lower. In theſe (there being now no more fire uſed) they turn all the eggs four times every twenty four hours. The twenty firſt, or twenty ſecond day the chickens are hatched; which the firſt day eat not; the ſecond they are fetched away and fed.

The maſter of the oven has a third part of the eggs for his coſt and pains; out of which he is to make good unto the owners, (who have two thirds in chickens for their eggs) if any happen to be ſpoiled or miſcarry.

The fire in the upper ovens, when the eggs are placed in the lower, is thus proportioned. The firſt day the greateſt fire; the ſecond leſs than the firſt; the fourth more than the third; the fifth leſs; the ſixth more than the fifth; the ſeventh leſs; the eight more; the ninth without fire; the tenth a little fire in the morning; the eleventh they ſtop all the holes with flax or ſtraw, making no more fire; for if they ſhould, the eggs would break. They take care that the eggs be no hotter than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure.

When the chickens are hatched, they put them into the lower ovens, which are covered with mats. Under theſe mats is bran to dry them; and upon the mats ſtraw for them to ſtand on (1).

(1) Greaves, *Manner of hatching chickens at Cairo. Phil. Tranſ. No.* 137. *Vid.* Lucas *Voy. Vol.* 1. *p.* 279, *&c.*

THE law which obliged the ſon of the huſbandman and ſhepherd to follow the a
vocation of his father, extended to all arts and trades: for amongſt the *Egyptians* a
man was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of taking up his father's employment, and
of applying himſelf wholly to that, without meddling with any other. Thus being
cut off from all hopes of riſing to the magiſtracy, and having no room left for popular
ambition, they ſtuck cloſely to what they profeſſed. They were never permitted to
concern themſelves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or under-
took any buſineſs that did not belong to their hereditary profeſſion, they were ſeverely
puniſhed.

Of their courts of Juſtice.

THE *Egyptians* were very careful in the adminiſtration of juſtice; for they rightly b
judged the ſentences pronounced from the tribunals to be of the greateſt conſequence
to the publick; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens
manners, than the puniſhment of offenders, and the relieving the oppreſſed; ſo no-
thing could be more deſtructive of ſociety, or a greater cauſe of confuſion, than the
ſuffering of bribery or favour in ſuch caſes. For this reaſon, they were very ſcrupu-
lous in the choice of their judges; who were men of the beſt reputation, and taken
from the three chief cities, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; ten from each; ſo that
their whole number was thirty. This tribunal was thought to be inferior neither to
that of the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, nor to the *Lacedæmonian* ſenate.

THIS venerable aſſembly choſe a preſident out of their own number, whoſe place, c
as an inferior judge, was upon his election ſupplied by the city that ſent him. Their
ſalaries were paid by the king, who allowed the preſident a ſtipend proportion to his
ſuperior rank; and that he might be more viſibly diſtinguiſhed from his brethren, he
wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious ſtones,
which they called *truth*. Whenever the preſident aſſumed this enſign of his office, it
ſignified, that he was prepared to hear cauſes. The court being ſeated, and the eight
books, which contained all the laws laid before them, the plaintiff preferred his com-
plaint, clearly and diſtinctly ſet forth in writing; a copy of which being granted to
the defendant, he gave in his anſwer. To this the plaintiff replied, and then the de-
fendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them in- d
to conſideration; and after conſulting together, proceeded to ſentence; and the preſi-
dent turned the effigies of truth towards the party in whoſe favour judgment was given.
All this was done without the clamorous harangues of lawyers, who are too apt to
diſguiſe truth, or falſhood, to ſerve their turn, and pervert judgment by their ſpeci-
ous rhetoric. The *Egyptians* therefore, ſenſible of the fallacies of oratory, and the
evil arts of public pleaders, baniſhed them from the tribunal; nor would they even
ſuffer a man to ſpeak in his own cauſe, well knowing the advantage one perſon might
have over another by more artful ſpeaking, or greater confidence; but contented
themſelves with a ſimple and intelligible ſtate of the caſe in writing, which being readily
underſtood, was as readily decided. By which means every man ſtood upon the level
with his antagoniſt, and nothing but the merits had any weight in the determination e
of a cauſe.

Their remarkable laws.

HAVING ſpoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiſs briefly to men-
tion ſuch of their laws as are moſt remarkable, for their antiquity or uſe.

I. PERJURY was puniſhed with death; it being looked on as ſinful in the ſight of
the gods, and deſtructive of human ſociety.

II. HE that ſaw a man killed, or violently aſſaulted on the highway, and did not
endeavour to reſcue him if he could, was puniſhed with death. If it appeared, that
he was unable to give aſſiſtance, he was nevertheleſs obliged to diſcover, and proſecute
the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number f
of ſtripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. FALSE accuſers underwent the ſame puniſhment as the accuſed ſhould have
undergone in caſe of conviction.

IV. EVERY *Egyptian* was enjoined to give in his name, and by what means he
gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived.
But if it could be proved, that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living
in an unlawful way, he was puniſhed with death. This law was made by *Amaſis*,
and *Solon* is ſaid to have introduced it, from *Egypt* among the *Athenians* [f].

V. HE that wilfully killed any perſon, whether freeman or ſlave, was condemned g
to die.

VI. PA-

[f] Vid. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

a VI. PARENTS that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being ſet over them to ſee that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. BUT parricides were put to a moſt cruel death; firſt they had their limbs mangled, and their fleſh cut into ſmall pieces with ſharp reeds, after which they were laid upon thorns, and burned alive.

VIII. WOMEN with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of the guilty.

IX. MUTINY and deſertion were puniſhed only by degradation and diſgrace; which could never be wiped away, but by brave actions and amendment.

b X. THOSE who betrayed their ſecret deſigns to the enemy had their tongues cut out.

XI. COINING falſe money, uſing falſe weights, and forgery of all ſorts, were puniſhed by cutting off the offending parts, both the hands.

XII. HE that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a raviſher guilty of three moſt enormous crimes, having beſides the injuſtice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and baſtardized her iſſue.

XIII. ADULTERY by conſent, was puniſhed in the man by giving him a thouſand laſhes with rods; and in the woman by the loſs of her noſe.

XIV. ACCORDING to the commercial laws, which are ſaid to have been made by *Bocchoris*; if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was c diſcharged from the debt, provided, he would make oath that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this caſe was very ſolemn, and preceded by ſacrifice.

XV. In caſes where the debt was acknowledged by proper inſtruments, the intereſt was not to exceed the double of the capital or ſum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were anſwerable for the debt; for his body was claimed by the city, or place, where he lived, which had the greateſt intereſt in him, and had a right to his ſervice, both in peace and war. In ſhort, they did not apprehend wherein lay the policy of ſacrificing an uſeful member of the republic to the cruelty or avarice of a private perſon. This law, or one very like it, is ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed by *Solon* [s].

XVI. To help the circulation of money, *Aſychis* made a law, that a man might d borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral himſelf, nor could he have the liberty of burying any perſon deſcended from him; which was accounted the greateſt ignominy [t].

XVII. THE *Egyptian* prieſts were allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleaſed: nor was any child reckoned a baſtard, though begotten on a ſlave bought with money; for they held the father to be the ſole cauſe of generation, and that the mother only provided nouriſhment and lodging for the infant [u].

XVIII. BY the laws of *Egypt* brothers were permitted to marry their ſiſters; becauſe they had an inſtance of the happineſs of ſuch marriages in that of *Iſis* with her e own brother *Oſiris*; for having vowed, on his death, never to ſuffer the embraces of any other, ſhe revenged his murder, and governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, being the author of infinite benefits to mankind. For which reaſon, in *Egypt*, the queen had more power, and more honour ſhewn her than the king; and in private contracts the greater authority was given to the women, the huſbands thereby promiſing to be obedient to their wives in all things [w].

XIX. THERE was a very remarkable law, or rather a cuſtom which had the ſanction of law, with regard to the *Egyptian* robbers and ſharpers. Whoever entered himſelf of their gang, gave in his name to their chief, promiſing to deliver him all the booty he ſhould from time to time purloin. Upon this account it was cuſtomary for f ſuch as had any thing ſtolen from them to apply themſelves to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and deſcription, in writing, of what they had loſt, as alſo of the day, hour, and place, when, and where, they loſt it. This information being given, the ſtolen goods were eaſily found, and reſtored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The inſtitutor of this extraordinary law thought, that ſince it would be impoſſible to prevent thieving entirely, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to loſe a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole [x].

As much as the *Egyptians* ſeemed to excel other nations in the wiſdom of their laws *Of the religion of the* Egyptians.
g and conſtitutions, they yet ſurpaſſed them more in bigotry and ſuperſtition.

IDOLATRY

[s] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 69, &c. [t] HERODOT. ubi ſup. [u] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 72.
[w] Idem ibid. p. 23. [x] Idem ibid. p. 69.

IDOLATRY was ſo antient among them, that the *Grecians* confeſſed, they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almoſt all their gods from *Egypt*. For the *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the firſt inventers of feſtivals, ceremonies, and tranſactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and alſo to have firſt given names to the twelve gods[y]. a

THE *Egyptians* had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Thoſe who were chiefly honoured in *Egypt*, were *Oſiris* and *Iſis*; by which it is moſt probable they originally meant the ſun and the moon (C), whoſe influences governed and preſerved the world; thoſe two planets being reckoned by them to be the great cauſes of nutrition and generation, and as it were the ſources from whence the other parts of nature, which alſo they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave diſtinct names, were derived. Theſe were *Jupiter*, or ſpirit, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures; *Vulcan*, or fire; *Ceres*, or the earth; *Oceanus* (by which the *Egyptians* meant their *Nile*), or moiſture; and *Minerva* (called alſo by that nation *Neith*), or air. b

BESIDES theſe celeſtial and eternal gods, they had alſo terreſtrial and mortal deities, which had merited the honours paid them, by the benefits they conferred on mankind in their life-time; ſeveral of them having been kings of *Egypt*: ſome of theſe bore the ſame names with the celeſtial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the *Sun*, *Cronus*, or *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter* (called by them *Ammon*) *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, *Orus*, *Venus*, *Pan*, *Arueris*, *Nephthys*, *Harpocrates*, and others[z]. *Serapis* is ſaid to have been an upſtart deity, introduced by one of the *Ptolemies* at *Alexandria*[a]; but others ſuppoſe it to be only another name for *Oſiris*[b], who was alſo called *Bacchus*. As *Oſiris* was ſuppoſed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, ſo his brother *Typhon* was eſteemed the reverſe, and held in univerſal deteſtation for the evils brought by him on his family and nation, as will be mentioned hereafter. The other names of *Typhon* were *Seth*, *Bebon*, and *Siny*[c]. c

THOUGH the bodies of theſe mortal deities remained in their ſepulchres on earth, yet they believed their ſouls ſhone in the ſtars in heaven; the ſoul of *Iſis* in particular in the dog-ſtar, called by them *Sothis*; the ſoul of *Orus* in *Orion*; and that of *Typhon* in the bear[d]. d

NOTWITHSTANDING this polytheiſm of the *Egyptians*, they are yet ſaid in reality to have acknowledged one ſupreme god, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they ſometimes denoted by the name of *Oſiris*, or *Serapis*, ſometimes by that of *Iſis*, and at other times by that of *Neith*, on whoſe temple at *Saïs* was the following remarkable inſcription; *I am all that hath been, is, and ſhall be; and my vail hath no mortal yet uncovered*[e]. There is alſo an inſcription to *Iſis* ſtill remaining at *Capua*, to this effect; *To thee who, being one, art all things, the goddeſs* Iſis[f]. The inhabitants of *Thebaïs* are reported to have worſhipped only the immortal and unbegotten god *Cneph*, or *Emeph*; for which reaſon they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the ſacred animals which were worſhipped in the lower *Egypt*[g]. From this god *Cneph* they ſuppoſed a ſecondary god proceeded, repreſenting the world, and was called *Phtha*, which word is at preſent uſed among the *Copts* to ſignify the divine being[h]. e

HOWEVER, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at firſt, perhaps only in ſome parts of *Egypt*, appears at length to have entirely over-run it, and, which ſeems ſcarcely credible, they came at length to give divine honours to ſeveral animals, nay even to vegetables themſelves, as leeks and onions; and that with ſo great variety and diſagreement among themſelves, that except ſome of the principal gods who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worſhip of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces; whence it came to paſs, that the names of a great number of f

the

[y] HEROD. ubi ſupr. Vid. TACIT. Hiſt. l. 20.
[z] Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 11, &c.
[a] ORIGEN. cont. Celſ.
[b] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 362.
[c] Idem ibid. p. 367.
[d] Idem ibid. p. 359.
[e] Idem ibid. p. 354. Vid. IAMBLICH. de myſt. § 8. c. 3.
[f] Vid. CUDWORTH Intell. Syſt. p. 412, &c.
[g] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 359.
[h] See before, p. 13.

(C) Agreeably hereto, the name of *Oſiris*, we are told, in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies *many-eyed*; an epithet very proper for the ſun; and *Iſis ancient* (1).

There are ſeveral other mythological interpretations of theſe two deities. Sometimes *Iſis* is the earth in general; ſometimes only the land of *Egypt*; and *Oſiris* is the moon, or elſe the *Nile*, which is loſt, or deſtroyed, in the ſea, which they call *Typhon*. At other times *Oſiris* is *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, and *Iſis Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Cybele*, &c. One ſuppoſes *Oſiris* to ſignify the efficient cauſe of things, and *Iſis* matter; and another thinks *Iſis* denotes nature in general (2).

(1) DIOD. SIC. *ubi ſupr. p.* 10, 11. (2) *Vid.* PLUT. *de Iſid. & Oſirid.* APULEIUM, *Metam. l.* &

a the chief cities of *Egypt* were by the *Grecians* named after the gods, or animals, that were worſhipped there; as *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, *Heliopolis*, or the city of the ſun; and in the ſame manner others bore the names of *Pan*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Hermes*, *Hercules*, and *Venus*; and alſo of the *Dog*, the *Lion*, the *Wolf*, the *Crocodile*, the fiſhes *Latos*, *Oxyrynchus*, and *Phagrus*, and other animals.

THIS diverſity of worſhip was ſometimes attended with very ill conſequences, eſpecially if their deities happened to be ſuch as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of animals which were held in the greateſt abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels and dangerous wars; as happened in particular between b thoſe of *Heracleopolis*, who worſhipped the *ichneumon*, and thoſe of *Arſinoe*, who worſhipped the crocodile; and, to mention no more, between the cities of *Oxyrynchus* and *Cynopolis*, the former of which ſacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that ſort of fiſh, which was the object of their own worſhip [i]. It was thought, however, that the kings themſelves, out of policy, firſt occaſioned, or at leaſt encouraged and fomented theſe diſſenſions, to prevent the peoples attempting any thing againſt the ſtate; for *Diodorus* tells us, that one of their firſt and moſt prudent kings, finding the *Egyptians* very prone to ſedition, enjoined to each province the worſhip of ſome particular animal different from all the reſt, and likewiſe to uſe a different diet; ſo that the *Egyptians*, being by this means divided into c ſo many diſtinct ſocieties, prejudiced againſt each other in religious matters, and mutually deſpiſing one another on account of their different cuſtoms in the ordinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again [k].

IT would be rather tedious than entertaining, to ſet down all the fables, and uncertain traditions, which might be found in antient authors, concerning the *Egyptian* gods; ſome of them may perhaps be occaſionally taken notice of hereafter: wherefore we ſhall immediately proceed to give an account of the images, by which they repreſented thoſe deities which were moſt peculiar to this nation, and of their ſacrifices, feſtivals, and religious ceremonies.

OSIRIS was variouſly repreſented; ſometimes by a ſceptre and eye, to expreſs d his power and providence; at other times by the image of a hawk, becauſe of its ſharp ſight, ſwiftneſs and other qualities; and in later times in a human form, in a poſture not very decent, ſignifying his generative and nutritive faculty [l]. But the greateſt adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we ſhall obſerve by and by.

THE image of *Iſis* was uſually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head [m], repreſenting the appearance of the moon in her increaſe and decreaſe, and holding the *Siſtrom* (a kind of cymbal) in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former ſignifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the *Nile*. But ſometimes ſhe was repreſented as *Cybele*, having her body e full of breaſts, to expreſs her nouriſhing of all things [n].

THE ſtatue of *Serapis* was of a human form, with a baſket, or buſhel, on his head, ſignifying plenty; his right hand leaned on the head of a ſerpent, whoſe body was wound round a figure with three heads, of a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left hand he held a meaſure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the *Nile* [o].

JUPITER, or *Ammon*, was by the *Egyptians* repreſented by an image with the head of a ram; the reaſon of which, they ſay, was this; *Hercules* being very deſirous to ſee *Jupiter*, did not without great difficulty obtain his requeſt, for the god was unwilling to be ſeen: but at length *Jupiter* yielded to his importunity, and having f ſeparated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcaſs, he put on the ſkin with the wool, and in that form ſhewed himſelf to *Hercules*. And in this manner of repreſenting *Jupiter*, the *Egyptians* were imitated by the *Ammonians*, who were a colony of them and the *Ethiopians* [p].

THE other more famous deities of the *Egyptians* were *Anubis*, *Harpocrates*, *Orus*, and *Canopus*. The firſt was uſually painted with the head of a dog, becauſe he accompanied *Oſiris* in his expedition cloathed in a dog's ſkin [q], and was the guard of him and *Iſis* [r]. Sometimes this deity is confounded with *Hermes*, and then the dog's head may denote his great ſagacity. *Harpocrates* was the ſon of *Iſis*, begotten, as is ſaid

[i] PLUTARCH. ubi ſup. p. 380. Vid. JUVEN. Sat. 15. & ATHANASIUM, orat. contr. Julian. [k] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 86. [l] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 371. [m] HEROD. ubi ſup. [n] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 376. SERV. in Virg. HORAPOLL. l. 1. c. 3. APULEIUM, Metam. l. 2. [o] Vid. MACROB. in Satura. l. 1. c. 20. SUIDAM in Σαραπ. [p] HEROD. ubi ſup. [q] DIOD. SIC. p. 77. [r] Ibid. p. 77. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 377.

ſaid, by *Oſiris* on her after his death; for which reaſon he was weak in his lower limbs [s]. This was the god of ſilence, being therefore uſually repreſented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the ſtatues of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, to intimate, that their having been once mortals was not to be ſpoken of [t]. *Orus* is often confounded with *Apollo*; he was the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; and was generally repreſented as a child wrapped up in ſwadling-cloaths and ſometimes, by thoſe of *Coptos*, as holding in one hand the privities of *Typhon* [u]. *Canopus* was the pilot of *Oſiris*'s ſhip, whoſe ſoul, after his death, migrated into the fixed ſtar of that name [w], which is one of the firſt magnitude, but not viſible in *Europe* [x]. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the *Chaldean* god, *Fire*; the ſtory of which in brief is this: the *Chaldeans* carried about their god, to combat with thoſe of other provinces, all which it eaſily overcame and deſtroyed, none of their images being able to reſiſt the force of the fire, till at length the prieſt of *Canopus* deviſed this artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he ſtopped up with wax, and having filled it with water, painted it over, and placed the head of an old image upon it, and produced it as a god. In the conflict, the wax being ſoon melted, the water ruſhed out at the holes, and quickly extinguiſhed the fire: In memory of this victory, *Canopus* is uſually repreſented in the manner we have juſt deſcribed, without arms, and having ſcarce any feet to bee ſeen [y]. Yet others ſuppoſe, theſe were really no more than veſſels filled with the water of the *Nile*, which the antient *Egyptians* uſed alſo to worſhip.

Of the ſacred animals, adored by the *Egyptians*, none was held in ſo great reverence as the bull, by which they repreſented *Oſiris*. There were two of this kind kept in *Egypt*, one at *Memphis*, called *Apis*, by the *Grecians Epaphus*, and the other at *Heliopolis*, called *Mneuis*: this laſt was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to thoſe due to *Apis* [z]. The *Apis* was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwiſe to be impregnated (as the *Egyptians* imagined) than by thunder. The marks which diſtinguiſhed him from all others were theſe: his body was black; except one ſquare of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double liſt of hair on his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue [a]. And others reckon no leſs than twenty nine marks peculiar to this beaſt [b]. They ſacrificed bulls to *Apis*, but were ſo nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them to be unclean. This ſearch was made by the prieſt with the utmoſt precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to ſee if he were clean in that part; and in the laſt place he examined his tail, to ſee whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beaſt being found without blemiſh, the prieſt tied a label about his horns, and ſealing it with his ſignet, ordered him to be taken away and ſecured; for it was death to ſacrifice any beaſt of this kind that was not marked with ſuch a ſeal. The order and ceremony of the ſacrifice was thus: the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire, and pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayers to the god. Then killing the beaſt they flayed him, and ſtruck off his head, which they carried, with many imprecations, to the market, or other publick place, and ſold it to ſome *Grecian*, if they met with any; but if no ſuch perſon were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; *May the evils impending over the perſons now ſacrificing, or the* Egyptians *in general fall upon this head.* This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devoting the head of the victim, was an univerſal practice over all *Egypt*; for which reaſon no *Egyptian* would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different cuſtoms in different places [c].

WHEN the *Apis* died, and his funeral pomp was over, the prieſts, who had this office, fought out for another with the ſame marks, and when they had found one, the lamentations immediately ceaſed; and the prieſts lead the calf firſt into the city of *Nile*, where he was fed for forty days: from thence he was tranſported in a veſſel with a gilded cabin to *Memphis*, as their god, and turned into the grove of *Vulcan*. For the abovementioned forty days women only were admitted into his preſence, who ſtanding before him, lifted up their coats, and ſhewed him their privities; after which time they were not permitted to ſee the new god. The reaſon they gave for this worſhip was, becauſe the ſoul of *Oſiris*, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of this ſort, and by ſucceſſive tranſmigration paſſed from one to another,

[s] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 358. [t] VARRO apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei. [u] PLUT ubi ſup. p. 373. Vid. KIRCHER Oedip. v. 1. p. 214. [w] PLUT. ibid. p. 359. [x] Vid. PLIN. l. 6. c. 22. [y] SUIDAS in Canop. RUFIN. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 11. [z] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 372. [a] HEROD. l. 3. Vid. PLIN. l. 8. c. 46. [b] ÆLIAN. Hiſt. anim. l. 11. c. 9. [c] HEROD. l. 2.

a another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others ſay, that it was becauſe when *Oſiris* was killed by *Typhon*, *Iſis* threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of *Buſiris* received its name[d].

THE feſtival of *Iſis* was celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity; for on the vigil thereof they faſted, and, having prayed, ſacrificed a bullock; taking out the bowels, and leaving the fat and vitals in the carcaſs; then cutting off the legs, rump, neck, and ſhoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raiſins, figs, incenſe, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the conſecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They ſacrificed faſting, and beat themſelves all the while the fleſh lay on the fire, and afterwards they feaſted on the remainder. The offerings of this
b kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemiſhed males; for the females, being ſacred to *Iſis*, could not be offered. Whence it was, that the *Egyptians* paid the firſt degree of veneration to that creature, and abominated the *Grecians* for not doing the ſame. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but a bull was buried without the cities, leaving one horn, and ſometimes both, ſticking up as a mark of the grave. The fleſh being perfectly conſumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were tranſported to an iſland of the *Delta*, called *Proſopitis*, from whence veſſels were diſpatched to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together: the ſame was obſerved in relation to other cattle, the *Egyptians* being forbidding to kill any[e].

c JUPITER was principally worſhipped at *Thebes*, thence named *Dioſpolis*; they eſteemed the ram ſacred on that deity's account, and, abſtaining from ſheep, ſacrificed goats only; only once a year, at the feſtival of *Jupiter*, they killed a ram, and flaying the carcaſs, put the ſkin on the ſtatue of the god, bringing at the ſame time an image of *Hercules* into his preſence, in memory of the abovementioned paſſage between thoſe two deities: after which, every one preſent gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a conſecrated coffin.

THE inhabitants of *Mendes*, on the other hand, ſacrificed ſheep, and no goats, becauſe they worſhipped *Pan*, whom they took to be one of the eight moſt antient gods, and always repreſented him with the face and legs of a goat, juſt as the
d *Grecians* did. Not that they imagined him to have been really of that ſhape (for as to that they deemed him to be like other gods), but for ſome myſtical reaſon. Though the *Mendeſians* had a religious veneration for goats of both ſexes, yet they eſteemed the male above the female, and paid great reverence to goatherds; and particularly to one, who at his death was univerſally lamented. In the *Egyptian* tongue, *Mendes* ſignified both *Pan* and a goat[f].

To the moon it was their cuſtom to ſacrifice when ſhe was at the full. The victims offered to her were ſwine, which the *Egyptians* held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and *Bacchus*. When they made their ſacrifice to the moon, and had killed the victim, they put the end of
e the tail, with the ſpleen and fat, into the caul, and burned them on the ſacred fire, and eat the reſt of the fleſh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have taſted it at any other time. Thoſe whoſe poverty would not admit of the expence of this ſacrifice, moulded a bit of paſte into the ſhape of a hog, and offered up that.

AT the feſtival of *Bacchus*, though every one was obliged to kill a hog before the door of his houſe in the evening, yet they inſtantly returned the carcaſs to the ſwine-herd of whom it was bought. The reſt of this feſtival was celebrated in the ſame manner in *Egypt* as in *Greece*; excepting that, inſtead of the *Phallus*, the *Egyptian* women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each of which had a *priapus* almoſt as big as the reſt of its body, and ſo contrived with ſtrings as to move.
f With theſe the women marched in proceſſion, all the while ſinging the praiſes of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a flute[g].

THEY did not think it ſufficient in *Egypt* to ſolemnize the feſtivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had ſeveral times in the year appointed for that purpoſe, when they viſited the ſeveral cities, where the particular deities were worſhipped, with great devotion.

THOSE of *Iſis* at *Buſiris*, and of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, we have already mentioned; only, in reſpect to the former, we muſt add, that after the ſacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occaſion, to the number of many thouſands, diſciplined themſelves with an inſtrument our author dared not diſcover. In which devotion the *Carians* who lived in *Egypt* ſurpaſſed all others, cutting
g their foreheads with ſwords. The other moſt remarkable feſtivals were thoſe of *Diana*, at

[d] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. p. 76. [e] HEROD. ubi ſup. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid.

at *Bubaſtis*, which was the *Egyptian* name of that goddeſs; of *Minerva*, at *Saïs*; of a
the ſun, at *Heliopolis*; of *Latona*, at *Butus*; and of *Mars*, at *Papremis*. Thoſe who aſſembled on ſuch ſolemn occaſions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offered ſacrifices only, without any farther ceremony: but the other deſerve a more particular deſcription.

THE feſtival of *Diana*, in the city of *Bubaſtis*, was obſerved after this manner: great numbers of men and women embarked promiſcuouſly together, and during the voyage ſome of the women beat on the tabor, whilſt ſome of the men played on the pipe; the reſt of both ſexes ſinging and ſtriking their hands together at the ſame time. They ſtopped at every city they came to; where during their ſtay, the women were partly employed in their muſic, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had ſtopped, or in dancing, and ſhewing themſelves naked. At length being ar- b
rived at *Bubaſtis*, they celebrated the feſtival with numerous ſacrifices, and conſumed more wine than in all the reſt of the year; for the concourſe of people upon this occaſion was reported to have uſually amounted to 700,000 men and women, beſides children.

WHEN they met to ſacrifice to *Minerva* at *Saïs*, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mingled with ſalt, round every houſe, the tow ſwimming on the ſurface. Theſe burned during the whole night, and the feſtival was thence named, *the lighting of lamps*. The *Egyptians* who were not preſent at this ſolemnity, obſerved the ſame ceremonies, wherever they happened to be; and lamps were ligh ed that night, not only at *Saïs*, but throughout all *Egypt*. The reaſons for uſing theſe c
illuminations, and paying ſo great reſpect to this night, were kept ſecret.

AT *Papremis* a very extraordinary cuſtom was obſerved; for after having gone through the uſual form of worſhip, a few of the prieſts, towards the ſetting of the ſun, attended about the image of *Mars*, whilſt the far greater part of them poſted themſelves before the gates of the temple with ſtaves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themſelves to this ſervice, and frequently amounted to above a thouſand, armed in like manner, drew up oppoſite to the prieſts, who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden ſhrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the feſtival, and placed in another chapel, was drawn by thoſe few who were ap- d
pointed to attend it, together with the ſhrine in which it ſtood, on a four wheeled chariot back again to the temple. But the prieſts who guarded the entrance refuſing to give them admittance, the beforementioned votaries, in duty to the god, began to lay on the opponents with their clubs, whereon a violent conflict enſued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head: inſomuch, that in all probability many muſt have died of their bruiſes, though the *Egyptians* would never allow it. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous inſtitution, by relating, that *Mars* having been educated abroad till he attained to man's eſtate, and coming home to ſee his mother, who was an inhabitant of this ſacred place, her ſervants, having never ſeen him, refuſed to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got c
together a good number of men, and returning, fell upon his mother's ſervants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was inſtituted.

BUT there was nothing ſo remarkable in the *Egyptian* religion, as the prepoſterous worſhip that nation paid to animals; ſuch as the cat, the *ichneumon*, the dog, the *ibis*, the wolf, the crocodile, and ſeveral others; which they had in high veneration as well dead as living. Whilſt they were living, they had lands ſet apart for maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending on them, the children ſucceeding their parents in the office, which was ſo far from being declined, or thought deſpicable by the *Egyptians*, that they gloried in it as a high honour, wearing certain badges and enſigns, by which being diſtinguiſhed f
at a diſtance, they were ſaluted by bending of the knee, and other demonſtrations of reſpect. To theſe, and to the deities to which they were ſacred, the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities where they were worſhipped, offered up their prayers; and in particular for the recovery of their children, whole heads they ſhaved ſometimes all over, ſometimes only one half, or a third part, and putting the hair into one balance, and ſilver into the other, when the ſilver overbalanced, they gave it to the keepers of the animals; who therewith provided food for them, which was uſually fiſh cut in pieces; but the *ichneumons* and cats were ſometimes fed with bread and milk.

IF a perſon killed any of theſe ſacred animals deſignedly, he was puniſhed with death; if involuntarily, his puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the prieſts; g
but if a man killed either a cat, a hawk, or an *ibis*, whether with deſign or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate perſon

a ſon to certain death, ſometimes without any formal proceſs or trial [h]: an inſtance of which is given in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the houſe where he was, and neither the entreaties of ſome principal men ſent by the king, nor the fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could ſave the man's life [i]. For this reaſon, if any one by chance found one of theſe creatures dead, he ſtood at a convenient diſtance from it, and with great lamentation proteſted, that he found it dead. And, what may ſeem ſtill more incredible, it is reported, that at a time when there was a famine in *Egypt*, which drove the inhabitants to ſo great a diſtreſs that they fed on one another, there was no one perſon accuſed of having taſted of any of theſe ſacred animals.

b THE extravagant worſhip which the *Egyptians* paid to theſe deities, as to the bulls at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*, the goat at *Mendes*, the lion at *Leontopolis*, and the crocodile at the lake *Mæris* (D), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief. For they were kept in conſecrated encloſures, and well attended on by men of high rank, who at a great expence provided victuals for them, which conſiſted of the greateſt dainties, ſuch as the fineſt flour boiled in milk, cakes of ſeveral ſorts made with honey, and the fleſh of geeſe boiled and roaſted: thoſe who fed on raw meat were ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of birds. And not only this, but they were waſhed in hot baths, anointed with moſt precious ointments, and perfumed with the moſt odoriferous ſcents: they lay on the richeſt carpets and other coſtly furniture; and that they
c might want nothing to make their life as happy as poſſible, they had the moſt beautiful females of their ſeveral kinds provided for them, to which they gave the title of their concubines, beſtowing extravagant attendance and expence upon them.

WHEN any of theſe animals died, they lamented them, as if they had been their deareſt children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their funeral: as an inſtance of which, it is ſaid, that in the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, the *Apis* dying of old age (E) at *Memphis*, his keeper beſtowed no leſs than fifty talents of ſilver, or almoſt 13,000 *l.* over and above all his ſubſtance, in the burying of him. And leſt this ſhould ſeem improbable, we are told, that ſome keepers of theſe creatures had ſquandered away 100,000 talents, a moſt immenſe ſum, in the
d maintenance of them [k]. In whatever houſe a cat died, all the family ſhaved their eyebrows; and if a dog, their whole body; nor would they make uſe of any proviſion which happened to be in the houſe at ſuch times. In caſe of a fire, there was generally great lamentation among the *Egyptians* on account of their cats; for though, when ſuch accidents happened, they took greater care to preſerve the cats than their houſes, yet thoſe creatures, either by creeping ſlily on the ground, or leaping over the mens heads, for the moſt part found a way to throw themſelves into the fire. The dead bodies of the ſacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, and carried to be embalmed, and being anointed with oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preſerve them from putrefaction, were buried in ſacred coffins. Dead cats were carried to be
e interred to the city of *Bubaſtis*; hawks, and the venemous mole were carried to *Butus*; dogs, bears (of which there are but few in *Egypt*), and a ſmall kind of wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead. And in performing this laſt honour to them, the *Egyptians* were ſo exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them for that purpoſe, with great demonſtrations of ſorrow, though at the ſame time they often wanted neceſſaries [l].

How abſurd and ridiculous ſoever theſe ſuperſtitions may ſeem, yet they wanted not thoſe who endeavoured to defend them by various reaſons; though the prieſts generally affected ſilence on theſe occaſions, referring all to certain myſteries which they
f might not reveal.

1. THE

[h] HEROD. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [i] DIOD. ibid. p. 75. [k] Idem. ibid. [l] Idem, & HEROD. ubi ſupr.

(D) The crocodile ſeems to be the laſt animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with ſafety, one of theſe creatures was trained up to be tame and familiar for the purpoſe, and had his ears adorned with ſtrings of jewels and gold, and his fore feet with chains. He was fed with conſecrated proviſions at the public charge; and when ſtrangers went to ſee him, which often happened out of curioſity, they alſo carried him a preſent of a cake, dreſſed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the prieſts; one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed, and buried in a ſacred coffin at *Arſinoe* (1).

(E) This contradicts that aſſertion of ſome, that the *Apis* was not ſuffered to live beyond a certain time; after which the prieſts drowned him in a ſacred fountain (2).

(1) HEROD. *ubi ſupr.* STRABO, l. 17. p. 165. (2) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 22. p. 227.

1. THE firſt reaſon alledged, was from the fabulous tradition, that the gods, in the a early ages, were obliged to transform themſelves into ſeveral kinds of animals, to avoid the aſſaults and cruelties of men, who had conſpired againſt them; but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits beſtowed by them on mankind, thoſe in power ordained, that the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the gods had aſſumed, ſhould be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

2. SOME pretended this worſhip had the following original; They ſay, that the antient *Egyptians* being often routed by their neighbours, for want of a regular diſpoſition of their troops, they at length invented the uſe of ſtandards, to diſtinguiſh the different companies; and for that end fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored on ſo many ſpears, and cauſed the leaders to carry them at the head of each b troop; by which means every man knew his poſt: their obſerving this order often gained them the victory, the honour of which they aſcribed to the animals whoſe figures they had uſed for enſigns. Others will have theſe images to have been made uſe of in the moſt early times, to diſtinguiſh the firſt civil ſocieties, who united for mutual defence againſt the violence of their fellow creatures.

3. A THIRD reaſon is taken from the great uſe and ſervice the ſeveral animals are of to mankind: as the ox for tilling the land; the ſheep by ſupplying milk and wool; the dog for guarding the houſe and hunting; the *ibis* and hawk for deſtroying the ſerpents and noxious inſects; the crocodile for defending the country againſt the incurſions of the *Arabian* robbers; the *ichneumon* for preventing the too great multi- c plication of the crocodiles; and the cat againſt the aſp and other venemous reptiles [m].

4. BUT men of better judgment, not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, which ſeemed to them too weak to excuſe practices ſo diſhonourable to paganiſm, and at which they bluſhed in private [n], urged ſomething more ſpacious in favour of it, by pretending, that the worſhip paid by the *Egyptians* to animals, did not terminate in the animals themſelves, but in the gods, whoſe ſymbols they were, and to whom they had ſome peculiar relation. The philoſophers, ſay they, honoured the image of god wherever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and conſequently much more in thoſe which partook of life. They therefore are to be commended who worſhip not the d creatures, but the ſupreme Deity through them; which ſhould be eſteemed as ſo many mirrors, offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as ſo many inſtruments of GOD in the eternal ſupport and preſervation of the world. Wherefore, if ſtatues ſhould be adorned with all the gold and precious ſtones in the world, it is not to them that men ſhould direct their worſhip; for the divine nature cannot dwell in the artful diſpoſition of colours, nor in matter which is ſubject to decay, and deſtitute both of ſenſe and motion. And they add, that as the ſun, moon, heaven, earth, and ſea are common to all men, but have different names in different nations; ſo there is but one Mind, and one Providence, which governs the univerſe, and has ſeveral ſubordi- e nate miniſters, though called by different names, and worſhipped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and cuſtoms of every country [o].

AGREEABLY to this notion, they pretended, that the hawk was an emblem of the ſupreme Deity, becauſe of its piercing ſight and ſwiftneſs. The aſp, the cat, and the beetle were alſo honoured as images of the divine power; the firſt, as not ſubject to old age, and moving without the aſſiſtance of limbs; the cat, becauſe they imagined ſhe conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, repreſenting the generation of ſpeech; and the beetle, becauſe they ſuppoſed there was no female in the whole ſpecies. The crocodile alſo they took to be another image of the Deity, becauſe of all animals it has no tongue, which organ GOD has no occaſion for [p]. f

THE relation the ſacred animals bore to ſome particular gods, or the ſervices they had rendered on ſome particular occaſions, or their being typical reſemblances of ſome parts of nature, are alſo mentioned as further reaſons for the great reſpect ſhewn them. Thus it is ſaid, that dogs were worſhipped becauſe they guided *Iſis* when ſhe ſought for the body of *Oſiris*, which they had guarded from wild beaſts [q]; though this creature afterwards loſt much of its reputation, by eating part of the *Apis*, which had been killed by *Cambyſes*, when no other animal approached the dead body [r]: that the hawk was deified becauſe one of thoſe birds, in antient times, brought a book to the prieſts of *Thebes*, tied round with a ſcarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be obſerved in the worſhip of the gods; for which reaſon

[m] Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 380. [n] Vid. PLUT. ibid. p. 379.
[o] Idem ibid. p. 377, 382, &c. [r] Idem ibid. p. 363, 380, &c [q] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 77.
[r] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 368.

a reaſon the ſacred ſcribes wore a ſcarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their head: that the wolf was adored becauſe *Oſiris* aroſe in that ſhape from the infernal regions, and aſſiſted *Iſis* and her ſon *Orus*, in the battle againſt *Typhon*, wherein that uſurper was ſlain; or elſe becauſe when the *Ethiopians* once broke into *Egypt*, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders, and drove them beyond *Elephantis*; whence that nome was called *Lycopolites*; though others give no other reaſon for the reſpect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour becauſe one of thoſe creatures ſaved *Menas*, an antient king of *Egypt*, from being worried by his own dogs, which purſued him to the lake *Mœris*, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other ſide of the lake [s]: that
b the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various ſpots, fruitfulneſs, and activity in the night [t]: and the goat, the moſt luſtful of all creatures, was the hieroglyphic of that violent impulſe by which men are urged to propagate their ſpecies; and in honouring this animal, they teſtified their gratitude to the gods for the populouſneſs of their country [u].

NOT to take up the reader's time in enumerating the other animals worſhipped in the ſeveral parts of *Egypt*, we ſhall conclude what we intend to ſay of them, with *Herodotus*'s account of the *Phœnix*, which fable has given riſe to whatever has been ſince related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the *Phœnix* was one of the ſacred birds, which himſelf had never ſeen but in effigy; for he appeared in *Egypt* but
c once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as thoſe of *Heliopolis* affirmed. The painters repreſented him with a plumage of crimſon and gold, and of the ſhape and ſize of an eagle. They pretended, he came from *Arabia*, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the ſun. And this he performed in the following manner: firſt he moulded as much myrrh as he could carry in the ſhape of an egg, and having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then ſtopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in ſuch proportion that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to *Heliopolis* [w].

Some other inſtitutions of the Egyptians.

THE *Egyptians* are reported to have been the firſt who ordained that men ſhould
d abſtain from women in temples, and not enter any ſacred place without waſhing after the uſe of a woman. They were alſo the firſt who aſſigned each month and day to a particular deity, and obſerved the times of each perſon's nativity; by which they judged of their future fortunes. They carefully regiſtred all prodigies (in which their country is ſaid to have abounded more than any other) with an account of their conſequences; ſuppoſing, that if the like happened at another time, the event would be the ſame. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themſelves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For if they were not the firſt nation which erected oracles, and introduced the cuſtom of conſulting them, it is however allowed, that the moſt antient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly thoſe of
e *Jupiter* in *Libya*, and at *Dodona*, owed their original to *Egypt*, [x]; as will be mentioned in a more proper place.

THERE were ſeveral oracles in *Egypt*, as thoſe of *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter*; but that which they reverenced above all others, was the oracle of *Latona*, in the city of *Butus* [y]: and in after-times there was a very famous one of *Serapis* at *Alexandria* [z]. The ſacred animals alſo themſelves had their ſeveral oracles; as the *Apis*, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile [a]. The manner of conſulting the *Apis* was, by obſerving into which chamber, of two that were prepared for him, he entred; his going into one of them being conſtrued as a good omen, and into the other as a bad one: or elſe they offered him food, and from his accept-
f ing, or refuſing of it, concluded the anſwer favourable, or the contrary. It is ſaid, that *Germanicus Cæſar* conſulting this oracle ſome ſhort time before his death, the beaſt would not eat out of his hand [b].

WE muſt not omit to ſay ſomething of the human ſacrifices, which are ſaid to have been offered by the antient *Egyptians*. As red oxen were allowed to be ſacrificed, becauſe of their reſemblance to *Typhon*, who, it is ſaid, was red-haired; ſo men of that complexion were reported to have been ſlain in former times by their kings at the tomb of *Oſiris*: but few of the *Egyptians* having red hair, ſtrangers were the uſual victims; whence it is ſuppoſed, the fable, ſo current among the *Greeks*, of the cruelty of *Buſiris* to ſtrangers, took its riſe; not from any king of that name, but becauſe

[s] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 78, &c. [t] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 376. [u] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [w] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] PAUSAN. l. 7. RUFIN. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. [a] Vid. VAN DALE de Orac. p. 274. [b] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 8. c. 46. AMM. MARCELL. l. 22. c. 15.

becauſe *Oſiris*'s tomb was ſo called in the *Egyptian* tongue [e]. Men were alſo in old times ſacrificed at *Heliopolis*, and to *Juno*, or *Lucina*, at a city in the upper *Thebaïs*, called by the name of that goddeſs, who was worſhipped there under the form of a vultur. Theſe human victims were to be approved of in the ſame manner as the calves that were ſearched and ſealed as clean; and three were ſacrificed every day, at a certain ſeaſon in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their aſhes ſcattered abroad; to theſe unhappy men they gave the epithet of *Typhonian* [d]. This barbarous cuſtom was aboliſhed by *Amoſis*, who ordered, that ſo many images of wax ſhould be offered in their ſtead [e]: and there was ſo little remembrance of it left in the days of *Herodotus*, that mentioning a fable of the *Grecians*, that when *Hercules* arrived in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*, deſigning to ſacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony; but that he delivered himſelf, by killing all that were preſent; that hiſtorian judges thoſe who invented that ſtory utterly ignorant of the *Egyptian* laws and cuſtoms; for how, ſays he, can we imagine, that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geeſe, ſwine, and ſuch bulls, and calves as they find without blemiſh (F), would ſacrifice men [f]? however, that there was really ſuch a cuſtom ſeems undeniable from good authority; and is confirmed by the impreſs of the prieſts ſeal, which was ſet on the oxen that were to be ſacrificed; and on which a man was engraved kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a ſword at his throat [g]. We have formerly mentioned the human ſacrifices which were offered to the *Nile*, according to a tradition of the *Egyptians* [h]; but we do not find any notice taken of them in antient authors.

We have mentioned the worſhip of leeks and onions as one part of the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition; but as the hiſtorians mention nothing of this, we imagine the ſatyriſt, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond ſtrict truth [i]; though there might poſſibly be ſome foundation for ſuch an opinion, from the ſcrupulous abſtinence of ſome of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans, and onions; the latter of which the prieſts abominated, as ſome pretend, becauſe *Dictys*, who had been brought up by *Iſis*, was drowned in hunting after them; or rather becauſe onions alone of all plants thrive when the moon is in the wane [k].

Before we quit this ſubject, the ſtructure of the *Egyptian* temples deſerves ſome notice. The firſt thing which offered itſelf to the view, was an avenue, or ſtone pavement, of a *plethorn* in breadth, or ſomething leſs, and about three or four times as long; having on each ſide a row of ſphinxes, twenty cubits diſtant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a ſecond, and ſometimes a third (the number of theſe portico's being not always the ſame). The temple it ſelf conſiſted of a ſpacious and magnificent court, and a well proportioned chapel; in which was generally no image (for the *Egyptians* in the eldeſt times uſed none [l]), or if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the ſhape of ſome irrational animal [m].

The miſcellaneous cuſtoms of the Egyptians.

Few nations in the world obſerved their original laws and cuſtoms ſo long as the *Egyptians*; and their exactneſs in obſerving ordinances of a higher nature was not to be admired, conſidering their ſtrict attachment to their own uſages and manners in trivial things; for a new cuſtom was a prodigy in *Egypt* [n].

In the education of their children they were very careful; but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the ſtems of the *papyrus* roaſted under the aſhes, and the ſtalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marſhes, ſometimes raw, and ſometimes dreſſed. They went for the moſt part naked and barefoot during their childhood, becauſe of the warmth of the climate: ſo that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the ſtate of manhood, did not exceed twenty *Drachmæ*, or about thirteen ſhillings; which was one great cauſe that *Egypt* was ſo exceeding populous. As to the inſtruction they gave their children, the prieſts taught them two ſorts of letters, thoſe called ſacred, and thoſe in which their common learning was written: but

[c] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 79. [d] Manetho, apud Porphyr. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55. Euſeb. præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. & Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 380. [e] Idem apud eoſd. [f] Herod. ubi ſupr. c. 45. [g] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 363. [h] See before, p. 178. b. [i] Juven, Sat. 15. v. 10. [k] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 353. Vid. Diod. p. 80. [l] Lucian. de Dea Syria. [m] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1158. [n] Plato, in Tim. p. 656.

(F) From this paſſage, and what has been ſaid above, we cannot but think thoſe miſtaken who have aſſerted, that it was never lawful for the *Egyptians* to appeaſe the gods with cattle or blood, but only with prayers and incenſe (1).

(1) Vid. Macrob. *Saturnal.* l. 1. c. 7.

but exercised them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of
a the inferior classes who learned to write and read, except the tradesmen. But that they might be useful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themselves, they began very early to learn their paternal art, or profession, either from their fathers, or near relations. Music and wrestling they never taught their children, as disapproving them both: the first they esteemed not only useless, but rather hurtful, serving only to emasculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preservation of health, the strength gained by it being of short duration, and the exercise itself dangerous [o]. One particular of the education of the *Egyptian* youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great
b respect towards their elders; being obliged to rise up from their seats, and to retire at the approach of those that were more aged; which custom was also practised at *Sparta* [p].

As to the diet of the *Egyptians* we have already made some occasional observations; to which we may add, that among them it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat; instead of which they used a fine flower, called by some *olyra*, and by others *zea*, or *spelt*; and this bread they named *collestis*, probably from its glutinous quality [q]. Their usual drink was (as it is at this present) the water of the *Nile*, which is very agreeable to the taste, and so fattening, that they never gave it to the *Apis*, lest he should grow too corpulent [r]. It is true, the water of this river is pretty muddy, but the *Egyptians* have a way of clarifying it by rubbing the vessel with
c a little pounded almonds [s]. Their better sort of drink, or wine, as *Herodotus* calls it, was made of barley, because they had antiently no vines in that country [t], or rather did not cultivate them, nor do they yet in any other part than the province of *al Feyûm* [u]. So that we are probably indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

The *Egyptians* abstained from different sorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worshipped; but they all agreed in the aversion they had to swine's flesh; which was accounted by them so impure, that if a man but touched one of those animals by accident, he went immediately and plunged himself in the river with his cloaths on. And for this reason hogherds alone of all the *Egyptians* were not suffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any
d man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profession, or take a wife born of such parents; so that they were forced to intermarry among themselves. They eat fish, either pickled or dried in the sun; and also quails, ducks, and smaller birds, preserved in salt, without any other preparation: all other birds, or fishes, except such as they accounted sacred, they eat without scruple, either boiled or roasted. Those who dwelt in the marshes made food of several plants, which annually grow there, particularly the *lotus*, of which they made a sort of bread, and the lower stems of the *papyrus*, the head of which was reserved for other uses [w].

At their principal feasts it was their custom, when they began to taste the wine after supper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood and
e painted, of one or two cubits in length, or, as other say, a real corps [x]; which was carried about to all the company by a person appointed for that purpose, who repeated these words distinctly; *Look upon this, and be merry; for such as this is shalt thou be, when thou art dead* [y]. This image some will have to be that of *Maneros*, in memory of whom they sung a mournful song at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this person there are various traditions: the *Egyptians* made him the son of their first king, who died in the flower of his age; others say, he was the son of a king of *Byblus*, in *Phœnicia*, and was frighted to death by the angry look of *Isis*, for his prying too nearly into her behaviour to the dead body of *Osiris*. This *Maneros* is reported to have been the first inventor of music; for which reason, and the con-
f formity of the song to that sung by other nations in honour of the *Grecian Linus*, *Herodotus* supposes him to be the same with that poet: but after all, some pretend, *Maneros* was not the name of a person, but of the song itself; and that the dead image represented the fate of *Osiris* [z].

The *Egyptians* were very cleanly, both at their meals and in other respects; carefully scouring the drinking vessels, which were of brass, every day; and using frequent ablutions and purifications: they scrupulously avoided eating with strangers, as unclean [a]; and for neatness chiefly it was that they circumcised themselves, which was a custom among them from time immemorial [b], and esteemed by them so necessary,

[o] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 72. [p] Herod. ubi supr. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 353. [s] Sicard, Mem. des Miss. V. II. p. 13. [t] Herod. ubi supr. [u] Lucas, V. II. p. 226. [w] See before, p. 183. [x] Lucian. de luctu. Silius de bello Pun. l. 3. [y] Herod ubi supr. [z] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 357. Herod. ubi supr. [a] Gen. xliii. 32. Herod. ibid. [b] Herod ibid. Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 24.

ceſſary, that *Pythagoras*, to have the liberty of converſing with the *Egyptian* prieſts, a
and entring into their temples, was obliged to ſubmit to this operation [b]. One
of the fathers tells us, they were circumciſed at the age of fourteen [c]; but whence he
had his information we do not know. Whether the *Jews* learned this cuſtom of the
Egyptians, as ſome of the prophane hiſtorians pretend, is a point we ſhall conſider in
another place.

THE habit of this nation was a linnen veſt, fringed at the bottom, which they call-
ed *calaſiris*; and over that they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth. But to enter
any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in woollen, was ac-
counted prophane. Their manner of ſaluting one another abroad, was by bowing
very reſpectfully, letting their hands fall down to their knees [d]. b

THE *Egyptians*, in ſeveral of their manners and cuſtoms, ſeemed induſtriouſly to
act in contradiction to the reſt of mankind. For amongſt them it was the cuſtom for
the women to be employed in trade and buſineſs abroad, while the men ſtaid at home
to ſpin, and minded domeſtic affairs; and this perhaps gave occaſion to that extraor-
dinary law, by which the ſons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the
daughters were. In carrying of burthens, the men bore them on their head, and the
women on their ſhoulders; and when they made water, the women ſtood upright,
but the men ſat. They uſed to eaſe nature at home, and eat publickly in the ſtreets;
ſaying, very juſtly, that ſuch things as were filthy, though neceſſary, ſhould be done
in private, and ſuch as were decent in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, c
and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas in other countries, the apart-
ments of the cattle were ſeparated from thoſe of the men, in *Egypt* men and beaſts
dwelt together [e]. And we might mention ſeveral other inſtances of the like ſingu-
larity.

The great virtue of the *Egyptians*, and wherein they pretended to excel all man-
kind, was gratitude; which they eſteemed to be of the greateſt ſervice in life, as the
only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reaſon it was, that they ho-
noured their princes as gods, ſuppoſing that thoſe whom providence had exalted to the
throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated
in ſome meaſure of the divine nature; hence alſo proceeded the great reſpect they d
ſhewed to the remains of their dead anceſtors, and their conſtant endeavour to teſtify
their gratitude to every perſon and thing from which they received benefit [f].

Of their funeral ceremonies.

THE *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt who aſſerted the immortality of the
ſoul, which, according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into
ſome other animal, and, paſſing by a continual metempſychoſis through the different
kinds of animals, belonging to the air, earth, and water, returned again into a human
body, after the revolution of 3000 years [g]. For this reaſon they endeavoured by art
to preſerve the body as long as poſſible, that the ſoul might be obliged to continue
with it, and not ſoon paſs into another [h]: and as the dead bodies, by the means they
uſed, were of long duration, they ſpared no labour nor coſt in building their ſepul- e
chres, which they termed their *eternal manſions*; at the ſame time being little curious
in the ſtructure of their houſes, calling them *inns*, where they ſtaid but for a ſhort
time, whereas they remained in the other for a long courſe of years [i].

THE mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in *Egypt*, were antiently theſe:
when a man of any conſideration died, all the women of that family beſmeared their
heads and faces with dirt, then making bare their breaſts, and girding their waiſts,
they left the body at home, and marched through the ſtreets of the city, lamenting
and beating themſelves as they went, attended by all their relations of the ſame ſex;
the men at the ſame time forming another company, mourned in the ſame manner.
And this they continued till the corps was interred; abſtaining in the main time from f
bathing, wine, and the more delicate meats, and laying aſide their beſt attire. The
firſt lamentation being over, the body was carried to thoſe who profeſſed the art of
embalming, which, like other trades, they learned from their anceſtors. Theſe ſhewed
the kindred of the deceaſed ſeveral models, or patterns, in wood, and painted, toge-
with a bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, and aſked them which they
would chooſe: for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial.
One was very exquiſite and expenſive, and came to a talent of ſilver, or about 258 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
the ſecond was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being 20 *minæ*, or a
fourth part of the former ſum; and the third was very mean, and coſt but a trifle.
This

[b] CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. 1. p. 30. [c] AMBROS. de Abrahamo, l. 2. c. 11. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [e] Idem ibid. [f] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 81. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] SERVIUS in Virgil. Æn. 3. v. 67. Vid. AUGUST. Serm. de diverſis, & PLATON. in Phædon. [i] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 47.

a This preliminary being ſettled, the embalmers took the body, and firſt drew out the brains through the noſtrils with a crooked inſtrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with certain medicaments. Then one, whom they called the ſcribe, marked out on the left ſide of the belly, how far the inciſion was to be made; and the *parachiſtes*, whoſe office it was to make the inciſion, taking a ſharp *Ethiopic* ſtone, cut open the body, as far as the law ordained, and immediately ran away as faſt as he could, all that were preſent purſuing him, throwing ſtones at him, and curſing him, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to a dead body; but the *taricheutæ*, or embalmers, were highly eſteemed and reſpected, converſing with the prieſts, and being with them admitted, as perſons of ſanctity, into b the more ſacred parts of their temples. When theſe came to dreſs the diſſected body, one of them thruſt his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the inteſtines, except the heart and kidneys; another cleanſed all the entrails, waſhing them with wine of palms and aromatic odours (G). Then the belly was filled with pounded myrrh, caſſia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincenſe only excepted); and the inciſion being ſewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar and other things for above 30 days, or elſe laid in nitre for 70 days, which was the longeſt time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they waſhed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the *Egyptians* uſed inſtead of glue. And all this was done without diſfiguring the body; ſo that the very hairs remained on the c brows and eye-lids, and the reſemblance of the countenance was preſerved, and eaſy to be known (H). The embalmers having done their parts, the relations received the corps, and put it into a wooden coffin, ſhaped like a man, which they ſet upright againſt the wall of the edifice deſigned for that purpoſe (I). For ſeveral of the *Egyptians* kept their dead at home with them above ground [k], in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleaſure of ſeeing the lineaments of their anceſtors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corps of a friend as a gueſt to their feaſts [l]. The way of embalming which we have deſcribed, was the moſt coſtly manner of preſerving the dead: thoſe who were unable, or unwilling to be at ſo great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation, which was done d in this manner: the injected a clyſter of oil of cedar by the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and laid the body in nitre the number of days

[k] Cicer. Tuſc. quæſt. l. 1. c. 9. [l] Lucian. de luctu.

(G) *Plutarch* writes, that when the belly was opened, they firſt expoſed it to the ſun, and caſt the bowels into the *Nile*, as what defiled the body (1).

(H) This ſeems a little extraordinary, conſidering how the fleſh of the face muſt have been dried by the ſalt; but an eye witneſs aſſures us, that he ſaw ſome embalmed bodies in *Egypt*, with the hair, beard, and nails, the fillets which covered the head and feet being rotted off (2).

(I) To the deſcription of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* given above, we beg leave to add ſome obſervations as to thoſe embalmed bodies, or mummies, as they are now called, which are frequently taken up and brought from *Egypt*.

The coffins in which they lie are very thick, and generally of ſycamore, which in *Egypt* they call *Pharaoh*'s fig-tree, and does not rot ſo ſoon as other wood; though ſome are of ſtone, and others of cloths paſted together and very ſtrong. The top of the coffin is uſually cut into the ſhape of a head, with a face painted on it, reſembling a woman; the reſt is one continued trunk, and at the end of it is a broad pedeſtal, to ſet it upright upon in the reconditory. Some of theſe coffins are handſomely painted with ſeveral hieroglyphics.

The bodies appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a ſhroud of linen, upon which are faſtened divers ſcrolls of linen alſo, painted with ſacred characters: theſe ſcrolls generally run down the belly and ſides, or elſe are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen cloth fitted with plaiſter, on which the countenance of the perſon is repreſented in gold; and the feet have alſo a cover of the ſame, painted with hieroglyphics, and faſhioned like a high ſlipper. The whole body is ſwathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head and ending with the feet, ſo artificially, and in ſo inimitable a manner wound round with ſo many caſts and turnings, and ſo often one upon another, that there cannot be leſs than a thouſand ells of filleting upon one body. Thoſe which cover the head and face being ſo neatly done, that they hinder not, but one may ſee the ſhape of the eyes, noſe, and mouth. On the breaſt is a ſort of breaſt-plate, made with folds of linen cut ſcollop-wiſe, richly painted and gilt: on which is uſually the face of a woman with her arms expanded.

The inſide of the body is filled with medicaments of the conſiſtence, colour, and ſcent of pitch, or bitumen, which waxes ſoft by the heat of the ſun. In a ſcull of one of theſe bodies, there was found the quantity of two pounds of this preparation, which could not be infuſed any other way than by the noſtrils, as *Herodotus* intimates. And the tongue of one being weighed, was leſs than ſeven grains *Engliſh* (3). Some curious perſons in vain ſearched one of theſe mummies for the piece of money, which the antient *Grecians* are ſaid to put in the mouths of the dead, to pay *Charon* his fare (4). We are told however, that the greater part of theſe embalmed bodies have under the tongue a ſmall plate of gold, worth about two piſtoles (5).

(1) Plut. *apud Greaves, ubi inf.* (2) *Voyages de M.* de Breves. (3) Thevenot *Voy. part.* 1. c. 6. Greaves *Pyramidogr. p.* 49, 50. (4) *Vid.* Gassend. *de vita Peirſc. l.* 4. (5) Burretini *apud Thevenot, Relat. part.* 1. *p.* xxv.

days abovementioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, a which, by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the whole paunch and intrails shrunk and putrified; the nitre having consumed the flesh, and left nothing but the skin and bones. And when this was done, they delivered the body to the relations without any further operation. The third and last manner of preserving the dead, used only for the poorer sort, was performed by cleansing the belly by injected lotions, and salting the body for 70 days; after which it was taken away [m]. The wives of considerable persons, and all women who had been beautiful and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers presently after death; but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent those artists from abusing the bodies of such persons; for one of them was caught in such an action, and accused of it by his b companion. If any *Egyptian*, or even a stranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, wherever the body came ashore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the consecrated monuments, in the most costly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other might touch his body, except the priests of the *Nile*, who buried him with their own hands, as something more than human [n].

When the corps of the deceased was prepared for the sepulchre, his neareſt relations gave public notice of the day when such a one, by name, was to pass the lake, in order for his interment; to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed, above forty judges assembled, and sat in a semicircle c in a certain place beyond the lake (which we suppose to be that of *Mœris*). The vessel, whose pilot was, in the *Egyptian* tongue, called *Charon*, being ready hauled up to the shore, before the coffin which contained the body was suffered to imbark (K), every one was at liberty to accuse the deceased. If an accuser appeared, and made good his charge, that the deceased had led an ill life, the judges gave sentence accordingly, and the body was denied the usual burial: but if the accuser was convicted of having accused him unjustly, he incurred a severe punishment. If no accuser appeared, or if the accusation proved false, then the relations, laying aside their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praises of the deceased; in doing which they took no notice of his descent, for all the *Egyptians* were held equally noble; but d having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he had lived and behaved himself after he became a man, enlarging on his piety, justice, temperance, and other virtues; and beseeching the infernal gods to give him a favourable reception among the pious. The assistants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praises of the departed, as of one who was going to dwell for a long space of time with the just below. After this the body was deposited in the sepulchre of the family, if they had one; and if they had not, they kept it at home with them in the manner abovementioned. Those that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, were deposited privately in their own houses. But it often happened, that the posterity of e such persons growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

It must be acknowledged, that this institution of the *Egyptians*, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the discouragement of vice. It is very plain, that the *Greeks* took all they fabled concerning the infernal judges, and the happiness and punishments of men after death, from this practice of the *Egyptians*: but *Diodorus* observes, that instead of bringing men to amendment of life by those fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate persons: whereas in *Egypt* the reward of the good and punishment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and f daily distributed in public, in the sight of all men [o].

The sepulchres, wherein the *Egyptians* deposited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the person's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs have been already hinted; those of the antient kings at *Thebes*, it is said, could not be exceeded by their posterity. The sacred commentaries mentioned forty seven of them; but in the time of *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, there were but seventeen remaining; most of which where quite decayed when *Diodorus* visited those parts in the 180th *Olympiad*. Of the pyramids, which were built for the same purpose,

[m] Herod. & Diodor. ubi supr. [n] Herod. ibid. [o] Diod. ubi supr. p. 82, &c.

(K) This is the sense of the original; though it should rather seem, by the judges sitting on the farther side of the lake, that the corps was actually ferried over, but was not suffered to be disembarked, till sentence had passed.

a poſe, we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and the ſepulchre of *Oſymandyas* we may mention hereafter. The *Egyptians* of lower quality, at a great expence, cut ſubterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks; ſuch as thoſe in the *Libyan* deſarts, of which travellers ſpeak ſo much, calling them *catacombes*, or *mummy-pits*. The entrance into them is by a ſquare well, by which one may deſcend, ſetting the feet in the holes cut on each ſide for that purpoſe. Theſe wells are not of equal depth, but the ſhalloweſt are above ſix mens height. At the bottom of the well there is a ſquare opening, and a paſſage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into ſeveral ſquare vaulted chambers, each ſide of which are uſually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midſt of every one of the four ſides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the
b embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are ſeveral hieroglyphics, which might ſerve for epitaphs. Beſides the principal bodies, there are other ſmaller ones, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no leſs than twenty five or thirty of theſe chambers, or grots, having communication with one another; and the deſcent to them all is by one well [p]. The ſtones, of which *Strabo* obſerved a great number in a plain between *Syene* and *Philæ*, are alſo by ſome thought to have been tombs. That author calls them *Hermæa*, from the reſemblance they bore to the heaps of ſtones frequently erected by the highways in honour of *Mercury*; and he deſcribes them to be a great ſmooth ſtone, almoſt ſpherical, of that hard and black marble of
c which mortars were made, placed upon a greater ſtone, and ſurmounted by another; ſome of them lying by themſelves: the greateſt of them was no leſs than twelve feet diameter, and all of them above half ſo big [q].

Of their arts and ſciences.

THE antient *Egyptians* were the inventors of many uſeful arts and ſciences: and though they did not perhaps carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected from them, ſince among them every man was obliged to apply himſelf to his paternal profeſſion, and was confined to one particular art, or branch of learning only; yet, whoever conſiders how difficult it is to lay the firſt foundations of any ſcience, be they ever ſo ſmall, will allow them great commendation.

As they acknowledge themſelves indebted to their firſt kings for inſtructing them
d how to provide the common neceſſaries and conveniences of life, ſo they attributed the honour of the firſt invention of the ſciences to their *Hermes*, or *Mercuries* [r]. How many there were of this name, when they lived, and what they invented, or wrote, we ſhall enquire in another place, contenting ourſelves here with a ſhort account of the arts and learning which the *Egyptians* are ſuppoſed to have communicated to the reſt of mankind, and the progreſs they made therein.

THAT the *Egyptians* were early famous for wiſdom and learning, appears from many antient writers, and even from the ſcriptures themſelves: it is ſaid, among other things, to the honour of *Moſes*, that *he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians* [s]; and to magnify the wiſdom of *Solomon*, we are told, that *it excelled all the wiſdom of*
c *Egypt* [t]. Prophane authors alſo unanimouſly teſtify this nation to have been the parents of all philoſophical knowledge, and the only men that perfectly underſtood divine things [u].

Of their geometry,

GEOMETRY is on all hands agreed to have been firſt found out in *Egypt* [w]; and is ſaid to have owed its riſe to the ſetting out and meaſuring of their lands, the bounds of which were annually diſturbed by the overflowing of the *Nile* [x]. How far the *Egyptians* improved this ſcience, is not very certain; but their ſkill therein ſeems not to have been very profound, or to have extended to all geometrical quantities and ſubtile theories, like that of the moderns: the utmoſt they knew was probably no more than plain meaſuring, and ſuch rules as were of common uſe in life. For *Pythagoras*,
f who travelled into *Egypt* for the ſake of their learning, after his return home offered an hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longeſt ſide of a right angled triangle to the other two [y]; and *Thales*, who alſo learned geometry in *Egypt*, ſacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inſcribing a rect-angled triangle within a circle [z]: both which inventions they could not have had from the *Egyptians*; unleſs we ſhould ſay that the *Egyptians* did not teach them all they could, or that thoſe two philoſophers unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves what they were beholden to their maſters for. Now, if theſe more ſimple, though noble propoſitions, were not then to be found in the *Egyptian* geometry, much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to have

[p] BURETTINI, ubi ſupr. [q] STRABO, l. 17. p. 1173. [r] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 41. [s] Acts vii. 22. [t] 1 Kings iv. 30. [u] MACROB. in Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 19. & Saturn. l. 1. c. 14. & l. 7. c. 13. [w] DIOG. LAERT. in Proœm. STRABO, l. 16, 17. PLATO, in Phædro. ACHILL. TATIUS ad Arati Phæn. IAMBLICH. de vita Pythag. p. 144. [x] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. p. 73. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. [z] Idem in Thalete.

have contained thoſe more abſtruſe theorems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the *Greeks*, who built ſo fine a ſuperſtructure on the old *Egyptian* foundation [a].

Arithmetic, As arithmetic is not only of great uſe in itſelf, but abſolutely neceſſary both in the theory and practice of geometry, that ſcience was diligently cultivated in *Egypt*. That there was in later ages a kind of *algebra* known in that country, appears from the writings of *Diophantus*; but whether it was not an improvement made by the *Grecians*, after their ſettling there, cannot be affirmed; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern *algebra* in many reſpects [b].

Aſtronomy, IT is generally ſuppoſed, that aſtronomy was alſo an invention of the *Egyptians* [c], who, by reaſon of the conſtant ſerenity of the air and the flatneſs of their country, might obſerve the heavenly motions earlier, and with more eaſe than other people. *Herodotus* indeed gives the honour of this to the *Babylonians* [d]; but *Diodorus* makes the *Babylonians* themſelves, as well as their ſciences, to have been tranſplanted from *Egypt*. He attributes the firſt invention to thoſe of *Thebes*; and ſays, the *Egyptians* were accurate obſervers of the places and motions of the ſtars, and kept regiſters of their obſervations for an incredible number of years, having addicted themſelves to this ſtudy in the moſt early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and ſtations of the planets, and with their influences and effects; and by long experience were often able to make ſurprizing predictions of events in life, and to foretel famines, plenty, peſtilential diſeaſes, earthquakes, the appearance of comets, and other things which ſeemed to exceed human capacity. The *phænomena* they ſeem to have obſerved were indeed the moſt obvious and eaſy; but thereby they were directed to adjuſt the length of the year to the annual revolution of the ſun, which this nation firſt did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days apiece, five additional days and ſix hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* uſed the more rude and inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year [e]. But the great uſe they ſeem to have made of their aſtronomy was, either for the uſe of huſbandry, or elſe for aſtrological calculations, with which the *Egyptians* were much in love. It is probable, they might have a true notion of the ſyſtem of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed ſtars; for they called the moon, *an ethereal earth*, and affirmed the ſtars to be fire [f]; however, they were far from having an exact knowledge of the theory of the planetary motions, ſo as to make any artificial calculations; ſince *Thales* was the firſt man who ventured to foretel an eclipſe [g], and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy* firſt reduced the heavenly motions into hypotheſes and tables [h].

Phyſic, THE ſcience of phyſic ſeems alſo to have owed its original to the *Egyptians* [i]. The invention of it is generally aſcribed to *Æſculapius*, which name was given to *Toſorthrus*, or *Seſorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of *Manetho*, for his great ſkill in that art [k]. This prince was much more antient than the *Grecian Æſculapius*; and though *Africanus* places him ſome ages after *Athothis*, the ſucceſſor of *Menes*, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or the firſt *Hermes*; yet others make them contemporaries [l], as they muſt have been, if this *Æſculapius* was the ſame with the ſon of *Sydyc*, and the brother of the *Cabiri* [m]. *Athothes* is alſo ſaid to have been a phyſician, and to have written ſome books of anatomy [n], unleſs we rather aſcribe thoſe writings to the ſecond *Hermes*, who might publiſh ſeveral inventions of the firſt *Hermes*, and of *Æſculapius*; for we are told, that among the *Hermaic* books there were ſix which treated of phyſic, and that the firſt of them was anatomical [o]. *Iſis* herſelf is ſaid alſo to have invented ſeveral medicines, and to have taught the art to her ſon *Orus*, or *Apollo*; whence ſhe was held by the *Egyptians* to be the goddeſs of health [p].

THE *Egyptian* phyſicians mentioned by *Moſes* [q], ſeem rather to have been embalmers than *phyſicians*, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; unleſs we ſuppoſe both arts were originally profeſſed by the ſame perſon, which poſſibly might be the caſe, though in after-times it was otherwiſe. For every phyſician was not permitted to practiſe every branch of the art; but it was diſtributed into diſtinct parts, and each man applied himſelf to the cure of one diſeaſe only, pretending to no more. This occaſioned a great number of phyſicians in *Egypt*: ſome profeſſing to cure the diſeaſe of the eyes;

[a] Vid. BURNET Archæol. l. 1. p. 72. WOTTON's Reflections on antient and modern learning, c. 9. p. 115. [b] Ibid. c. 14. p. 180. [c] PLATO, in Epinom. ARISTOT. Metaph. l. 1. DIOG. LAERT. & ACHILL. TATIUS, ubi ſupr. MANIL. Aſtron. l. 1. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [e] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 46. HEROD. ubi ſupr. [f] PROCL. in Tim. Platonis, l. 1. p. 45. [g] DIOG. LAERT. in Thalet. CICER. de Divinat. l. 1. PLIN. l. 2. c. 12. [h] Vid. BURNET ubi ſupr. p. 73, &c. [i] PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 56. [k] Vid. SYNCELL. Chronogr. p. 56, 57. [l] MARSHAM. Canon. Chron. p. 40. [m] See before, p. 136. [n] SYNCELL. ubi ſupr. [o] CLEM. ALEX. Str. l. 1. p. 634. [p] DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 22. [q] Geneſ. l. 2.

a eyes; others thoſe of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; ſome applied themſelves to chirurgical operations, whilſt others undertook the care of internal diſtempers: by which regulation great improvements might have been expected from them in their ſeveral provinces, had not the laws as it were ſhut the door to any future diſcoveries, by obliging the phyſicians to preſcribe according to fixed rules and receipts, ſet down in their ſacred regiſters, which had been collected from long obſervation and experience, and approved by the moſt famous men of the profeſſion. So long as the phyſician followed theſe legal preſcriptions he was ſafe, let the ſucceſs of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was anſwerable for the event, and run the
b hazard of his life in caſe the patient died [s]. It muſt be confeſſed however, that this was a moſt effectual method to prevent the miſchievous practice of empirics. Another thing obſervable, in reſpect of the *Egyptian* phyſicians, is, that they had a public proviſion made for them by law; for which reaſon they were not to take any fee from thoſe who happened to be ſick in the army, or on a journey within the kingdom [t].

THE *Egyptian* medicines ſeem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly preſcribed evacuations, which they effected either by gliſters, potions, or emetics, or elſe by faſting; and this they repeated every day, or let the patient reſt three or four days, according to the caſe: for they were of opinion, that in the digeſtion of all food, the greater part was ſuperfluous, and loading nature, cauſed
c diſeaſes [u]; for which reaſon thoſe who lived in the corn country uſed to vomit and purge themſelves every month, three days ſucceſſively, to preſerve health, though otherwiſe they were by nature one of the moſt healthful people in the world [w]. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the phyſicians, together with their proper art, alſo ſtudied aſtrology and their ritual myſteries [x]; for the *Egyptian* practice of phyſic depended much on aſtrological and magical grounds, either the influence of ſome particular planet, or ſome tutelar dæmon were ſtill conſidered [y]; which precarious foundations muſt needs depreciate their ſkill, and ſtop any encreaſe of knowledge which might be made on other principles. However, we cannot wholly aſſent to the opinion of a modern writer, who thence imagines the antient *Egyptian* preſcriptions
d were not medicinal, but religious purifications only; and that their pharmaceutic books were filled, not with *recipes* for ſickneſſes and diſtempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be uſed in the ſeveral ſervices of each deity [z]. What we have already obſerved from good authority, cannot agree with this notion.

Chymiſtry.

THERE ſeems much leſs foundation for the aſſertion of ſome moderns, who tell us, there was a particular medicine uſed only among the *Egyptian* prieſts, and kept ſecret from the *Greeks*, and the generality of the natives themſelves; which medicine was of ſuch efficacy, that it could do any thing but reſtore life to the dead. This, they ſay, was the grand *elixir*, a chymical preparation made with the philoſophers ſtone, the invention of *Hermes*; by the help of which the *Egyptian* kings were ena-
e bled to build the pyramids with the treaſures their furnaces afforded them [a]. But ſuch fancies are ſufficiently confuted by the profound ſilence of antient authors in the matter, and the weak arguments of thoſe who contend for this antiquity of chymiſtry, built on ſuſpicious authorities, uncertain conjectures, and allegorical interpretations of the fabulous ſtories of the *Greeks*, which they will have to be chymical ſecrets diſguiſed; fancying the golden fleece, which *Jaſon* fetched from *Colchis*, was only a receipt to make the philoſophers ſtone; and that *Medea*, reſtored *Æſon*, his father, to his youth again, by the grand *elixir* [b].

Anatomy.

AS they began to cultivate anatomy in *Egypt* very early, if credit may be given to what is ſaid above, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be diſſected for the per-
f fection of this part of phyſic, it might be preſumed, they made greater progreſs therein than we can allow, if two inſtances that are given of the accuracy of the *Egyptian* anatomiſts be genuine. One of their obſervations was, that there is a particular nerve which goes from the heart to the little finger of the left hand; for which reaſon the *Egyptians* always wore rings upon that finger, and the prieſts dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments [d]. And the following reaſon is given, why a man cannot live above one hundred years; becauſe the *Alexandrian* embalmers obſerved a conſtant encreaſe and diminution of the hearts of thoſe found perſons whom they opened, whereby

[r] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [s] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 74. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. p. 73. [w] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [x] Scholiaſt. in Ptolem. Tetrabibl. l. 1. [y] Vid. CONRINGIUM de Hermetica. Ægyptior. vetere, & Paracelſica novâ medicina, and WOTTON's Reflections on ancient and modern learning, p. 119, &c. [z] SHUCKFORD's Connection, Vol. II. p. 408, &c. [a] Vid. BORRICHIUM de orta & progreſſu Chemiæ. [b] Vid. WOTTON, ubi ſupr. p. 120, &c. [c] PLIN. l. 19. c. 5. [d] A. GELLIUS Noct. Attic. l. 10. c. 10. MACROB. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

by they judged of their age; finding, that the hearts of infants of a year old weighed two drachms, and this weight encreased annually by two drachms every year till men came to the age of fifty; from which time they as gradually decreased till they came to an hundred; when, for want of a heart, they must necessarily die [e].

Natural philosophy,

OF the physiology of the old *Egyptians* (to consider it here distinctly from their theology, which two the antients constantly joined together) we have not much to say. Their opinion as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have considered elsewhere [f]. Their philosophical doctrines, as it seems, may best be known by looking into that of the antient *Greeks*, who were their scholars, and travelled into *Egypt* for instruction in these higher parts of learning; from whence it was, in all probability, that *Pythagoras* brought home the knowledge of that antient system of the world which bears his name, and is now so generally received; though it seems to have been part of the secret doctrine of the *Egyptians*, and not revealed to the vulgar. It may not be amiss to observe, that the antient *Barbarian* philosophers did not employ their studies in the explication of this or that particular phænomenon, or direct their enquiries to the examination of things taken singly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cause of the attractive power of the loadstone, or of the colours of the rainbow; what is the substance of fire, and what the particles of water, or how great the force of compressed air? but their speculations were about the mundane phænomena, or those which affected universal nature; such as the first beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final catastrophe [g].

Magic,

BUT the science for which the *Egyptians* were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge [h], was magic. Some, imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend, the angels, who fell in love with the antediluvian women, first taught it; that *Ham* preserved the principal rules of it from being lost at the deluge; and that *Mizraim* learned those secrets of his father [i]. But others ascribe the invention to *Hermes* [k]; though it is said to have been much improved by *Nechepsos*, a king of *Egypt* [l]. However, the art was certainly very antient in *Egypt*; they had magicians, who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup in the time of *Joseph* [m]; and very extraordinary instances were given of the power of inchantments in the days of *Moses* [n]. The professors of magic, among the *Egyptians*, were the priests and sacred scribes, two of which order, named *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were pitched upon to withstand that prophet [o]. Nor was this science confined to that nation in those early times: from the caution given by *Moses* to the *Israelites* against them [p] it is evident, there were pretenders to it under various denominations, among most of the idolatrous people; and *Balaam*, in particular, seems to have been a considerable proficient therein [q]. The claim of *Zoroastres*, and the *Babylonians*, to the honour of the first practising and teaching magic, shall be considered in another place.

WHAT were the real grounds of this science we cannot say; there is an innocent kind of *magic*, which consists only in an excelling knowledge of nature, and its various powers and qualities in its several productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation and comprehension [r]; but the magical wisdom of the *Egyptians* must have been something very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now masters of, notwithstanding those vast and various discoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies; there being no one, as we presume, who will now pretend to do those wonderful things, which *Pharoah*'s magicians did when they contended with *Moses*, not to insist on the improbability, that that law-giver would forbid the practice of an art which he must know to be not only innocent, but valuable.

IT is therefore supposed, that these antient magicians formed the rules of their art either from their superstitious belief of the great influence the heavenly bodies had on this lower world; or, from that other, though more late opinion, that the world was governed by inferior intelligences, or dæmons, and the spirits of heroes and extraordinary men deceased. As to the first foundation of this science, we have already observed, that the *Egyptians* assigned each month and day to a particular god: they imagined, that the seven planets governed the seven days of the week [s]; and pretended, that, by the observation of the motion of the celestial bodies, through a long series of years, they had obtained the

[e] PLIN. l. 9. c. 37. CENSORIN de die natali, c. 17. [f] Introd. p. 12, &c. [g] BURNET Archæol. l. 1. p. 58. Vid. STRABON. l. 15. [h] PLIN. l. 30. c. 1. [i] See before, p. 82, and 120, in the notes. [k] Vid. PHILASTRIUM Brixiens. Hæref. n. 3. [l] AUSON. Ep. 19. [m] Gen. xli. 8. xlv. 5, 15. [n] Exod. vii. 11, &c. [o] 2 Tim. iii. 8. NUMENIUS apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 8. c. 8. ARTAPANUS apud eund. ibid. l. 9. c. 27. [p] Deut. xviii. 10, &c. [q] Ibid. c. xxiii. 23; and xxiv. 1. [r] Vid. Sir W. TEMPLE's Essay on the wisdom of the antients. [s] DION CASSIUS, l. 37. p. 47.

the

the art of foreſeeing future events [t]. They alſo thought the influence of thoſe heavenly bodies on the elements cauſed ſuch effluxes, as might affect the mind of thoſe who were duly prepared to receive them, ſo as to enable them to deliver oracles; and even that they might, by a proper diſcipline, make them capable of working wonders, and procuring prodigies [u]. For they believed the ſun, moon, ſtars, and elements were endued with intelligence, and appointed by the ſupreme Deity to govern the world [w]; and though they acknowledged, that GOD might [x], upon extraordinary occaſions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or propheſies; yet they imagined alſo, that, generally ſpeaking, prodigies were cauſed, oracles given, and viſions occaſioned in a natural way, by the obſervation, or influence of the courſes of heavenly bodies, and by the operations of the powers of nature: and they conceived, that their learned profeſſors could work miracles, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams, by a deep ſtudy of, and profound enquiry into, natural knowledge, and, aſſiſted by a proper temper and diſpoſition of mind, attainable by the uſe of ſuch means as they thought had a natural power to raiſe warm conceptions, produce enthuſiaſtic fury, and fetter their reaſon, which they fancied averted the divine inſtinct, ſuch as inebriating liquors, muſic, and the like [y]; and in all theſe things they ſuppoſed the Deity not immediately concerned, but that they were the natural effects of the influence of the planets and elements, ſeeming ſtrange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully underſtood by perſons of ſcience and philoſophy [z]. The other foundation of magic was built on an opinion which was ſomething later than the former, *viz.* that ſpirits, or dæmons, of a nature ſuperior to men, were employed in the government of the world, and had their ſeveral provinces appointed them by GOD [a]; and to this honour they imagined the ſouls of departed *heroes* and extraordinary men were alſo admitted: for which reaſon they ſuppoſed, they had not only powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal men, but aſcribed oracles, viſions, and omens to the miniſtry of ſuch ſpirits. And theſe notions are not greatly different from the almoſt unanimous opinion of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who acknowledge the ſuperintendence of angels over human affairs, the malicious intermeddling of evil ſpirits therein, and the great knowledge and abilities of both [b]. Whether, by the law of nature all kind of commerce with theſe inviſible agents was prohibited, or not, has been thought not ſo clear; though it be plainly forbidden to *Chriſtians*, either becauſe the government of the intellectual world was changed at the coming of CHRIST [c]; or rather becauſe of the miſchiefs that ill-deſigning men might thereby be enabled to do, and the door it might open to idolatry and ſuperſtition. That ſuch a commerce is, or at leaſt formerly was, poſſible, we cannot but confeſs; and we conceive it very difficult to account for ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, without allowing it to have been practiſed; as we may obſerve hereafter: however, much the greater part of what has been attributed to this ſort of magic, was undoubtedly the effect of impoſture and deluſion, which have been ſo apparent in ſeveral inſtances, as to tempt one almoſt to believe the ſame of all the reſt.

And other arts.

SOME of the other arts of the *Egyptians*, which were leſs conſiderable, we have already occaſionally taken notice of. The *Greek* writers tell us, that all trades and profeſſions in *Egypt*, even the moſt inferior, were not reckoned ignoble; huſbandmen, and thoſe who fed cattle, in particular, were much conſidered [e]; though theſe latter, in ſome parts of the country, were not ſuffered, but counted an abomination [f]; the reaſon of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the ſkill of the *Egyptians* in architecture, mechanics, painting, and ſculpture, we need only refer to what we have ſaid in the preceding ſection: yet, as to the laſt, we may add, that their ſtatuaries worked by the moſt methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the *Grecians* did; and they judged of the exactneſs of the ſymmetry by the ſame. For they divided the whole body into twenty one parts and one fourth; and after the artiſts, who were employed, had come to a reſolution as to the ſize of the ſtatue, they went home, each taking his taſk, which they performed with ſuch ſingular ſkill, and made the ſeveral parts ſo accurately proportionable to one another as was wonderful. It is ſaid, the moſt famous ſtatuaries among the antients lived ſometime in *Egypt*; particularly *Telecles* and *Theodorus*, the ſons of *Rhœcus*, who made the famous ſtatue of *Apollo Pythius* in *Samos*, after the *Egyptian* manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; *Telecles* cutting one half in *Samos*, and his brother the other half at *Epheſus*; which

[t] CICERO de divin. l. 1. c. 1. [u] PLUTARCH. de defect. orac. [w] Vid. CICER. de nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 15. & Acad. quæſt. l. 4. c. 34, 37. [x] Vid. eund. de divinat. l. 1. c. 57. [y] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 432. [z] Vid. SHUCKFORD, ubi ſupr. p. 391, &c. [a] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 418. [b] See before, p. 49, 50. [c] See BURNET Archæol. l. 1. p. 103. [d] See before, p. 201, 213, &c. [e] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 67, &c. [f] Geneſ. xlvi. 34.

which beinng joined together, fitted ſo exactly, that they ſeemed to have been made a
by one hand: and this ſeemed the more admirable, conſidering the attitude of the
ſtatue, which had its hands ſtretched out, and its legs at a diſtance from each other,
in a moving poſture [g].

Of their navigation on the Nile.

We had almoſt forgot to ſpeak of the extraordinary conſtruction of the veſſels which the old *Egyptians* made uſe of on the *Nile*. Their ſhips of burthen were made of the *acantha*, or *Egyptian* thorn [h]; from which they cut ſmall planks about two cubits ſquare: theſe pieces of timber they ſet together like tiles, and faſtened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, they erected benches for the rowers. For they uſed no kind of ribs, or bent timber in their work, but ſecured the joints of the inſide with bands of *papyrus*. They had but one rudder, b
which paſſed quite through the keel, a maſt of *acantha*, and a ſail made of the *papyrus*. Theſe veſſels were very unfit to mount the river againſt the ſtream, and therefore were always towed up, unleſs the wind proved very freſh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, they faſtned a hurdle of *tamariſk* with a rope to the prow of the veſſel; which hurdle they ſtrengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water: they alſo hung a ſtone, pierced through the middle, and of a conſiderable weight, by another rope to the poop. By this means the ſtream bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition, the ſtone at the ſame time balancing and keeping it ſteady. Of theſe veſſels they had great numbers on the river, and ſome very large [i]. The *Egyptian* navigation by ſea we ſhall mention c
by and by, when we come to ſpeak of their trade.

How the Egyptians *preſerved their knowledge.*

The manner wherein the old *Egyptians* preſerved their knowledge, and tranſmitted it to poſterity, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. Their prieſts, as we have already intimated, were the depoſitaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philoſophy and other ſciences, as well as of their religion and ſacred rites [k]; and were the perſons to whom thoſe who deſired to be inſtructed therein were obliged to apply themſelves [l]; for which purpoſes they had divers colleges, or academies, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: one of which, at *Heliopolis*, is mentioned by *Strabo*, who viſited the apartments where *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had ſtudied for ſeveral years [m]. The *Egyptian* learning was partly inſcribed on columns, and partly committed to writing in the ſa- d
cred books. Not only the *Egyptians*, but ſeveral other antient nations uſed to preſerve the memory of things by inſcriptions on pillars: to ſay nothing of thoſe which *Seth*, as it is pretended, erected before the flood for the ſame purpoſe [n]; we are told, the *Babylonians* kept their aſtronomical obſervations engraven on bricks [o]; and *Democritus* is ſaid to have tranſcribed his moral diſcourſes from a *Babyloniſh* pillar [p]. But the moſt famous of all others were the columns of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, mentioned by ſeveral valuable authors: upon them he is reported to have inſcribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the ſecond *Hermes* in ſeveral books. It is certain, at leaſt, that from theſe pillars the *Greek* philoſophers and *Egyptian* hiſtorians e
took many things. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* both read them, and borrowed their philoſophy from thence [q]: *Sanchoniatho* and *Manetho* likewiſe made uſe of the ſame monuments [r], which were ſtill remaining in the time of *Proclus*, or not long before [s]. They ſtood in certain ſubterraneous apartments near *Thebes* [t]. To theſe inſcriptions ſucceeded the *ſacred books*, ſomewhat more recent, but not leſs famous; to which *Sanchoniatho* [u] and *Manetho* [w] are alſo ſaid to have been beholden for the perfecting of their hiſtories. For theſe books did not only contain what related to the worſhip of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but hiſtorical collections, nay, even all kind of miſcellaneous and philoſophical matters of conſiderable moment. For it was part of the buſineſs of the prieſts, or ſacred ſcribes, to inſert in thoſe public regiſters whatever f
deſerved to be recorded and tranſmitted to poſterity, as well as carefully to preſerve what had been delivered down to them from their anceſtors [x].

These were the literary monuments of the *Egyptians*. Of each kind there were ſome that were obvious and plain to be underſtood by the common people and ſtrangers; and others more dark and myſterious, which were laid up in the inner receſſes of the temples, and communicated but to a very few. For there were two ſorts of learning among the antients, and particularly the *Egyptians*, the *vulgar* and the

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 88. [h] See before, p. 182, e. [i] Herod. l. 2. [k] Vid. Porphyr. de Abſtin. Strab. l. 17. p. 1159. [l] Clem. Alex. Str. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 86. [m] Strabo, ubi ſupr. [n] See before, p. 81. [o] Plin. l. 7. c. 56. [p] Clem. Alex. ubi ſupr. [q] Iamblich. de Myſt. § 1. c. 2. Proclus apud Burnet, ubi infra. [r] Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 9 & 10. & Chronic. Gr. p. 6. [s] Proclus, ubi ſupr. [t] Pausan. l. 1. p. 78. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232. [u] Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 9. [w] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. [x] Vid. eund. ibid. Plat. in Tim. Strab. l. 17. p. 139.

the *ſecret*; the difference between which conſiſted not ſo much in the matter, as in the manner of delivering it [y]. The firſt was open to all, who might be inſtructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary maſters; but the other leſt it ſhould grow cheap, or be corrupted by paſſing through vulgar hands, was veiled and diſguiſed by more methods than one. For the monuments of this ſuperior ſort of learning, beſides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a charcter not commonly underſtood, and guarded by the prieſts, who were extremely difficult of acceſs, and could not be prevailed on to explain them, but after abundance of preparation and initiatory ceremonies [z]; a memorable inſtance of which was their uſage of *Pythagoras*. This perſon, deſigning to travel into *Egypt*,
b deſired *Polycrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, to recommend him, by letter to *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, who was his particular friend, that he might have the freer admiſſion to the ſecret learning of the prieſts; and when he came to *Amaſis*, he obtained alſo of him letters to the prieſts, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. Thence he went, firſt to thoſe of *Heliopolis*, who referred him to the college at *Memphis*, as their ſeniors; and from *Memphis* he was ſent, under the ſame pretext, to *Thebes*: after much tergiverſation, not daring to diſobey the king's command, by any farther dilatory excuſes, they endeavoured to deter *Pythagoras* from his purpoſe, by the infinite labour and trouble he was to expect, injoining him, in his noviciate, things that were very hard, and contrary to the religion of the *Greeks* [a].
c And when he had undergone all this with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, againſt their wills, to admit him to a participation of their ſacred myſteries, and profoundeſt learning [b].

The laſt method, which the *Egyptians* took to conceal their doctrines from popular conception, was, by wrapping it up in hieroglyphics, ſymbols, ænigmas, and fables. Of the hieroglyphic figures we ſhall take notice immediately. As to the reſt, it is well known, that the antients in general uſed to deliver their inſtructions under thoſe dark veils of allegory and fiction; inſtances of which are too frequent, both in ſacred and prophane writers, to need quotation: there being few, or none, in the moſt early times, either among the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who taught
d any part of philoſophy plainly and intelligibly [c]; as if they thought, that to expreſs things in a familiar and eaſy maner argued want of acuteneſs; or elſe imagined, that modeſty forbad them to ſhew truth naked to the vulgar. The *Egyptians* ſeem to have excelled other nations in the obſcurity of their fictions; wherein the footſteps of truth were often ſo faint, that they required a ſagacious tracer, and one able to diſcern things of moment from trifles [d].

In their inſcriptions and writings, the *Egyptians* made uſe of three ſeveral ſorts of characters; the firſt and moſt antient was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical inſtruments; of which three things the hieroglyphics, both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, conſiſted [e]:
e though there is reaſon to think, the *Egyptians* had alſo another ſort of characters, called *hieroglyphical*, and made uſe of by the prieſts, ſomething reſembling the preſent *Chineſe* characters [f]. They are ſaid to have been the invention of *Hermes*; and a ſpecimen of his performance therein is given us by *Sanchoniatho* [g]. The conjecture of Sir *John Marſham* is by no means improbable, that the uſe of theſe hieroglyphical figures of animals introduced the ſtrange worſhip which was paid them by that nation [h]; for as thoſe figures were made choice of according to the reſpective qualities of each animal, to expreſs the qualities and dignities of the perſons they repreſented, which were generally their gods, princes, and great men; the people became gradually accuſtomed to theſe figures, which they uſed to place in their temples as the
f images of their deities; whence it is not abſurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration to the living animals themſelves. And this opinion we rather approve, than the contrary one of a late learned writer, who ſuppoſes the ſacred animals were firſt appointed and conſecrated to each god, and the hieroglyphics afterwards formed from them [i].

There are large collections among the antiquaries of hieroglyphical inſcriptions, images, and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little ſucceſs [k]; for if we except a few of theſe characters, the meaning of

[y] See before, p. 60, a. [z] Plutarch de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354. Strab. l. 17. p. 1159. [a] See before, p. 214, a. [b] Porphyr. de vita Pythag. [c] Vid. Diog. Laert. in procem. Phornut. cap. de fab. antiq. trad. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 556, &c. [d] Plut. Erotic. p. 762. [e] Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 145. [f] Vid. Porphyr. de vita Pythag. p. 12. [g] See before, p. 138, c. [h] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 38. [i] Shuckford, Connect. Vol. II. p. 331, &c. [k] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Montfaucon, Antiq. expliq. Pignorii Ment. Iſiac. &c.

of which has been preſerved by old writers (L), there is great reaſon to ſuſpect their conjectures are very ill founded; and particularly as to thoſe figures which they ſuppoſe to repreſent the old *Egyptian* gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of ſome animal, or elſe diſtinguiſhed by ſome animal repreſentation ſet upon their heads, or near them; whereas images of human form, as we have obſerved, were not introduced among the *Egyptians* till later times; and why ſuch figures might not be made in memory of ſome of their moſt famous men, we cannot ſee, ſince it was the old *Egyptian* cuſtom to repreſent, not the man's perſon, but his manners, characters, ſtation, and honour[l]; and this they did by hieroglyphics. a

BESIDES theſe, the *Egyptians* alſo uſed literal characters, of which they had two ſorts, one of them they called the *ſacred letters*, in which their public regiſters, and all matters of a higher nature were written; and the other the *vulgar*, or *epiſtolographic*, made uſe of by every body in common buſineſs[m]. The *Egyptians* were not the only people who obſerved ſuch a diſtinction in their writing; ſeveral of the eaſtern nations, particularly the *Ethiopians* and *Babylonians*, had two different kinds of letters[n]; and the modern *Bramins* among the *Indians*, have not only a ſacred character, but a ſacred language alſo, in which they are very ſhy of inſtructing ſtrangers[o]. b

WHEN, and by whom letters were invented, we ſhall not now enquire; it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that though moſt other nations are ſuppoſed to have received them from the *Egyptians*, yet themſelves poſſibly learned them of their neighbours the *Ethiopians*, among whom letters were in uſe very early, and whoſe vulgar character became the ſacred one of the *Egyptians*[p]. Both theſe ſorts of old *Egyptian* letters are now loſt, or if the forms of them remain in any old inſcriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet conſiſted of twenty-five letters[q], and that they wrote from the right hand to the left[r], as moſt of the oriental nations ſtill do. We can by no means come into the opinion of thoſe who imagine the preſent *Coptic* letters to have been thoſe of the antient *Egyptians* (M); for the *Coptic* alphabet is manifeſtly c no

[l] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. See SHUCKFORD, Connect. Vol. II. p. 348, &c. [m] HEROD. l. 2. DIODOR. l. 1. p. 72. Vid. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. l. 5. p. 555. PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 185. [n] Vid. DIODOR. l. 3. p. 144. DIOG. LAERT. in Democrito. LUCIAN. de Macrob. [o] Vid. BURNET Archæol. l. 1. cap. 8. [p] DIODOR. ubi ſup. [q] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 374. [r] HEROD. ubi ſup.

(L) Thus we are told, they repreſented the ſupreme Deity, by a ſerpent with the head of a hawk (1). The hawk itſelf was the hieroglyphic of *Oſiris*; the river-horſe of *Typhon*; the dog of *Mercury*; the cat of the Moon, or *Diana*; the beetle of a couragious warrior; a new-born child of the riſing ſun, and the like (2).

(M) *Della Valle* thinks the modern *Coptic* letters were the vulgar letters of the antient *Egyptians*, and not taken by them from the *Greeks*; becauſe, 1. the *Greeks*, when they expreſs numbers by letters, according to the order of the alphabet, for the number 6, uſe ϛ, which is ſuppoſed to be not a ſingle letter, but the compound character *Sigma-tau*; for which they are not able to give any reaſon; whereas by the *Coptic* alphabet it appears to have been originally the ſixth letter, though it be wanting in the *Greek*. 2. The *Copts* pronounce the vowels and diphthongs, not according to the corrupt pronunciation of the modern *Greeks*, but after the antient manner. 3. He found ſome *Coptic* letters on a mummy among hieroglyphics; which ſhews they were in uſe before the way of writing was loſt (3). But it may be anſwered, that the *Greek* numeral ϛ, and the *Coptic Sa*, are really no other than the *Samaritan Vaw* ſet backwards, or the *Æolic Digamma*, which the *Greeks* afterwards threw out of their common alphabet, as they did the *Koppa* and *Sampi* (the *Samaritan Koph* and *Sadi*), they being alſo uſed as numerals only; but the *Copts* have retained the figure of the *Vaw*, calling it *So*, or *Sou* (which ſignifies *ſix*, the number it ſtands for) though they never uſe it, we believe, otherwiſe than as a numeral; nay, in ſome *Coptic* alphabets, the *Koppa* and *Sampi* are ſtill inſerted (4). Which joined with the other two arguments of *Della Valle*, may prove the *Greek* letters to have been uſed very early in *Egypt*, but not that they were originally *Egyptian*.

Kircher (5) goes ſomething farther. He endeavours to prove the *Coptic* letters were invented by *Hermes*, and moſt of them formed from ſome of the ſacred animals, as the *ibis*, the ſerpent, the bull, the ram, and the hawk. And to ſuch as have not pertinent names, he gives others, which have an apt ſignification in *Coptic*: *Zida*, for example, he calls *Zeuta*, i. e. *life*, of which the ſerpent, whoſe form this letter bears, is the ſymbol; & *Xi* he calls *Xanti*, i. e. *a chain*, the links of which it ſeems to reſemble. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that the firſt *Egyptian* letter was the *ibis* (6); that bird, with its legs divaricated, and bill inſerted between them, making the figure of an equilateral triangle (7), which comes ſomething near the *Coptic* [illegible]; but we know not how this can be carried further with any certainty. *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions four golden images of gods, viz. two dogs, a hawk, and an *ibis*, which uſed to be carried in proceſſion at a certain feſtival; and that they called them *four Letters* [illegible]; though *Kircher* has derived [illegible] the *ibis*, and one from the hawk [illegible] and

(1) EUSEB. *de præp. Evan.* l. 3. c. 10. p. 41. (2) Vid. PLUT. *de Iſid. & Oſir.* DIOD. l. 3. p. 145. CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* l. 5. p. 566. (3) DELLA VALLE, *Ving. let.* II. (4) *Vid.* ED. BERNARDI *Tab. alphabetor.* n. XXXI. (5) *In Oedip. Ægypt. Tom.* 3. p. 15. &c. 55 *in Turr. Babel.* p. 17[illegible] (6) PLUT. *Sympoſ.* l. 9. *quæſt.* 3. (7) *Ibid. quæſt.* 3. (8) CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* l. 5 [illegible]

nothing elſe but the *Greek*, with the addition of ſome few letters, to expreſs ſounds which the *Grecians* had not, and probably came to be uſed in *Egypt* after the time of *Alexander*, though we know the *Greek* language, and perhaps their letters alſo, was taught there long before, in the reign of *Pſammitichus* [s]. That the reader may judge of this affinity, we have here inſerted the *Coptic* alphabet.

The Coptic Alphabet.

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
ⲁ Ⲁ	*Alpha*	*A.*	ⲡ Ⲡ	*Pi*	*P.*
ⲃ Ⲃ	*Bita*	*B. V.*	ⲣ Ⲣ	*Ro*	*R.*
ⲅ Ⲅ	*Gamma*	*G.*	ⲥ Ⲥ	*Sima*	*S.*
ⲇ Ⲇ	*Dalda*	*D.*	ⲧ Ⲧ	*Tau*	*T.*
ⲉ Ⲉ	*Ei*	*E.*	ⲩ Ⲩ	*Ypſilon*	*Y. U.*
ⲍ Ⲍ	*So*	*S.*	ⲫ Ⲫ	*Phi*	*Ph.*
ⲋ Ⲋ	*Zita*	*Z.*	ⲭ Ⲭ	*Chi*	*Ch. Græc.*
ⲏ Ⲏ	*Hita*	*I. Æ.*	ⲱ Ⲱ	*O*	*O long.*
ⲑ Ⲑ	*Thita*	*Th.*	ⲯ Ⲯ	*Shei*	*Sh.*
ⲓ Ⲓ	*Iauda*	*I.*	ϥ Ϥ	*Fei*	*F.*
ⲕ Ⲕ	*Kappa*	*K.*	ⲭ Ⲭ	*Khei*	*Kh.*
ⲗ Ⲗ	*Lauda*	*L.*	ⲯ Ⲯ	*Hori*	*H.*
ⲙ ⲛ Ⲙ Ⲛ	*Mi*	*M.*	ϫ Ϫ	*Janja*	*J.*
ⲛ Ⲛ	*Ni*	*N.*	ϭ Ϭ	*Shima*	*Sh.*
ⲝ Ⲝ	*Xi*	*X.*	ϯ Ϯ	*Dhei*	*Dh.*
ⲟ Ⲟ	*O*	*O ſhort.*	ϩ Ϩ	*Epſi*	*Pſ.*

Of their language.

The *Egyptian* language is certainly one of the moſt ancient in the world, and in all probability an original, or mother tongue, formed at the confuſion of *Babel* [t]. It was certainly a diſtinct tongue, at leaſt ſo early as the time of *Joſeph*, who, when he was made governor of *Egypt*, had a new name given him of *Egyptian* derivation [u], and ſpeaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter [x]: and

[s] Idem. ibid. Diodor. l. 1. p. 61. [t] See before, p. 156. a. [u] Geneſ. lxi. 45. [x] Geneſ. lxii. 23.

find none that ſeemed to have any affinity with the dog; which ſhews how precarious theſe conjectures are, though we confeſs them to be ingenious. It is not improbable, that the *Egyptians* in later times, when they had loſt their antient letters and learning, and had for ſome centuries made uſe of the *Greek* alphabet only, the introduction of which they had forgotten, might imagine their preſent letters to be thoſe antient ones uſed by their anceſtors, and thereupon endeavour to find myſteries in them, which it is eaſy for men of warm conceptions, and a peculiar way of thinking, to do in the moſt trivial things.

Another learned author ſeems alſo to have been once of opinion, that the *Greek* alphabet was derived from the *Coptic*; for he ſays, the letters uſed by *Africa*, and throughout all *Aſia*, have not the leaſt affinity with the *Greek* (contrary to the ſentiments of almoſt all learned men beſides); but that the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian*, letters have the utmoſt reſemblance to them, and, which he thinks more obſervable, the manner of writing in all *Aſia* is from the right hand to the left; but the manner of writing in *Egypt* and *Greece*, is from the left hand to the right; and this he wonders Sir *Iſaac Newton* could not diſtinguiſh (1). We agree, that the manner of writing in *Egypt*, is now as this gentleman ſays, (we mean when they write *Coptic*) but that it *was* ſo antiently he would have been much in the wrong to affirm, *Herodotus* expreſly teſtifying the contrary (2); and the derivation of the *Greek* alphabet from the *Samaritan* is ſo apparent, that this writer himſelf, in a later work of his, ſeems to make no doubt of it; and goes a little too far, as we apprehend, on the other ſide, in aſſerting the *Samaritan* characters to have been the old *Egyptian* (3); which may poſſibly be true, but is more, we believe, than he is able to prove.

We will not deny however, but that the ſeven letters added by the *Egyptians* to the *Greek* alphabet, may be the remains of their antient character; though we are rather of a contrary opinion.

(1) Bedford's *Animadv. on Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol. p.* 27, 68. (2) *See the preceding page.* (3) Bedford's *Script. Chronol. p.* 494.

and yet this very language is in great measure preserved to our own times in the present *Coptic*, though, by reason of the almost continual subjection of that nation to foreigners, ever since their conquest by *Cambyses*, a considerable part of it has been lost; in return for which it has received a great number of *Greek*, and some *Persian*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* words, during the long time they were under the successive government of those people. The *Arabic* at present prevails so universally in *Egypt*, that the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians* themselves, generally speak no other, the common people having utterly lost the knowledge of their antient tongue, which few, even of their priests, understand to any degree of perfection [y]. a

THE *Coptic* tongue at present consists chiefly of the old *Egyptian* and *Greek*; still bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its structure and constitution, wherein it differs so widely from all the oriental and *European* languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the *Copts* neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs (not even those of foreign extract) otherwise than by prefixing particles sometimes of one or more syllables, and sometimes of a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of this tongue consists in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in transposing the middle part of the word, and adding of superfluous letters; to distinguish which requires great labour and skill [z]. b

Of their trade and navigation.

AS *Egypt* is excellently situated for commerce, the trade of the western parts of *Asia*, all *Europe*, and the north lying open to it by the *Mediterranean* sea, and that of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, and the southern, and western coasts of *Africa* by the red sea; the eastern merchandizes being commodiously brought into *Egypt* on camels by the *Isthmus* of *Sues*; it is to be presumed, so industrious and sensible a people were not long without making use of those advantages; which they might be induced to, not only by the prospect of gain, but also to supply themselves with those things which their country wanted, such as metals, wood, pitch, rosin, and the like; which they might do by disposing of their own, many and rich, productions and manufactures, such as corn, linen, paper, glass and several other valuable commodities. Sir *John Marsham* [a] supposes, that the *Egyptians* did not apply themselves to merchandize till the time of the *Ptolemies*; but in this he seems to be mistaken; for though those princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the east of their subjects, by building of *Berenice*, *Myos hormos*, and other ports on the *Arabian* gulph, so that *Alexandria* became the greatest mart in the world; yet the *Egyptians* certainly traded very considerably with foreigners long before. For, not to insist on their claim to the first invention of commerce, which they say was found out by *Osiris*, and their *Mercury* [b], *Diodorus* does not only tell us, that *Psammitichus* gained great riches by trade before he was king of all *Egypt* [c], but we learn from scripture, that the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites* traded thither so early as the time of *Jacob* [d]; and it is presumed, that they had antiently the sovereignty of the red sea, by which means they engrossed all the trade of the *Indies*, and other parts which were then carried on that way [e]. They seem indeed to have been dispossessed of it, if what *Philostratus* [f] relates be true, by a certain prince named *Erythras* (whom some imagine to be the same with *Esau*, or *Edom*); for he, being master of the red sea, made a law, or regulation, that the *Egyptians* should not enter that sea with any ships of war, and with no more than one merchant ship at a time. To evade which, the *Egyptians* built a vessel so large and capacious, that it might supply the place of several. However, afterwards *David*, becoming master of *Elath* and *Esiongeber*, two ports on the red sea belonging to *Edom*, which he had conquered, built ships there, as some say, and fetched gold from *Ophir* [g]; but whether that be true or no, *Solomon* his son certainly established a very great trade there [h], which it is not improbable he might do by permission, or connivance of the *Egyptians*, to whose king he was son-in-law. And this trade the *Jews* continued to share with them, with some little interruption, till the time of *Ahaz*, when they entirely lost it, and it fell into the hands of the *Syrians* [i], and after of the *Tyrians* [k], till the *Ptolemies* recovered the whole again to their own subjects, as has been said. c d e f

SOME

[y] Vid. SICARD. dans les Memoires des Missions, Tom. II. p. 61. [z] Vid. WILKINS, Dissert. de ling. Coptica, p. 120, &c. [a] Canon. Chron. Sec. 14. p. 367. [b] Vid. HUET. Hist. du Commerce & de la Navig. des anciens, c. 7. [c] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 60. [d] Genes. xxxvii. 25, 36. [e] Vid. HUET. ubi supr. c. 48. [f] De vita Apollonii, l. 3. c. 35. [g] EUPOLEM. ap. Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 30. [h] 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ix. 26, &c. [i] 2 Kings xvi. 6. [k] Vid. STRAB. l. 16.

a Some writers [l] have indeed expreſly aſſerted, that *Pſammitichus* was the firſt king of *Egypt* who opened the ports to ſtrangers, and granted foreign traders ſecurity in his dominions; and that the ancient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, permitted ſtrangers to have no acceſs to it, fortifying the frontiers againſt them, and particularly againſt the *Greeks*. But this cannot be underſtood of any other commerce than that which was driven by the *Mediterranean* ſea, where the *Greeks* exerciſed their piracies along the coaſts of *Egypt* [m], and being themſelves excluded thence on that account, complained of ſuch treatment as a great injuſtice, and an attempt againſt the law of nations, repreſenting the *Egyptians* as a barbarous nation, which had renounced all humanity and hoſpitality; whence aroſe b the fable of the cruelty of *Buſiris*: for that the *Egyptians* did before this trade with other nations, is evident from the abovementioned inſtance of the *Midianites* and *Iſmaelites*, the eaſy acceſs which *Abraham* and the ſons of *Jacob* had to *Egypt* [n], and from *Solomon*'s having horſes from thence [o].

Toward the *Greeks* indeed they behaved themſelves with ſome caution and reſerve, even after they were admitted; for, after the time of *Pſammitichus*, though *Amaſis*, who was their great friend, ſuffered them to build the city of *Naucratis* for the ſettlement and reſidence of their merchants; yet that was the ſole place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They ſailed up to it by the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile* (N); and if by any accident a veſſel entered any other c mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there againſt their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or, if the winds were contrary, to unlade, and ſend up their goods to *Naucratis* by the river veſſels [p].

Though the *Egyptians*, on a religious account, bore a great averſion to the ſea, which they called *Typhon*, becauſe it ſwallows up their *Nile*, and hated ſailors ſo much that they would not ſpeak to them [q]; and though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and cuſtoms [r], yet were they not ignorant of ſea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing elſe; nay, the *Grecians* confeſs, they learned navigation from them [s]. *Seſoſtris* built a formidable navy of four hundred ſhips of war for his expedition to d the ſouthern ſeas; and alſo a very large veſſel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (O), gilt without, and beautified with ſilver within, which he dedicated to *Oſiris* [t]. And it is to be preſumed, they improved in this art in ſucceeding times.

We ſhall here conclude this account of the antient *Egyptians*, and hope we may be excuſed, if we have been ſomewhat prolix in ſpeaking of ſo extraordinary a people.

SECT.

[l] Strab. l. 17. p. 1142. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 61. [m] Vid. Strab. ubi ſupr. [n] Geneſ. xii. 10. lxii. 1, &c. [o] 2 Chron. ix. 18. 1 Kings x. 28. [p] Herod. l. 2. ſub finem. [q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 363. Sympoſ. l. 8. p. 729. [r] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 302. [s] Euripid. in Troad. [t] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 50, 52.

(N) Yet others make this city of *Naucratis* to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and to ſtand on the *Bolbitic*, or *Heracleotic* mouth of the *Nile* (4). But this we ſhall examine hereafter.

(O) This ſhip muſt vaſtly exceed any modern veſſels in bulk, being near twice as big as one of our largeſt firſt rates; the length of the *Royal Sovereign* being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

(4) *See* Bayle *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Naucratis. Rem. A. B.*

SECT. III.

Of the Egyptian *chronology to the time of* Alexander the Great.

BEFORE we enter on ſo intricate a ſubject as the *Egyptian* chronology, it will be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding of what ſhall be ſaid, to exhibit the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt*, according to the ſeveral authors who have recorded their ſucceſſions.

I. *A* TABLE *of the laſt ſixteen of the thirty Dynaſties, according to the old* Egyptian *chronicle* [a], *the fourteen firſt Dynaſties being wanting.*

Dynaſty.	Generations.		Years.
XV.	15	Of the Cynic circle reigned	443
XVI.	8	*Tanites*	190
XVII.	4	*Memphites*	103
XVIII.	14	*Memphites*	348
XIX.	5	*Dioſpolites*	194
XX.	8	*Dioſpolites*	228
XXI.	6	*Tanites*	121
XXII.	3	*Tanites*	48
XXIII.	2	*Dioſpolites*	19
XXIV.	3	*Saïtes*	44
XXV.	3	*Ethiopians*	44
XXVI.	7	*Memphites*	177
XXVII.	5	*Perſians*	124
XXVIII. * * * * *		* * * * * *	
XXIX. * * * * *		* * * * * *	39
XXX.	1	*Tanites*	18
		The Sum of the thirty Dynaſties is,	36525

II. *A* TABLE *of the* Egyptian *Dynaſties from* Manetho.

TOME I.

According to *Africanus*.		According to *Euſebius*.	
The I. *Dynaſty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *conſiſting of eight princes.*	Years.	*The* I. *Dynaſty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *conſiſting of eight princes.*	Years.
1. *Menes* (A), reigned	62	1. *Menes* reigned	60
2. *Athothis* (B)	57	2. *Athoſthis*	27
3. *Cencenes*	31	3. *Cencenes*	39
4. *Venephes* (C)	23	4. *Vencphes*	42
5. *Uſaphædus*	20	5. *Uſaphaes*	20
6. *Miebidus*	16	6. *Niebes*	16
7. *Semempſis*	18	7. *Semempſis*	18
8. *Bienaches*	26	8. *Ubienthes*	26
	253		252

[a] See before p. 92. d. SYNCELL. chronogr. p. 51, 52. EUSEB. chron. Græc. p. SYNCELL. p. 45, &c. EUSEB. p.

(A) This prince, they ſay, was the firſt *man* who reigned in *Egypt*, and ſucceeded the demi-gods; he was killed by a *Hippopotamus* (1).

(B) *Athothis*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or *Hermes*, practiſed phyſic, and wrote ſome books of anatomy. He alſo built the palace at *Memphis* (2).

(C) He built the pyramids at *Cochome* (3).

(1) SYNCELL. p. 54, 55. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.*

The

According to *Africanus*.

The II. *Dynaſty of* Thinites, *conſiſting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Boethus* reigned	38
2	*Cæachos* (D)	39
3	*Binothris*	47
4	*Tlas*	17
5	*Sethenes*	41
6	*Chæres*	17
7	*Nephercheres*	25
8	*Seſochris* (E)	48
9	———	———
		297

The III. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Necherophes* reigned	28
2	*Toſorthrus* (F)	29
3	*Tyris*	7
4	*Mieſochris*	17
5	*Soiphis*	16
6	*Toſertaſis*	19
7	*Achis*	42
8	*Siphuris*	30
9	*Certheres*	26
		214

The IV. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of eight kings.*

		Years.
1	*Soris* reigned	29
2	*Suphis* (G)	63
3	*Suthis*	66
4	*Mencheres*	63
5	*Rhatœſes*	25
6	*Bicheres*	22
7	*Seberchres*	7
8	*Thamphthis*	9
		274

The V. *Dynaſty of* Elephantines.

		Years.
1	*Uſercheris* reigned	28
2	*Sephres*	13
3	*Nephercheres*	20
4	*Siſiris*	7
5	*Cheres*	20
6	*Rathuris*	44
7	*Mercheres*	9
8	*Tarcheres*	44
9	*Obnas*	33
		248

According to *Euſebius*.

The II. *Dynaſty of* Thinites, *conſiſting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Bochus* reigned	
2	*Chöus* (D)	
3	*Biophis*	
4		
5		
6		
7		
8	*Seſochris*	48
9	*Cheneres*	30
		302

The III. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of eight kings.*

		Years.
1	*Nacherochis*	
2	*Seſorthus*	
	* * * * * *	
		198

The IV. *Dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of ſeventeen kings.*

		Years.
	——— reigned	
3	*Suphis* (G)	
	* * * * * *	
		448

The V. *Dynaſty of* Elephantines, *conſiſting of thirty one kings.*

		Years.
1	*Othoes* reigned	
	* * * * * *	
4	*Phiops*	100
	* * * * * *	

(D) In his reign the ox *Apis* began to be worſhipped at *Memphis*, *Mneuis* at *Heliopolis*, and the goat at *Mendes* (4).

(E) This prince is ſaid to have been of very large ſtature, that is, five cubits high, and three broad (5).

(F) *Toſorthrus* was the *Egyptian Æſculapius*, excelling in the art of phyſick. He firſt found out the manner of building with hewn ſtones, and improved letters (6).

(G) This king is reported to have ſeen the gods, and repenting of it, to have wrote a ſacred book, greatly eſteemed by the *Egyptians*. It is alſo ſaid he built the largeſt pyramid near *Memphis*, attributed by *Herodotus* to *Cheops* (7).

(4) *Ibid.* (5) *Idem*, p. 56, 57. (6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.*

According to *Africanus*.

The VI. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of six princes.*

		Years.
1	*Othoes* reigned	
2	*Phius*	53
3	*Methusuphis*	7
4	*Phiops*	94
5	*Menteſuphis*	1
6	*Nitocris* (H)	12
		203

According to *Eusebius*.

The VI. *Dynasty of* Memphites.

Years.

* * * *

Nitocris 3

203

The VII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of seventy kings, who reigned* 70 *days.*

* * * *

The VII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of five kings, who reigned* 75 *days.*

* * * *

The VIII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of twenty seven kings, who reigned* 146 *years.*

* * * *

The VIII. *Dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of five kings, who reigned* 100 *years.*

* * * *

The IX. *Dynasty of* Heraclcots, *consisting of nineteen kings.*

		Years.
1	*Achthoes* (I) reigned	
	* * * *	
		409

The IX. *Dynasty of* Heracleopolites, *consisting of four kings.*

		Years.
1	*Achthus*	
	* * * *	
		100

The X. *Dynasty of* Heracleots, *consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*

* * * *

The X. *Dynasty of* Heracleopolites, *consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*

* * * *

The XI. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixteen kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*

* * * *

The XI. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixteen kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*

* * * *

After whom *Ammenemes* reigned 16 *years.*

After whom *Ammenemes* reigned 16 *years.*

TOME II.

The XII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Gosen Goses*, or *Sesoncheris* reigned	46
2	*Ammenemes*	38
3	*Sesostris*	48
4	*Lachares* (K)	8
5	*Ammeres*	8
6	*Ammenemes*	8
7	*Scemiophris*, his ſiſter	4
		160

The XII. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sesyncheris* reigned	46
2	*Ammenemes*	38
3	*Sesostris*	48
4	*Labaris* (K)	8
5		42
6		
7		
		245

(H) A moſt illuſtrious and beautiful woman, who built the third pyramid near *Memphis*, which *Herodotus* attributes to *M. ceirus* (8).

(I) *Achthoes* was a moſt inhuman prince: after ſeveral cruelties by him exerciſed on his ſubjects, he fell into madneſs, and was ſlain by a crocodile (9).

(K) This prince made choice of the labyrinth at *Arſinoe* for his ſepulchre (10).

(8) *Idem*, p. 58. (9) *Ibid.* p. 59. (10) *Ibid.* & p. 60.

According

According to *Africanus*.

The XIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixty kings, who reigned* 184 *years.*

* * * * *

The XIV. *Dynaſty is wanting.*

* * * * *

The XV. *Dynaſty of* Phœnician *ſhepherds, conſiſting of ſix kings.*

		Years.
1	*Saïtes* reigned	19
2	*Byon*, or *Beon*	44
3	*Pachnan*, or *Apachnas*	61
4	*Staan*	50
5	*Archles*	49
6	*Aphobis* (L)	61
		284

The XVI. *Dynaſty of* Greek *ſhepherds, conſiſting of thirty two kings, who reigned* 518 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVII. *Dynaſty, conſiſting of forty three other paſtor kings, and forty three* Thebans, *who reigned together* 153 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings.*

		Years.
1	*Amos* (M), called alſo *Amoſis* and *Tethmoſis*, ſon of *Aſſeth*, reigned	?
2	*Chebros*	13
3	*Amenophthis*	21
4	*Amerſis*	32
5	*Miſaphris*	13
6	*Miſphragmuthoſis*, or *Amoſis* II.	26
7	*Tuthmoſis*	9
8	*Amenophis*, or *Memnon*	31
9	*Horus*	37
10	*Acheres* I.	32
11	*Rathos*	6
12	*Chebres*	12
13	*Acheres* II.	12
14	*Armeſſes*	5
15	*Rameſſes*	1
16	*Amenophis*	19
		263

According to *Euſebius*.

The XIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixty kings, who reigned* 453 *years.*

* * * * *

The XIV. *Dynaſty of* Xoïtes, *conſiſting of ſeventy ſix kings, who reigned* 184, *or* 484 *years.*

* * * * *

The XV. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *who reigned* 250 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVI. *Dynaſty of* Thebans, *conſiſting of five kings, who reigned* 190 *years.*

* * * * *

The XVII. *Dynaſty of* Phœnician *ſhepherds.*

		Years.
1	*Saïtes* reigned	19
2	*Beon*	43
3	*Aphophis* (L)	14
4	*Archles*	30
		106

The XVIII. *Dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings.*

		Years.
1	*Amoſis* reigned	25
2	*Chebron*	13
3	*Ammenophis*	21
4	*Miphris*	12
5	*Miſphragmuthoſis*	26
6	*Tuthmoſis*	9
7	*Amenophis*	31
8	*Horus*	36
9	*Achencherſes*	12
10	*Athoris*	39
11	*Chencheres*	15
12	*Acherres*	8
13	*Cherres*	15
14	*Armes*, or *Danaus*	5
15	*Ammeſes*, or *Ægyptus*	68
16	*Memephis*	49
		348

(L) This prince is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the *Pharaoh* who advanced *Joſeph* (11).

(M) Under *Amoſis* it is ſuppoſed, by *Africanus*, that the *Iſraelites* departed out of *Egypt*: but *Euſebius* places the *Exodus* under *Chencheres* the eleventh of this Dynaſty (12).

(11) *Ibid. p.* 64.

(12) *Ibid. p.* 62, 72, *&c.*

Ecclesiaſtes

According to *Africanus*.

The XIX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of six kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sethos* reigned	51
2	*Rhapsaces*	61
3	*Ammenephthes*	20
4	*Rameses*	60
5	*Ammenemnes*	5
6	*Thuoris*, the *Polybus* of *Homer*	7
		209

According to *Eusebius*.

The XIX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of five kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sethos*	55
2	*Rhapses*	66
3	*Ammenephthes*	40
4	*Ammenemnes*	26
5	*Thuoris*	7
		194

TOME III.

The XX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 135 *years.*

* * * * * *

The XX. *Dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 178 *years.*

* * * * * *

The XXI. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Smedes* reigned	26
2	*Psusenes*, or *Psuneses*	46
3	*Nephelcheres*	4
4	*Amenenophthis*	9
5	*Osochor*	6
6	*Pinaches*	9
7	*Susennes*	30
		130

The XXI. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

		Years.
1	*Smendis*	26
2	*Psusennes* I.	41
3	*Nephercheres*	4
4	*Amenophthis*	9
5	*Osochor*	6
6	*Psinaches*	9
7	*Psusennes* II.	35
		130

The XXII. *Dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sesonchis* reigned	21
2	*Osoroth*	15
3		} 25
4		
5		
6	*Tacellothis*	13
7		} 42
8		
9		
		120

The XXII. *Dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Sesenchosis* reigned	21
2	*Osorthon*	15
3	*Tacellothis*	13
		49

The XXIII. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of four kings.*

		Years.
1	*Petubates* reigned	40
2	*Osorcho*, or *Hercules*	8
3	*Psammus*	10
4	*Zet*	31
		89

The XXIII. *Dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Petubastes* reigned	25
2	*Osorthon*, or *Hercules*	9
3	*Psammus*	10
		44

The XXIV. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Bocchoris reigned	6

The XXIV. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Bocchoris, or *Boncboris* reigned	44

The XXV. *Dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings*

		Years.
1	*Sabbacon* reigned	12
2	*Sevechus*	14
3	*Taracus*	18
		44

The XXV. *Dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings*

		Years.
1	*Sabbacon reigned*	12
2	*Sevechus*	14
3	*Taracus*	18
		44

According to *Africanus*.

The XXVI. *Dynasty of* Saïtes, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Yrs	Mths
1	*Stephinates* reigned	7	
2	*Nerepsos*	6	
3	*Nechao* I.	8	
4	*Psammitichus*	54	
5	*Nechao* II.	6	
6	*Psammuthis*	6	
7	*Uaphris*	19	
8	*Amosis*	44	
9	*Psammacherites*	0	6
		150	6

The XXVII. *Dynasty of* Persians, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Yrs	Mths
1	*Cambyses* reigned	6	
2	*Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*,	36	
3	*Xerxes* the Great	21	
4	*Artabanus*	0	7
5	*Artaxerxes*	41	
6	*Xerxes* II.	0	2
7	*Sogdianus*	0	7
8	*Darius*, the son of *Xerxes*,	19	
		124	4

The XXVIII. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Amyrteos reigned	6

The XXIX. *Dynasty of* Mendesians, *consisting of four kings.*

		Yrs	Mths
1	*Nepherites* reigned	6	
2	*Achoris*	13	
3	*Psammuthis*	1	
4	*Nephorotes*	0	4
		20	4

The XXX. *Dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Nectanebes* I. reigned	18
2	*Teos*	2
3	*Nectanebes* II.	18
		38

According to *Eusebius*.

The XXVI. *Dynasty of* Saïtes, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Ammeris* reigned	12
2	*Stephanathis*	7
3	*Necheptos*	6
4	*Nechao* I.	8
5	*Psammitichus*	45
6	*Nechao* II.	6
7	*Psammuthis*, or *Psammitichus* II.	17
8	*Uaphris*	25
9	*Amosis*	42
		168

The XXVII. *Dynasty of* Persians, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Yrs	Mths
1	*Cambyses* reigned	3	
2.	The *Magi*	0	7
3	*Darius*	36	
4	*Xerxes* I.	21	
5	*Artaxerxes Longimanus*	40	
6	*Xerxes* II.	0	2
7	*Sogdianus*	0	7
8	*Darius*, the son of *Xerxes*,	19	
		120	4

The XXVIII. *Dynasty of one* Saïte.

		Years.
	Amyrtanus, or *Amyrtæus*, reigned	6

The XXIX. *Dynasty of* Mendesians, *consisting of five kings*

		Yrs	Mths
1	*Nepherites* reigned	6	
2	*Achoris*	13	
3	*Psammuthis*	1	
4	*Anapherites*	0	4
5	*Muthis*	1	
		21	4

The XXX. *Dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

		Years.
1	*Nectanebes* reigned	10
2	*Teos*	2
3	*Nectanebes*	8
		20

III. *A* TABLE *of* Egyptian *kings from* Manetho, *according to* Josephus [b].

		Yrs	Mths
	Timaus reigned		

The pastor kings.

1	*Salatis*	19	
2	*Bæon*	44	
3	*Aphachnas*	36	7
4	*Aphophis*	61	
5	*Janias*	50	1
6	*Assis*	49	2

Egyptians.

	Halisphragmuthosis		
	Tethmosis	25	4
	Chebron	13	
	Amenophis	20	7
	Amesses, a woman	21	9
	Mephres	12	9
	Mephramuthosis, or *Misphragmuthosis*	21	10
	Thmosis	9	8
	Amenophis	30	10
	Orus	36	5
	Acenchres	12	1
	Rathosis	9	
	Acencheres I.	12	5
	Acencheres II.	12	3
	Armaïs	4	
	Rameses	1	4
	Harmesses Miamun	66	2
	Amenophis	19	6
		393	

IV. *A* TABLE *of the* Theban *kings from the Laterculus of* Eratosthenes [c].

		Years.
1	*Menes*, or *Mines*, reigned	62
2	*Athothes* I.	59
3	*Athothes* II.	32
4	*Diabies*	19
5	*Pemphos*	18
6	*Tægar Amachus Momchiri*, or *Tægaramus*	79
7	*Stæchus*	6
8	*Gosormies*, or *Elesipantus*	30
9	*Mares*	26
10	*Anoyphes*	20
11	*Sirius*	18
12	*Chnubus Gneurus*	27
13	*Rauosis*	13
14	*Biyris*	10
15	*Saophis*	29
16	*Sensaophis*	27
17	*Moscheris*	31
18	*Musthis*	33
19	*Pammus Archondes*	35
20	*Apappus* the Great	100
21	*Echescus Caras*	1
22	*Nitocris*	6
23	*Myrtæus*	22
24	*Thyosimares*	12
25	*Thyrillus*, or *Thinillus*	8
26	*Semphucrates*	18
27	*Chuther Taurus*	7
28	*Meres*, or *Meures*, the philosopher	12
29	*Choma Ephtha*	11
30	*Anchunius Ochy*, or *Scunioschos*	60
31	*Penteathyris*	16
32	*Stamenemes*	23
33	*Siftoschermes*	55
34	*Maris*	43
35	*Siphoas Hermes*	5
36		14
37	*Phruron*, or *Nilus*	5
38	*Amurthæus*, or *Amythantæus*	63

V. *A* TABLE *of the* Egyptian *kings according to the series of* Syncellus [d].

		Years.
1	*Mestraim*, or *Menes*, reigned	35
2	*Curudes*, or *Cudrus*	63
3	*Aristarchus*	34
4	*Spanius*	36
5		72
6		
7	*Serapis*	23
8	*Sesonchosis*	49
9	*Amenemes*	29
10	*Amasis*, or *Amosis*	2
11	*Acesephthres*	13
12	*Achoreas*	9
13	*Amiyses*, or *Armiyses*	4
14	*Chamoïs*	12
15	*Amesises*	65
16		14
17	*Use*	50
18	*Rhameses*	29
19	*Rhamessomenes*	15
20	*Thysimares*	31
21	*Rhamesseseos*	23
22	*Rhamessemeno*	19
23	*Rhamesse*, son of *Baëtes*	39
24	*Rhamesse*, son of *Uaphres*	29
25	*Concharis*	6
26	*Silites*	19
27	*Bæon*	44
28	*Apachnas*	36
29	*Aphophis*	61
30	*Sethos*	50
31	*Certus*	29
32	*Aseth*	24
33	*Amosis*, or *Tethmosis*	22
34	*Chebron*	13
35	*Amephes*	15
36	*Amenses*	11
37	*Misphragmuthosis*	16
38	*Misphres*	

[b] Contra Apion. l. 1. [c] Apud SYNCELL. p. 92, &c. [d] 1 Chronog. p. 91, &c.

38	*Miſphres*	23	66	*Saïtes*	15
39	*Tuthmoſis*	39	67	*Pſinaches*	9
40	*Amenophthis*	34	68	*Petubaſtes*	44
41	*Horus*	48	69	*Oſorthon*	9
42	*Achencheres*	25	70	*Pſammus*	10
43	*Athoris*	29	71	*Concharis*	21
44	*Chencheres*	26	72	*Oſorthon*	15
45	*Acheres*	8 or 30	73	*Tacelophes*	13
46	*Armæus*, or *Danaus*	9	74	*Bocchoris*	44
47	*Rhameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*	68	75	*Sabacon*	12
48	*Amenophis*	8	76	*Sebechon*	12
49	*Thuoris*	17	77	*Taraces*	20
50	*Nechepſos*	19	78	*Amaes*	38
51	*Pſammuthis*	13	79	*Stephinathes*	27
52	—	4	80	*Nacepſus*	13
53	*Certus*	20	81	*Nechaab* I.	8
54	*Rhampſis*	45	82	*Pſammitichus*	14
55	*Amenſes*, or *Amenemes*	26	83	*Nechaab* II.	9
56	*Ochyras*	14	84	*Pſammuthis*, or *Pſammitichus* II.	17
57	*Amedes*	27	85	*Uaphres*	34
58	*Thuoris*, or *Polybus*	50	86	*Amaſis*	50
59	*Athothis*, or *Phuſanus*	28	87	*Amyrtæus*	6
60	*Cencenes*	39	88	*Nepherites*	6
61	*Uennephes*	42	89	*Achoris*	13
62	*Suſſacim*	34	90	*Pſammuthis*	2
63	*Pſuenus*, or *Senipſuerus*	25	91	*Menas*	4
64	*Ammenophes*	9	92	*Nectanebes*	8
65	*Nephecheres*	6	93	*Teos*	2

VI. *A* TABLE *of the kings of* Egypt.

According to *Herodotus*.	According to *Diodorus Siculus*.
Menes	*Menas*, or *Mneves*
* * * * *	—52 of his deſcendants 1400 years.
* * * * * *	*Buſiris*
* * * * *	—7 of his deſcendants,
Nitocris	*Buſiris* the 8th of them.
* * * * * *	* * * * *
* * * * *	*Oſymandyas*
* * * * * *	—8 of his deſcendants,
* * * * *	*Uchoreus* the 8th of them.
* * * * *	—12 generations.
Mœris	*Myris*
* * * * *	— 7 generations, one of theſe *Saſyches*, the law-giver.
Seſoſtris	*Seſooſis* I.
Pheron	*Seſooſis* II
* * * * *	—ſeveral generations.
* * * * *	*Amaſis* (*Ammoſis*)
* * * * * *	*Actiſanes* the *Ethiopian*
* * * * *	*Mendes*, or *Marus*
	—5 generations, an Interregnum.
Proteus	*Proteus*
Rhampſinitus	*Remphis*
* * * * *	*Nilus* } 6 generations.
* * * * *	
Cheops	*Chemmis*, or *Chembes*
Cephrenes	*Cephren*, or *Chabryis*
Mycerinus	*Mycerinus*, or *Cherinus*
Aſychis	*Gnephachthus*
Anyſis	*Bocchoris*

According

According to *Herodotus*.		According to *Diodorus Siculus*.	
Sabaco		*Sabaco*	
Anyſis again		Interregnum 2 years	
Sethon			
12 kings		12 kings	
Pſammitichus		*Pſammitichus*	
Necus		4 generations	
Pſammis			
Apries		*Apries*	
Amaſis		*Amaſis*	
Pſammenitus			

THE diſagreement between theſe ſeveral ſucceſſions of *Egyptian* kings, both in their names and the years of their reſpective reigns, is ſo great, and there are ſuch chaſms, and ſuch apparent corruptions and miſtakes therein, that it ſhould ſeem loſt labour to go about to reduce them into a chronological ſeries, ſo as to agree with one another, much leſs with ſcripture, and the chronological obſervations of other hiſtorians. However we ſhall ſay ſomething of each of the preceding tables. a

Of the numbers of the old chronicle.

AND, to begin with the firſt of them, the ſum total of the thirty dynaſties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immenſe number, vaſtly exceeding the age of the world, but appears to be an aſtronomical calculation, by which the *Egyptians* would have their dynaſties to have run through a whole periodic revolution of the zodiac [e]; and therefore we ſhall not offer to make any uſe of it. It may only be obſerved, that though this ſum be ſaid to be the amount of the thirty dynaſties, yet therein muſt be included the 30,000 years which the *Sun* reigned, the 3984 years reign of *Saturn*, and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demi-gods, making together 34,201 years. As to the fourteen firſt dynaſties, which we conceive to be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table in the fifteen dynaſty, and reigned 443 years, do make up the firſt fifteen dynaſties: and this ſeems to be confirmed by the ſum total of the years of the ſixteen laſt dynaſties, as in the table, which is 2140 years, and with the ſaid 34,201 years, makes 36,341; to which, if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty eight dynaſty, the number of which is omitted, we ſhall have the compleat ſum of 36,525. And conſequently deducting thence the ſum of the reigns of the gods and demi-gods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the ſucceeding dynaſties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reaſonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to thoſe of *Manetho*. b c

Of the Dynaſties of Manetho.

THE ſucceſſions of *Manetho*, which are given in the ſecond table, have this additional corruption, that their order has been diſturbed by tranſcribers; and as in their preſent diſpoſition they cannot poſſibly be reduced to any one ſyſtem of chronology, ſome have altered that diſpoſition according to their various hypotheſis, while others make ſhort work with them, and abſolutely reject theſe dynaſties, or great part of them as fabulous. d

THE credit of *Manetho* has been called in queſtion by ſeveral writers [f], not only becauſe of the incredible antiquity to which his hiſtory is ſuppoſed to have aſcended, but from the account which, it is ſaid, he himſelf gave of the records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain pillars in the *Seriadic* land, on which inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred dialect and letters, by *Thoth*, the firſt *Hermes*, and were tranſlated, after the flood, out of the ſacred dialect into the *Greek* (N) tongue

[e] See before, p. 92. in the notes.

[f] Vid. JAC CAPPELL. in Hiſt. Sacr. & Exot. ad Ann. M. 2269. STILLINGFLEET Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2. § 10, &c.

(N) Dr. *Stillingfleet* (13), with great reaſon thinks this abſolutely incredible, the *Greek* language being not known in *Egypt*, at leaſt not in requeſt there, ſo early as this; for the *Grecians* had little or no commerce with the *Egyptians* till the time of *Pſammitichus*, as we have obſerved more than once. It ſeems alſo very unlikely that *Manetho* ſhould aſſert this; for, beſides the improbability abovementioned, the *Egyptian* hiſtory was ſo far from being tranſlated to his hand, that he himſelf was obliged to tranſlate it into *Greek* from the ſacred regiſters (14); for which reaſon we ſuſpect ſome corruption in this paſſage; and, if it be not too bold a conjecture, we ſhould gueſs that, inſtead of ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ, the *Greek tongue*, it ought to be read ἑλλεχον φωνῇ, the *vulgar* tongue; but we dare not dictate in ſo dubious a point.

(13) *Orig. Sacr. Book* I. *c.* 2.

(14) Joſeph. *cont. Apion. l.* 1. p. 1336.

tongue in ſacred letters (O), and laid up in books by *Agathodæmon*, the ſon of the ſecond *Hermes*, the father of *Tat*, in the inner receſſes of the *Egyptian* temples [g]. Now it is abſolutely impoſſible, that the firſt *Hermes*, who lived in the earlieſt ages of the *Egyptian* monarchy, could write a hiſtory of ſo many generations which came into the world after his death, unleſs he did it by inſpiration; and if *Manetho* could be ſo ſtupid as to aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that writer could mean any ſuch thing; the words cited from him do not ſay he took his *whole* hiſtory from thoſe pillars; though he might probably quote thoſe records to ſupport the antient hiſtory, which preceded the time of *Thoth*; and ſuch pillars, or at leaſt ſome pillars which were of great an-
b tiquity, and by the prieſts attributed to *Thoth*, muſt have been extant in the days of *Manetho*, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo publick a manner, eſpecially in writing to his prince. It may alſo be anſwered, that though *Thoth* made the firſt inſcriptions on thoſe pillars, yet it is not impoſſible, but in ſucceeding times other inſcriptions might be added to thoſe of *Thoth*; for the pillars might be in common phraſe aſcribed to him, though the hiſtorical inſcriptions were continued after his death by others. But after all it may be queſtioned, whether *Manetho* really intended to ſupport his hiſtory by the authority of thoſe pillars; for the paſſage wherein he mentions them, ſeems to have been taken out of another book of his, called *Sothis*, or *Seth*, which was not hiſtorical, but prophetical; for, in his dedication of
c that work to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, he ſays, that his interpreting the ſacred books of *Hermes* was in obedience to that prince's command, who enquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world [h]. And as to the records from whence he took his hiſtory, we are elſewhere aſſured, it was from the ſacred regiſters [i] which were kept by the prieſts, and written in the *Egyptian* language, ſince he tranſlated them into *Greek*.

The ſtronger prejudice therefore againſt the credit of this writer ariſes from his chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time paſt. This appears not only from the old chronicle abovementioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years
d their prieſt impoſed on *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus* (P); but *Manetho* ſeems to have been much more modeſt. The ſum of his thirty one dynaſties from *Menes* to fifteen years before *Alexander* (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account), if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world; and *Joſeph Scaliger* [k] has accordingly ſettled their chronology in ſuch a manner that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a leſſer number mentioned by *Syncellus*, who ſays the account of the years of all the dynaſties was 3555, which is much more reaſonable than the other, and yet will agree with no ſyſtem of chronology unleſs we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes
e of *Egypt*. *Manetho*, as we have already obſerved, began his hiſtory with ſeven gods, and nine demi-gods [l], who reigned 1985 years; and then ſucceeded mortal kings, the firſt of whom was *Menes*. Theſe three races ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe called in the old chronicle *Auritæ*, *Meſtræi*, and *Egyptians* [m]. Now, if we allow (as is moſt reaſonable, in caſe there be any ſhadow of truth in this part of the hiſtory), that

[g] Syncell. p. 40. See before, p. 81. b. and the note there.
[h] Vid. Syncell. p. 40.
[i] Joseph. cont. Appion. l. 1. p. 1336. Euseb. præp. Ev. l. 2. in proæm.
[k] Canon Iſagog. l. 2. p. 228.
[l] See before, p. 92. d.
[m] See ibid.

(O) The original words are γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which the learned writer named in the preceding note, tranſlates *hieroglyphic characters*, and very juſtly wonders, how any tranſlation can be made into ſuch characters, which repreſent things, and not words (15). But as theſe characters are plainly called *letters*, we conceive they could not be *hieroglyphical* in the common acceptation of the word, but rather ſuppoſe them to be the ſame with the *hicrographic*, or ſacred letters abovementioned.

(P) Some of theſe random accounts are as follow:

	Years.
From *Vulcan* to *Alexander* (16)	48,863
From the reign of the *Sun* to *Alexander* (17)	23,000
From *Oſiris* to *Alexander* (18) above	10,000
Or almoſt - - - -	23,000
From *Hercules* to *Amaſis* (19) -	17,000
From *Bacchus* to *Amaſis* (20) - -	15,000
The gods and heroes reigned (21)	18,000
From *Orus*, the laſt of them, to the 180th *Olympiad* (22) - - -	15,000
Kings of *Egypt* before *Amaſis* reigned (23)	13,000
From their firſt mortal king to *Sethon* (24)	11,340
There were chronicles at *Lais* (25) of	8000

(15) Stillingfl. *ubi ſup.* 16 Diog. Laert. *in Proœm.* (17) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 1. *p.* 22. (18) *Idem, ibid. p.* 20. (19) Herod. *l.* 2. (20) *Idem ibid.* (21) Diodor. *ubi ſup. p.* 41. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) Pomp. Mela. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. (24) Herod. *ubi ſup.* (25) Plato *in Tim.*

that the gods, or *Auritæ*, were antediluvians; the demi-gods, or *Metræi*, the poſt- a
diluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *mortal men*, or *Egyptians*, *Menes* and his ſucceſſors; and, if we allow 1200 years part of the 1985 for the reigns of the firſt [n], the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of *Mizraim* and his deſcendants. And deducting the whole 1985 out of the ſaid 3555, there will remain 1570 years, the diſtance from *Menes* to the fifteenth year before *Alexander*; from which time, if we compute backwards, the beginning of *Menes*'s reign will fall about eleven years before *Abraham* went into *Egypt*, according to the *Samaritan* chronology; and that of *Mizraim* about 298 years after the flood. This way of computing would be plauſible, were it not that the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom will by this means precede the diſperſion of mankind 103 years, which can hardly be ſuppoſed, unleſs b
it be allowed, that the *Egyptians* reckoned the years of the government of their firſt anceſtors over their deſcendants, before they left *Shinaar*, and arrived in *Egypt*. But the great objection of all is, that *Manetho*'s number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the ſucceſſors of *Menes*, and we have no manner of warrant to make any deduction from it.

Some chronologers therefore, particularly father *Petau* [o], (who took delight in contradicting *Scaliger*) reject the whole ſcheme of *Manetho*'s dynaſties as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit. And others [p], to whom *Euſebius* led the way in his canon [q], omit the firſt ſixteen dynaſties only, and begin their chronology with the ſeventeenth; though they differ among themſelves in their computations. The c
firſt who, without rejecting any, earneſtly ſet about reducing the entire ſeries to the ſcripture chronology, was the learned Sir *John Marſham* [r], who firſt gueſſed that theſe dynaſties were not ſucceſſive, but collateral. He ſuppoſes, that *Egypt*, immediately, after the death of *Menes*, was divided into four diſtinct kingdoms, of *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and the lower *Egypt*, beſides ſome of leſſer note which aroſe afterwards, and whoſe epochs are more difficult to be ſettled, and that it continued ſo divided for almoſt ſeven centuries, till the paſtors made themſelves maſters of all, except that of *Thebes*; after whoſe expulſion, in about 500 years after, *Egypt* became ſubject to one prince. By this meas the duration of the whole empire, from *Menes* to the end of the reign of *Amaſis*, is reduced to 1819 years. This gen- d
tleman's work is full of uncommon learning and curious obſervations; but his great misfortune ſeems to have been his adhering ſo very ſcrupulouſly to the *Hebrew* chronology; whereby he is obliged to make *Menes* the ſame with *Ham*, and not *Mizraim*, (as almoſt all other writers imagine) and abſurdly to begin the date of his reign immediately from the flood. He follows *Diodorus* [s] in reckoning 1400 years from *Menes* to *Seſoſtris*, whom therefore he aſſerts to be the *Shiſhak* of the ſcriptures, though *Diodorus* plainly reckons a much larger interval between them. In which laſt particular, as he has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral writers [t], ſo he has been followed by others [u]. It muſt be obſerved, that Sir *John Marſham* makes great uſe of the table of the *Theban* kings given us by *Eratoſthenes*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by. e

The next who undertook to model this *Egyptian* chronology is father *Pezron*, who, by following the larger chronology of the *Septuagint*, has more latitude, and allows the duration of the *Egyptian* empire 2619 years from *Menes* to *Nectanebus*. This author likewiſe goes on the ſame foundation with Sir *John Marſham*, in making the firſt ſeventeen dynaſties not ſucceſſive but collateral. He is of opinion, that the *Meſtræans*, or offspring of *Mizraim*, the firſt inhabitants of *Egypt*, were thoſe whom their poſterity honoured with the titles of gods and demi-gods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till *Menes* who began his reign 648 years after the deluge, and 117 years after the diſperſion. *Seſoſtris* he places in the time of the judges of *Iſrael*, *Deborah* then preſiding over f
that people [x].

From the plans of theſe two great men, ſeveral other chronological writers have formed ſyſtems of their own, differing in ſome reſpects from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is to fix the times of *Menes* and *Seſoſtris*; which, when they have done, they imagine the reſt follows almoſt of courſe. The opinions, as to theſe two princes, are ſo various, that it would lead us into too great a detail to mention them all in this place; and what we judge moſt curious and worthy notice in ſuch diſquiſitions, will be more properly introduced, when we give their

[n] See before, p. 92, 94. d. [o] De Doctr. Tempor. l. 9. c. 15. [p] Calvesius, Usserius, & Jac. Cappellus. Perizonius eſteems the firſt fourteen or fifteen to be fabulous. [q] Chron. Græc. p. 89. [r] In his Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c. [s] Lib. 1. p. 42. [t] Pezron, Perizonius, Whiston, Bedford, &c. [u] Sir Isaac Newton, Shuckford, Bossuet, Le Clerc, &c. [x] Pezron, Antiq. des temps retablie. c. 13.

their hiſtories. What is generally to be obſerved in all theſe writers, and eſpecially
a in one of them, *Perizonius* by name, is, that they are much oftener in the right in refuting and detecting the errors and miſtakes of one another, than in ſettling or adjuſting any thing that may be ſafely relied on.

THE fundamental hypotheſis which all theſe writers go upon, that there were, in the moſt early times, ſeveral kingdoms in *Egypt* at once, ſeems to be very probable, the ſcripture mentioning the kings of the *Egyptians* in the plural, even ſo late as the time of *Jehoram* [y]. The kingdoms of *Thebes* and *Memphis* divided *Egypt* between them for ſeveral centuries; and it is certain, from *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that there were, at leaſt, two kings in that country at the time of the invaſion of the *Ethiopians* under *Sabbaco*. But it does not appear, that *Manetho* himſelf, though he wrote
b the hiſtory of five *Egyptian* nations [z], did make any of the dynaſties he has given us collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unleſs his tranſcribers have done him more wrong than we have reaſon to ſuſpect, he placed them all in a continual ſucceſſion [a]; and it is taking the utmoſt liberty with *Manetho* to alter it, unleſs we charge the fault on the records of which he made uſe.

AFTER *Cambyſes* had carried away their records, the *Egyptian* prieſts, in all probability, to ſupply their loſs, and keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, eſpecially as to diſtant times. From theſe materials, for want of better, *Manetho* collecting his hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a
c good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations (the *Jews* excepted); for it cannot be expected, that people in the circumſtances of theſe early nations could have begun to keep records till ſome ages after their ſettlement. It is unjuſt therefore to lay the whole blame of the confuſion and uncertainty we find in the *Egyptian* hiſtory at the door of *Manetho*: he collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had, and we have ſo little genuine remains of him, and what we have, has been ſo mangled by tranſcribers and pretenders to correct him, that *Iſis* found leſs difficulty in gathering the diſperſed remains of her dead husband, than it muſt be to patch up a figure which might bear ſome reſemblance of that hiſtorian. Several antient writers of good judgment, as *Joſephus*, *Plutarch*, *Por-*
d *phyry*, and *Euſebius*, looked on him as a writer whoſe authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment tranſcribed from him by *Joſephus*, before his copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentic piece of *Egyptian* hiſtory, of ſo great antiquity, that is extant; and the ſeries of kings we have exhibited thence, in the third table, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* hiſtories, by acquainting us that *Sethoſis* was *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Armaïs Danaus*.

Of the catalogue of Eratoſthenes.

THE liſt of *Theban* kings given by *Eratoſthenes* has had a very favourable reception
c among the learned, not only as a ſupplement to *Manetho*, who has entirely omitted that ſucceſſion, but as a certain foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* chronology (Q). His authority has been preferred to that of *Manetho* [b], in regard he was no *Egyptian* prieſt, but a *Cyrenæan*, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the *Alexandrian* library, and took his catalogue from the ſacred records of *Thebes*, or had it from the ſacred ſcribes there [c]. Together with the *Egyptian* names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in *Greek*, which thoſe ſkilled in the *Coptic* tongue allow to be juſt in ſome inſtances; but ſeveral of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have choſen to omit them.

THIS *Eratoſthenean* ſeries is ſuppoſed to be connected with a known epoch in the
f *Grecian* hiſtory, by a remark of *Dicæarchus*, *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholar, who ſays, that from the reign of *Seſonchoſis*, who ſucceeded *Orus*, the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, to the reign of *Nilus*, are 2500 years; and from *Nilus* to the firſt *Olympiad* 436 years [d]. Who *Seſonchoſis* was is very uncertain; the firſt king of the twelfth dynaſty of *Manetho* ſeems

[y] 2 Kings vii. 6. [z] SYNCELL. p. 40. [a] See PERIZON. Orig. Ægypt. p. 62, &c.
[b] Vid. MARSH. Can. Chron. p. 8, 26, 297. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 416, &c. [c] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 147. [d] DICÆARCH. apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. l. 4. ver. 272.

(Q) Beſides the obſervation of *Dicæarchus*, mentioned hereafter, there is another affixed to *Mars*, the ninth king of this catalogue in *Scaliger*'s edition of *Euſebius*'s *Greek* chronicle (26), purporting, that he was contemporary with the ſixteenth dynaſty of *Thebans* in the lower *Egypt*; which obſervation may be of uſe to thoſe who have a mind to frame a table of the dynaſties, though *Goar*, in his edition of *Syncellus*, has omitted it, and taxes *Scaliger* with adding it of his own invention (27).

(26) *Pag.* 18. *l.* 34. (27) GOAR, *in Not. ad Syncell. p.* 521.

seems to have born this name, or one very near it; but he must have lived too late to a
be the person here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate successor of *Orus*,
he must have been one of the demi-gods, and the same with *Ares*, or *Mars*; which
carry us back into fable. The first of these observations therefore can be of no great
use, for the time of *Sesonchosis*, after this way of reckoning, will precede the de-
luge, even according to the *Samaritan* chronology, near 700 years. But the other
king, named by *Dicæarchus*, is found in the catalogue of *Eratosthenes*, the last king
but one in which is *Phruron*, or *Nilus*; and therefore his time being known, the
years of all the preceding kings are easily adjusted to any system of chronology. This
seems plausible enough; yet we are afraid, it will not altogether agree with the ac-
count of *Diodorus*. It is plain, *Dicæarchus* supposed *Nilus* reigned at the time of the b
Trojan war; for his calculation will carry us up thither; but, according to *Diodorus*,
Nilus must have been several generations later than *Proteus*, who reigned in *Egypt*
at the time of the *Trojan* war, by the joint testimony of him and *Herodotus* c; so
that *Dicæarchus* seems only to have given a tolerable guess at his age, and not fixed
it with such certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at least. Besides,
it is more than probable, that this table of *Eratosthenes* has suffered by time and tran-
scribers, as well as the dynasties of *Manetho*; and there are doubtless several mistakes
in the numbers as well as names; the sum total, for example, which *Syncellus* reckons
to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for, if carefully cast up, they a-
mount to no more than 1055. c

HOWEVER, according to this calculation of *Dicæarchus*, the table of *Eratosthenes*
will suit well enough with the *Samaritan* chronology; for if to the year before
CHRIST 776 (the epoch of the first *Olympiad*) we add 436, the reign of *Nilus* will
end in the year before CHRIST 1212; to which, if we again add 992, the number
of years between the last year of *Nilus* and the first of *Menes*, this last king's reign
began 794 years after the flood; that is, 393 years after the dispersion, and about
300 years before *Abraham*'s descent into *Egypt*. But if we abate three or four gene-
rations in this calculation, it will still better agree with *Diodorus*, and allow more
time for the rising of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

Of the series of Syncellus.

As to the series of *Syncellus*, given in the fifth table, on which Sir *John Marsham* d
built much f, we have a worse opinion of it than of any of the other, especially in
the more early ages, where it is supported by no concurring evidence at all. He seems
to have composed it by picking here and there such names and numbers, and some-
times adding both out of his own head, as he fancied, in order to accommodate it to
the sacred chronology g, and therefore we shall take no further notice of it.

Of the successions according to Herodotus *and* Diodorus.

We need not spend many words to shew that it is next to impossible to frame a con-
sistent chronology, as some have attempted h, from the successions of kings in *Hero-
dotus* and *Diodorus*. For, besides their irreconcileable disagreement in several in-
stances, they confessedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of
the reigns of others; whereby such chasms are left, that no body can tell how to fill e
up; and their manner of reckoning by descents, or generations, is too visibly un-
certain. Before *Psammitichus* the *Egyptian* chronology is very dark; and though after
that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the historians
since his reign are considerable, as appears by the tables.

WE shall not therefore waste our time in composing a hypothetical scheme of these
kings of *Egypt*; of such performances there are choice already; and they are much
more easy to frame, than to support; calculations by numbers of years, which are
so liable to mistake and corruption, must needs be very precarious; and it seems much
more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts and historical synchronisms, from
which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of *Egypt*, endeavour to fix the f
times of such events as we judge capable of it, and shall represent them accordingly
in the general chronological tables. And this we think is the most that can be done
with any degree of certainty: considering, which it is amazing to us, that men should
pretend to adjust the *Egyptian* chronology, from the most early times, to so great a
nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertain-
ty and confusion.

BEFORE we conclude, we will only observe, as to the *Hebrew* chronology, the
imperfection of which we have mentioned more than once, that if there be any
dependance to be made on the foregoing accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, the be-
ginning of that kingdom must be placed much earlier than that computation will g
allow.

c DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 56. HEROD. l. 2.
Orig. Æg. p. 53, &c.
f Vid. Can. Chron. p. 7.
g Vid. PERIZON.
h Vid. CONRING. Adv. Chronol. c. 17, 18. STILLINGFL. Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 5.

a allow. For, according to the moſt moderate calculation, which is that of *Eratoſthenes*, as fixed by the obſervation of *Dicæarchus*, the reign of *Menes* muſt begin within two centuries of the flood; which is, in our opinion, improbable in the higheſt degree [i]; even though we ſhould admit, that *Menes* was the ſame with *Mizraim*, as the patrons of that chronology generally ſuppoſe; the contrary of which we believe to be true, and ſhall endeavour to prove hereafter.

SECT. IV.

b

The Hiſtory of Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, *and* Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the mortal kings of *Egypt*, we are in ſome ſort obliged to inſert the following dark and antient fiction. *Oſiris* and *Iſis* were ſaid by ſome to be the ſon and daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*; but according to others their grand-ſon and grand-daughter being deſcended from *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the *Egyptians*. Theſe five deities were called *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Venus* [a]. We have their origin and generation again differently, and, with the ſeveral particulars, related as follows: *Sol* ſurprizing *Rhea* in a private con-
c greſs with *Saturn*, prayed that ſhe might not be delivered in the ſpace of any one month, or of the year. Soon after *Mercury*, ſmitten with love of the goddeſs, embraced her alſo; and, beating *Luna* at dice, took from the *Lunar* year the ſeventy ſecond part of every day, and thereof compoſed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that ſhe might bring forth in them: and theſe they celebrated as the birth-days of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Orus*, and *Nephthe*. On the firſt day *Oſiris* was born, and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, *The lord of all things is come into the world:* or, according to others, a damſel called *Pamyles*, going to fetch water from the temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, heard a loud voice commanding to proclaim, *The great and beneficent king* Oſiris *is born*. He was
d delivered to this damſel, who was directed to nurſe him, which ſhe did with all the veneration due to him, performing the myſteries called *Pamylia*, like thoſe ſtiled *Pallephoria*, in honour of him On the ſecond day *Arueris* was brought forth, whom ſome called *Apollo*, and others the elder *Orus*. The third was the birth-day of *Typhon*, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's ſide. On the fourth day *Iſis*, and on the fifth *Nephthe*, or *Nephthys*, took birth; which laſt was alſo called *Finis*, and *Venus*, and *Victoria*. *Sol* was the father of *Oſiris* and *Arueris*; *Mercury* was the father of *Iſis*; and *Saturn* was the father of *Typhon* and *Nephthe*. The third being the birth-day of *Typhon*, was counted inauſpicious, or unlucky; ſo that the kings thereon ſuſpended
e all buſineſs, and abſtained from eating and drinking. *Nephthe* married *Typhon*, and *Iſis* married *Oſiris*. As for theſe laſt it is ſaid, that, impelled by a mutual love, they embraced whilſt yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought, that *Arueris*, the elder *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, ſprang from that early conjunction (A). *Oſiris* had no ſooner obtained the kingdom of *Egypt* than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their ſavage and brutal way of living, ſhewed them the fruits of the earth, and inſtituted divine worſhip [b]; building the city of *Thebes*, as is (with great uncertainty) ſaid, and erecting ſeveral temples, and, amongſt the reſt, one to *Jupiter Uranius*, and another to *Jupiter Ammon*, his father, who reigned before him [c]. But, that his beneficence might not be confined to the bounds of his own

[i] See before, p. 172, &c. [a] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13. [b] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 355. [c] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.

(A) *Herodotus* gives them a daughter, *Bubaſtis*, or *Diana*; and ſeems to have heard the ſtory of theſe fabulous princes, with ſome variation from what is related by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, the only authors we have, who have written this fiction at length. And particularly, ſpeaking of the floating iſland *Chemmis*, near the city of *Butus*, he writes, that, by an *Egyptian* tradition, *Latona*, one of the primary deities, reſiding at *Butus*, had *Orus* committed to her care, at a time when *Typhon* was in ſearch after him to deſtroy him; and ſhe accordingly concealed him in the aboveſaid iſle. Now, according to *Plutarch*, *Typhon* was kept within bounds by the prudence of *Iſis*, during all the expedition of *Oſiris*; with which account this violent proceeding cannot conſiſt; and *Herodotus* does not in the leaſt hint at this ſearch afterwards. *Diodorus* ſays *Orus* accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author ſays, he was ſo far from flying from *Typhon*, that he made head againſt him, overcame him in battle, and ſlew him. It appears then, that *Herodotus* heard this fiction related in a third and different manner (1).

(1) Herodot. *lib.* 11.

own country, he undertook to visit the several nations on the earth, all which he a
civilized and brought into order; not by the forcible constraint of arms, but by
dint of persuasion, and by the allurements of music and poetry [d]. His outset, and
the more remarkable particulars of his travels are thus told.

HAVING in view the vast and beneficial design abovementioned, he raised a great
number of followers, amongst whom was his brother *Apollo*, who claimed the *laurel* as
sacred to him, just as the *ivy* was to *Osiris*. He took also his two sons with him, *Anubis*
(which will be seemingly contradicted by and by) and *Macedo*. These two wore coats
of mail, and over them the skin of such a beast as corresponded with the nature of their
courage; so *Anubis* had a dog's skin, and *Macedo* the skin of a wolf; and hence, said they, b
the dog and the wolf were worshipped in *Egypt*. *Pan* also was of the company; he
was afterwards highly revered over all the country, insomuch that he had not only
statues and temples erected to him, but also the city of *Chemmis*, which signified *Pan*'s
city. Add to these *Maro*, famous for planting and dressing of vines; and *Triptolemus* for sowing of corn, and gathering in the harvest. Finally, *Osiris* took with
him nine virgins, proficients in music, who being committed to the care of *Apollo*,
he thence obtained the title of master of the *nine sisters*, or *muses*; as also some
satyrs he met as he went towards *Ethiopia*, who were acceptable for their jocund
disposition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, skipping, and dancing.

BUT before he left *Egypt* he provided against any disturbances that might arise in c
his absence, by committing the administration to trusty and sagacious persons. For he
invested *Isis* with the regency, in which he left his friend *Hermes* to assist her. *Hermes*
was also called *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Thoyth*, *Tauautes*, *Trismegistus*, and by other names. It
is a common opinion, that there were two persons or more who bore these several appellations; but, leaving the discussion of so dark a point, we will here speak as of one person,
and enumerate the inventions and books ascribed to him. He, said they, invented
articulate sounds, appellatives, letters, religion, astronomy, music, wrestling, arithmetic, statuary, the three-stringed lyre, and the use of the olive, and not *Minerva*,
as the *Grecks* mistakenly asserted. He was stiled the father of eloquence, and thence
he derived his name of *Hermes*, the interpreter, or speaker [e]. Now as to the books d
he wrote, *Seleucus* reckoned them at no less than 20,000 [f]; and *Manetho* exceeds
him, computing them at 36,525 [g]. These numbers are so enormous, that it has
been a stumbling block to the learned, to conceive how one person could be the author of such myriads of tracts. Therefore some have supposed these computations
to refer to verses, others to leaves of the *Papyrus*; and others again to succinct discourses and proverbs. But *Clement* of *Alexandria* will lead us out of this labyrinth,
by the following account of an antient *Egyptian* procession: The *first* that advanced,
says he, was a *Chanter*, or singer, who bore some symbol or other of music: his
business it was to receive two of the books of *Mercury*, or *Thoth*; of which the
one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to observe.
Secondly, an *Astrologer*, bearing a dial and a palm, which were symbols of astrology: e
he was obliged to have the four astrological books of *Mercury* by heart; the first of
which contained the places of the fixed stars, and the three others treated of the
sun and moon, their eclipses, illuminations, rising, and the like. *Thirdly*, an *Hierogrammateus*, or sacred scribe, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a rule,
in which were ink and a reed to write with: he was versed in the subjects of ten
books, the 1. of hieroglyphics; 2. of cosmography; 3. of geography; 4. of the
order of the sun and moon; 5. of the five planets; 6. of the chorography of
Egypt; 7. a description of the *Nile*; 8. a description of the sacred utensils, and of
the places consecrated to them; 9. treated of measures; and the 10th of whatever
was necessary in their worship. *Fourthly*, a *Stolistes*, a kind of solemn marshal, f
holding the cubit of justice and a cup for libations: he knew whatever concerned
the institution of youth, and the sealing of victims. The whole *Egyptian* religion
was comprehended in ten books; the 1. related to the sacrifices; the 2. to first-
fruits; 3. to hymns; 4. to prayers; 5. to processions; 6. to festivals; and the other
four on the like subjects. *Fifthly*, and last of all came the *Prophet*, bearing a wa-
ter-pot openly in his bosom, and followed by those who carried the processional
bread: he, as presiding over the temple, studied the ten books called sacerdotal,
which spoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole discipline of the priesthood.
Here we have an account of thirty six books of *Hermes*; besides which he wrote
six more, which treated of anatomy, diseases, medicaments, and the like; so that he g
was

[d] PLUT. ubi supr. Ægypt. § 8. cap. 1.
[e] DIOD. SIC. l. 1. p. 14, &c.
[f] SELEUC. apud Jamblich. de Myst.
[g] MANETHO, apud eund. ibid.

a was author of forty two in all[h]. This is ſome rational account of the matter. But to return from whence we digreſſed; this ſagacious perſon or one ſuch was left behind to aſſiſt *Iſis* in the government of the kingdom.

MOREOVER, *Hercules* was appointed over the forces at home, and *Antæus*, *Buſiris*, and *Prometheus* were conſtituted governors over ſeveral provinces. *Oſiris* having thus ſettled affairs in *Egypt*, began his progreſs, moving firſt towards *Ethiopia*. In this country he raiſed the banks of the *Nile*, and dug ſeveral canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and diſtribute the waters of the *Nile*. Whilſt he was thus employed in *Ethiopia*, the *Nile* broke down its banks in *Egypt*, and overflowed a great part of the country; and
b this it did with ſo furious a tide, and ſo ſudden a ſpread, as ſwept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in *Prometheus*'s juriſdiction, whereat he was grieved almoſt to deſpair. But *Hercules* ſoon drained off the waters, and thence is ſaid to have ſhot through the eagle which preyed on *Prometheus*'s heart; for the ſuddenneſs of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was ſometimes called after that bird. But to return to *Oſiris*; he inſtructed the *Ethiopians* in all rural matters, and built them ſeveral cities; which done he departed, leaving ſome behind him to act as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From *Ethiopia* he went into *Arabia*, and ſo continued his travels till he got beyond *India*. In *India* he built ſeveral cities, and
c particularly *Nyſa*, which he ſo called from the place where (according to ſome) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy which was no where elſe to be found in *India*, and left ſo many monuments of himſelf behind him, as afterwards gave room to diſpute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world. Having ſurveyed all *Aſia*, he croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and landing in *Thrace*, killed *Lycurgus*, the king of the country, who oppoſed his progreſs. Here he left *Maro* to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, *Maronea*. Afterwards he beſtowed on his ſon *Macedo* the country of *Macedon*, which borrowed its name from him; and *Triptolemus* had charge of *Attica*. At length *Oſiris* returned back into *Egypt*, laden with the choiceſt productions of the earth, and with the
d bleſſings of the whole race of mankind, who conſented to his deification.

BUT his brother *Typhon* ſlew him ſoon after his arrival, and cut his body into twenty ſix pieces, giving one to each of his accomplices[i]. It was thus that ſome ſpoke concerning the death of *Oſiris*; but the ſtory was alſo told after the following manner: *Typhon*, hearing that his brother was on his return, entered into a conſpiracy with ſeventy two others, excluſive of the queen of *Ethiopia*, called *Aſo*, to kill him. And privately taking meaſure of *Oſiris*'s body, he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made, and contrived that it ſhould be brought home to him as he was entertaining his friends. This was done, and his gueſts failed not to take notice of the coffin and admire it. Whereupon *Typhon*, in a jeſting way, told them, that the perſon amongſt them whom it beſt
e fitted ſhould have it. Several of the company tried, but to no purpoſe, till *Oſiris* went into it, which he had no ſooner done, than they ſhut the lid on him, and locked it. Then, pouring melted lead over it they conveyed him to the *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile*, and there threw him into the ſea; wherefore that entrance of the river was abhorred by the *Egyptians*. This cruelty was tranſacted on the ſeventeenth day of the month *Athyr*, in which the ſun went through the *Scorpion*, and in the twenty eighth year of the reign of *Oſiris*; though, according to ſome, not of his reign, but of his life. When the *Pans* and *Satyrs* told it to the men, they were ſeized by thoſe ſudden conſternations as have ever ſince born the name of *Panic* fears. And *Iſis*, hearing it, cut off a lock of her hair, and, putting on mourning,
f ſet out from the city of *Coptus*, where ſhe received the doleful news, and went in queſt of the body of *Oſiris*. As ſhe went along, ſhe aſked all ſhe met, if they had ſeen, or heard of, the coffin; but ſhe enquired in vain, till ſome children, who had ſeen *Typhon*'s friends carrying it, gave her ſome information. Hence the *Egyptians* held children to have been indued with a predictive faculty, and drew conjectures from what they ſaid whilſt playing in temples.

ISIS knowing that *Oſiris* had, by miſtake, lain with his ſiſter *Nephthe*, and that ſhe had expoſed a ſon ſhe had by him, through fear of *Typhon*, reſolved now to ſeek after him; and, after much fatigue, ſhe was guided by dogs to the place where he was. Having found him, he afterwards ſerved her for a guard and companion, and was called
g *Anubis*. He was thought to have guarded the gods in the ſame manner as dogs take care of men. At length ſhe came to underſtand that the coffin was thrown up by the ſea, and lodged in a tuft of broom, or heath, at *Byblus*, and that the broom had ſuddenly

[h] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. 6. p. 633. [i] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, p. 15, &c.

ſuddenly ſprouted up with a large ſtalk, which incloſed and concealed it from ſight. a
Therefore ſhe repaired thither, and to paſs over the methods ſhe practiſed to poſſeſs herſelf of the coffin, ſhe there obtained it. When ſhe firſt caſt eyes on it, ſhe cried out with ſo loud a voice as ſtruck the king of *Byblus*'s youngeſt ſon dead; for ſhe had inſinuated herſelf into his family, as the moſt ready means to obtain what ſhe wanted, he having out of curioſity built over the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldeſt ſon and the coffin ſhe ſtraightways embarked; and, in her paſſage, dried up the river *Phædrus*, which diſpleaſed her, becauſe of a ruffling breeze which iſſued from its mouth as ſhe paſſed by about break of day. Being now pri-
vate, and at leiſure, ſhe opened the coffin, and laying her face to the face of the de-
ceaſed, bathed it with her tears. As ſhe was thus giving vent to her grief, the king's b
ſon ſhe had brought away with her from *Byblus* came behind her, and ſaw what ſhe was about; whereat enraged, ſhe turned on him with ſo dreadful a countenance, as frighted him ſo that he died. Some ſaid he jumped into the ſea. This is ſup-
poſed to be *Maneros* [k]. She brought the body to *Butus* and hid it; but *Typhon*, one night hunting by moon light, fell on it, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he ſcattered abroad. *Iſis* then traverſed the lakes and watery places in a boat made of the *Papyrus*, ſeeking after the limbs of *Oſiris*. Whence it was held, that thoſe who went on the water in boats made of that wood were in no danger from crocodiles, who either revered or dreaded the goddeſs. In whatever place ſhe found a limb, ſhe there buried it; for which reaſon there were many tombs aſcribed to *Oſiris*: but c
others ſaid, ſhe made ſeveral counterfeits of his body, and preſented them to as many cities, pretending to each that they had the original, and ſo eſtabliſhed the worſhip of him in many places, and made it difficult for *Typhon*, to find out the right monument, in caſe he ſhould ever get the ſuperiority, and continue in his implacable malice againſt *Oſiris* [l]. This burial was alſo related after a third, and almoſt quite different, manner. For the author, from whom we took the firſt account of his death, reports that *Iſis* got together the twenty ſix pieces of his mangled carcaſs, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on the *Egyptian* prieſts to conſent to, and promote his deification, in conſideration of a third part of *Egypt* which ſhe gave them, and they buried him at *Memphis*. But the place of his burial was a matter of d
great diſpute and controverſy; though ſome produced the following inſcription in ſacred characters, which they ſaid was on a pillar in *Arabia*.

> SATURN, *the youngeſt of all the gods, was my father. I am* Oſiris, *that king who led an army as far as the deſarts of* India, *and from thence northward as far as the ſprings of the river* Iſter, *and thence quite to the ocean. I am the eldeſt ſon of* Saturn, *ſprung from a noble ſtock, and of generous blood; couſin to the day. Nor is there a place where I have not been, I, who freely diſpenſed my benefits to all mankind.*

ISIS, after the moſt diligent ſearch, could never recover the privities of *Oſiris*, e
which being thrown into the river, were devoured by the *lepidotus*, the *ſquameus*, the *phagrus*, and the *oxyrynchus*, which four ſorts of fiſh the *Egyptians* hated upon that account: but ſhe made ample amends for this irreparable loſs by inſtituting a kind of ſeparate worſhip, which was devoutly, and univerſally paid to the image of that part afterwards.

THERE were various reports concerning the actions of *Iſis* and *Orus* after the death of *Oſiris*, as alſo relating to *Typhon*. And firſt it was affirmed, that they over-
came him in battle, and ſlew him [m]. *Secondly*, he was ſaid to have been thunderſtruck by *Jupiter*, and plunged under the lake *Sirbon* [n] (B), where being ſuppoſed to lay ſub-
merſed,

[k] See before, p. 213. [l] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 357, 358. [m] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, p. 79. [n] APOLLON. RHOD. Argo. lib. 11.

(B) According to *Diodorus Siculus* the lake, or bog *Sirbon*, *Serbonis*, or *Selbonis*, under mount *Caſius*, was two hundred furlongs in length, very narrow, but very deep. Many, miſtaken in their road, nay, whole armies, miſguided in their march, have been ſwallowed up in it. The ſhore all round it was heaps of ſand, which the winds blowing over the ſurface of the bog, the lower particles lighted thereon, and by degrees formed a looſe ſkin, or cruſt, over it; which, though weak, was ſufficient to deceive the eye of the wanderiug traveller, who no ſooner ſet foot upon it, than he felt it give way under him, and was irrecoverably loſt, and this even at the very brink of it. It was alſo called *Barathra*, or the profound gulphs (2). But it has from time to time decreaſed in extent; for *Pliny* ſpeaks of it as a ſmall place to what it had formerly been (3); and it is now thought to be quite choaked up, its place being no more to be fouud (4).

(2) DIODOR. SIC. l. 1. p. 26 (3) PLIN. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 5. *c.* 13. (4) *Voyage de* P. LUCAS, *tom.* III. *p.* 306.

merſed, it was thence called *Typhon*'s *exhalations* [o]. And thirdly, it was aſſerted, that *Oſiris*, aſcending from the infernal regions, inſtructed *Orus*, and prepared him to war with *Typhon*; and that after a battle, which continued ſeveral days, this laſt was made priſoner. But *Iſis*, reſtoring him to his liberty, ſo enraged *Orus*, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when *Mercury* being preſent, clapped her on a helmet made of an ox's head inſtead thereof. *Typhon* after this renewed the war twice, and was both times vanquiſhed [p]; and being no longer able to withſtand, or make head againſt his enemies, concealed himſelf (as ſhould ſeem) under the abovementioned lake *Sirbon* [q]. *Oſiris* moreover appeared to *Iſis*, and had a ſon by her, called *Harpocrates*, but he proved a weak and ricketty perſon. Here *Plutarch* breaks off, and,
b aſſuring us that his is the genuine ſtory, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory [r]. But ſeeing that *Diodorus* continues to the death of *Iſis* and *Orus*, we now turn to him. *Iſis*, having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, juſtice, moderation, and beneficence. And becauſe of her great and conſtant affection towards *Oſiris*, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow ſhe made of widowhood, a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage contract between brother and ſiſter: and from the ſame ſource ſprang the cuſtom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the huſband [s]. At laſt ſhe died, and was buried at *Memphis*, as the common opinion was; but this alſo was diſputed. And particularly thoſe who laid a ſtreſs upon the above-inſerted inſcription, affirmed, there
c was another pillar near to the former in *Arabia*, and that the following words in ſacred characters were legible upon it.

> *I*, Isis, *am the queen of this country, and was tutored by* Mercury. *What I have ordained, no one may make void. I am the eldeſt daughter of* Saturn, *the youngeſt of the gods. I am the ſiſter, and wife of king* Oſiris. *I am ſhe who firſt found corn for the uſe of man. I am the mother of king* Orus. *I am ſhe who ariſeth in the dog-ſtar. The city of* Bubaſtus *was built in honour of me. Farewel! rejoice, O* Egypt, *my nurſing mother!*——This was all, ſaid they, that was to be diſtinguiſhed of this inſcription [t].

d She had a moſt ſtately temple erected to her at the city of *Buſiris*, ſituate near the middle of the *Delta* [u], ſome remains of which are thought to be ſtill ſtanding (C).

There is nothing ſaid of *Orus* any farther than that he was the laſt of the gods and demi-gods [x]; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous, or myſterious, ſection.

SECT.

[o] Plutarch in vita Antonii, p. 916. [p] Idem Iſid. & Oſirid. ubi ſupra. [q] Herodot. lib. 3. [r] Plut. ubi ſupra. [s] See before, p. 203. [t] Diodor. Sic. ubi ſupra. [u] Herodot. lib. 2. [x] Idem, ibid.

(C) Take the deſcription and account of theſe ruins in the author's own words: "I here ſaw "the remains of one of the fineſt, vaſteſt, and "moſt antient temples of *Egypt*. All the ſtones "are of enormous length and thickneſs, and all "of granate. They are, for the moſt part, "adorned with ſculptures in *Relievo*, which re"preſent men and women, and all ſorts of hie"roglyphics. Many of theſe ſtones bear the "image of a man ſtanding upright, with a long "peeked cap on his head, and holding a goblet, "or bowl, in each hand, which he preſents to "three or four young women, which ſtand alſo "upright, one behind another. Theſe young "women have each of them a javelin in one "hand, and a ſtaff, ſhorter than the javelin, in "the other; and on each of their heads is a ball "between two long taper horns. Others of theſe "ſtones are embelliſhed with hieroglyphical re"preſentations of birds, fiſhes, and terreſtrial "animals. A lofty and very ſubſtantial pillar "of fine granate, having each of the four faces "of its upper part wrought with four angular "flutings, or notches, ſeems to have been erected "to ſupport the arcades and vaults of this ſumptuous edifice. On each face of this pillar there "is alſo carved the head of a woman bigger than "the life. Theſe ſculptures have not been in "the leaſt injured by time, nor by the ſun, nor "by the *Arabs*. . . . It ſeems to be more than "probable, that this temple, whoſe remains I "have here deſcribed, was the very temple of the "goddeſs *Iſis*, and that the city of *Buſiris*, men"tioned by *Herodotus*, is now the very town of "*Bahâbeit*, ſituated in the middle of the *Delta*, "near *Sebennytus*, or *Sammanûd*. My opinion is "the more rational, in that throughout all the "iſland it was never heard, nor known, that "any monument of marble, or ſtone, either "little or big, was ever found there, that could "ſuit with any other deity than the goddeſs *Iſis*. ". . . Theſe ruins which are near to *Bahâbeit* "are about 1000 paces in circumference. They "are about a league from the *Nile*, about two "or three leagues from *Sammanûd*, and about "twenty five or thirty leagues north of *Kâhira*. "There is neither brick, nor plaiſter, nor mortar, "nor common ſtone amongſt theſe reliques; there "is nothing to be ſeen but great blocks of "granate (5).

(5) *Nouv. Mem. Des Miſſions de la Comp. de Jeſ. dans le Levant, Tome* II. *p.* 117. *& ſeq.*

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Egypt.

Menes, *or* Menas.

MENES, or *Menas*, is univerſally agreed to have been the firſt man that reigned over *Egypt* (A). In his time the whole country, except *Thebais*, was a moraſs ; and no land appeared between the lake *Mœris* and the *Mediterranean* ſea, which was ſeven days paſſage on the river. He diverted the courſe of the *Nile*, which was wont to waſh the feet of the ſandy mountain towards *Libya*, and built the city of *Memphis* within the antient bed of the river. On the north and weſt ſide of it, without the walls, he made a lake, both which were fed by the *Nile*, which flowed along on the eaſt ſide of the town : and in the city itſelf he built the ſtately and famous temple of *Vulcan* [a]. He was the firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, that introduced domeſtic

a

[a] HERODOT. lib. II.

(A) It is on all hands agreed, that *Menes* was the firſt king of *Egypt* ; but all are not of one mind concerning him in any other reſpect. And though we have reſolved to follow no particular hypotheſis in the arrangement of the *Egyptian* affairs, as thinking them all pretty dubious and exceptionable ; yet we ſhall in the moſt ſummary way (ſo as to be conſiſtent with perſpicuity) entertain you, from time to time, with the diſcordant notions and conjectures of ſome of the moſt noted chronologers, that have laboured in the ungrateful work of ſettling the *Egyptian* antiquities. In conformity to what we now propoſe, we ſhall take notice, that, according to Sir *John Marſham*, this *Menes* was the *Cham*, or *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah* in ſcripture, the *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ammon*, of the *Egyptians*, the *Thamus*, or *Adonis*, of the *Phœnicians*, the *Saturn* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the firſt that taught the *Egyptians* to fare ſumptuouſly ; which alone, as it is reported of him, were a ſufficient inducement to think, that he could not have lived in the early and ſimple times which were immediately ſucceſſive to the deluge. But we ſhall have no need to contradict him, ſeeing that will be done preſently by one of no mean fame, who wrote profeſſedly with that intent. In a word, he lays it down, that he was king of all *Egypt*, and the father of the *Egyptian* god *Mercury*, or *Athothes* (1).

It will now be worth while to hear what *Perizonius* has to object in anſwer to this gentleman. He ſays, that the firſt that reigned in *Egypt* were the *Meſtræi*, or *Semigods*. Then comes *Menes*, whom he denies to have been either *Ham* or *Mizraim*, or that *Hammon* is properly the ſame with the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or that *Menes* was the father of the *Egyptian Mercury*. We will now give you an argument of his in proof of theſe ſeveral heads ſeparately, and then conclude with his conjectures concerning the age and family of *Menes*, and of this remote period of the *Egyptian* affairs. 1. *Menes* ſucceeded the *Meſtræi* : this he proves by very ample teſtimony, and then obſerves, that he could not be the founder of their race, but their ſucceſſor ; and ſince it is ſaid, that he firſt taught the *Egyptians* to feed deliciouſly, and to adorn their beds, it muſt follow, that there had been *Egyptians* before his time, who were uſed to a coarſer and more ſimple way of living. 2. For the ſame reaſon it is very improbable, that he was either *Ham* or *Mizraim*. 3. *Hammon* is not properly the *Egyptian Jupiter* ; for that *Ham*, or *Hammon*, was, by the *Greeks*, in after-times dignified with the name of *Jupiter*, was owing to their being ſo ſolicitous after foreign gods, to whoſe original or proper name they prefixed that of *Jupiter* ; ſo *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Hammon*, *Jupiter Caſius*, and many more ; wherefore this had no affinity with the antient *Egyptian* genealogy, which knew nothing of the *Grecian Jupiter*. In a word, he thinks, he was ſtiled *Dionius*, or *ſprung from Jupiter* by *Eratoſthenes*, becauſe he was the firſt that reigned after the *Meſtræi*, or *Semigods*, as is related by the ſame author. It is his opinion, that *Menes* lived ſomewhat about the days of *Abraham*, but does not lay it down for certain ; and though *Eratoſthenes* calls him the father of *Athothes*, or *Mercury*, he can by no means admit it (2).

Father *Pezron*, who wrote before *Perizonius*, brings the reign of *Menes* much later down than the days of *Ham*, or *Mizraim*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* began to reign 2904 years after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and ſeems to be pretty confident that he is in the right : but it would be endleſs to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we ſhall from time to time reſort to, and we ſhall avoid it as much as poſſible, except when their reaſoning is very clear and important, or their notions very ſingular (3).

We will now conſult the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. As this chronologer is of opinion, that *Seſoſtris* was *Oſiris*, he places *Menes* after him, and in conſequence thereof, and for other cogent reaſons, he tranſpoſes the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* mentioned by *Herodotus* after this manner ; *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*, *Menes*, *Rhampſinitus*, *Mœris*, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, and the reſt in the ſame order as they ſtand in *Herodotus*. He ſuppoſes *Menes* to be the ſame with *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, and that by corruption he was called *Menes*, *Mines*, *Minæus*, *Minies*, *Mineuis*, *Enephes*, *Venephe*, *Phamenophis*, *Oſymanthyas* [*Oxymandyas*] *Oſimandes*, *Imandes*, *Imandes*, *Memnon*, *Arminon*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* is about 300 years older than *Pſammiticus*. He holds it irrational to ſuppoſe, that there was any king of all *Egypt*, till after the expulſion of the *Shepherds* ; and obſerves, that the miracles of *Memphis* were not ſpoken of, or known in *Greece* till ſome age after the *Trojan* war ; for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of *Memphis* ; which, and the temple of *Vulcan*, that ſtood in the midſt of it, he grants to have been built by *Menes*. In a word, this hypotheſis reduces the antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, of which *Menes* was the firſt king, much lower than any other (4).

(1) *Vid.* MARSH. *Can. Chron.* (2) PERIZON. *Ægypt. Orig. & Temp. Antiquiſſimorum, Inveſt.* (3) PEZRON. *Antiq. des Temps retab. & defen.*

(4) *Sir* ISAAC NEWTON's *Chron. of the antient Kingdoms amended, p.*

a domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts; on which account his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his ſucceſſors, as will be obſerved hereafter [b].

AFTER this *Herodotus* declares, that the *Egyptians* produced a catalogue of 130 kings, extending from *Menes* to *Mœris*, who was the laſt of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one *Ethiopian* woman called *Nitocris*. On the other hand *Diodorus* writes, that *Menes*'s family enjoyed the throne to the fifty ſecond deſcent, and that their ſeveral reigns took up a ſpace of 1400 years. Since therefore there is ſo vaſt a chaſm in both of them, we think, we may ſafely venture to fill it up in part with what we find concerning the b ſhepherds who ruled over *Egypt*; and the rather, becauſe this whole tranſaction ſeems to belong to ſome very remote period of the *Egyptian* hiſtory.

The irruption of the Paſtors, *or* Shepherds.

IT happened in the reign of *Timaus* king of *Egypt*, that GOD being diſpleaſed with the *Egyptians*, they ſuffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the *Eaſt* into *Egypt*, made war with the inhabitants, who ſubmitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the moſt cruel and inſulting manner over the antient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length they made one of their own number king, whoſe name was *Salatis*. He uſu- *They ſet up* Salatis *for their king.*
c ally reſided at *Memphis*, and leaving garriſons in the moſt proper places, kept both the upper and lower region under tribute. But particularly he fortified the eaſtern parts, fearing an invaſion of the *Aſſyrians*, who were at that time moſt powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the *Saitic Nome*, which was ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the river *Bubaſtis*, and which was called *Abaris* in the antient theology, he rebuilt it, and ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong wall, and kept a garriſon of 24,000 ſoldiers therein. It was his cuſtom, about the time of harveſt, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exerciſe his ſoldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a conſtant terror to any who ſhould attempt an invaſion. *Salatis* died, and was ſucceeded by 5 others [c], who did their utmoſt, as well as
d their predeceſſor, to root out the whole nation of the native *Egyptians*. This people was called *Hycſos*, or *King Shepherds* (B), *hyc*, in the ſacred dialect, ſignifying a *king*, and *ſos*, in the common dialect, ſignifying a *paſtor*, or *ſhepherd*; and of theſe two came the compound *Hycſos*. Some would have it that theſe people were *Arabians*. They held *Egypt* 511 years. This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the ſhepherds, their expulſion may occur hereafter.

WE now return to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; and this laſt making mention of ſeveral princes between *Menes* and *Myris*, let us hear what he ſays concerning them.

BUSIRIS (C) in proceſs of time became king, and was ſucceeded by 8 princes of his line, the laſt of which was called alſo *Buſiris*, and was the founder of the city of e *Thebes*, which he made the capital of the kingdom [e]. Buſiris I. *and* II.

OSYMANDYAS (D) appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when, he ſucceeded. The *Bactrians* revolting from him, he reduced them, as is ſaid, with an army conſiſting Oſymandyas.

[b] DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 42. [c] See before, p. 231. [d] MANETHO apud Joſ. contra Appion, l. 1. p. 1039. [e] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

(B) We will barely tranſcribe the opinions of the above-cited chronologers as to the time of this irruption, as it is repreſented, of the *Shepherds* into *Egypt*. Sir *John Marſham* places it 157 Years before the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael* (1). *Perizonius* drawing a very circumſtantial parallel between what is recorded of the *Shepherds* by *Manetho*, and what is ſaid of the obſcurity of the *Iſraelites*, the power and dignity of *Joſeph*, and the miraculous works of *Moſes* which almoſt utterly deſtroyed the country; upon the cloſe, pronounces the *Shepherds* ſo heinouſly ſpoken of, to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves (2). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the *Paſtors* to have been the *Canaanites* which fled from *Joſhua* and went into *Afric*, but in their flight ſeized on the kingdom of the *Lower Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus*, whom the ſame author calls *Thamus*, or *Thammuz* (3). *Greaves*, after a parallel drawn by him between the hiſtory of the *Shepherds* and of the *Iſraelites*, which ſeems as natural and as plauſible as that of *Perizonius*, will by no means allow them to have been the ſame (4).

(C) Sir *John Marſham* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* think, that no ſuch king ever reigned, and that what is ſaid concerning his cruelty is meerly fabulous (5). *Perizonius*, on the contrary, that there was ſuch a king of *Egypt*, but who was not ſo antient as *Diodorus* makes him; taxing that hiſtorian with too great indulgence towards the *Egyptian* vanity (6).

(D) If we rely on Sir *John Marſham*, we ſhould call *Oſymandyas*, *Amenophis*, and *Memnon*; as alſo *Imandes*, *Iſmandes*, and *Oſimandes*: this perhaps, ſays he, derived from *Oſiris*, and that from *Iſis*. What ſeems to be his chief argument in ſupport of this opinion, is, that in the deſcription of the city they pretend he beſieged, it is ſaid to have

(1) *Vid.* MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (2) PERIZON. *ubi ſupr.* (3) *Sir* ISAAC NEWT. *ubi ſupr.* (4) GREAVES's *Pyramid*, *p.* 21, 22. (5) MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (6) PERIZON. *ubi ſupr.*

His tomb.

ing of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. Of all the ancient monuments of the kings, for which the city of *Thebes* was ſo renowned, his was of the greateſt note. It conſiſted of vaſt courts, portico's, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The firſt court, which was of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 foot in extent, and 45 foot high. Next to this was a ſquare portico, each of whoſe ſides was 400 foot long; and, inſtead of pillars, ſupported by repreſentations of animals of 15 cubits high, all of one ſtone, and adorned with figures after the antient manner. The cieling was blue and beſpangled with ſtars. From this portico they went into a ſecond court, in all reſpects like the firſt, except that it was more enriched with various ſculptures. In the entrance thereof were three ſtatues, all of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of *Memnon* the *Sicnite*: one of them was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt in all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding 7 cubits. This was his own ſtatue; the other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not ſo admirable for the exquiſite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the ſtone, which was free from the leaſt flaw or blemiſh. It had this inſcription; *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here was alſo another ſtatue of his mother, ſtanding by herſelf, of 20 cubits high, and cut out of one ſtone: ſhe had 3 queens on her head, ſignifying that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a ſecond portico, or piazza, far exceeding the firſt. On the firſt wall of this the king was repreſented with his army beſieging a town encompaſſed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle accompanied by a lion: concerning which, ſome ſaid he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide; and others, that the figure of that beaſt was purely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the ſecond wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to expreſs their cowardice. On the third were all ſorts of ſculptures and paintings, which repreſented his ſacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the moſt ſhining marble, of excellent workmanſhip, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth ſide, or wall, were two gigantic ſtatues, all of one ſtone, in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto theſe were three paſſages which gave admiſſion into a great hall, ſupported by columns, after the manner of a muſic theatre, and 200 feet ſquare. In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut, to repreſent truth, and with many books about him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity. From hence they went into a gallery, or walk, in which were apartments ſtored with the moſt delicious eatables. Here the king was moſt curiouſly wrought, and painted with the moſt lively colours, as preſenting to GOD the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines in *Egypt*, the amount whereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds ſterling. Next was the ſacred library with this inſcription; *The diſpenſary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each of them; that *Oſiris*, and the reſt of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had paſſed his life with piety towards the gods, and with juſtice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. Around this were ſeveral pavilions, in which moſt curious pictures of the conſecrated animals were ſeen. From hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre, which being ſurmounted, you ſaw a ring, or circle of gold 365 cubits in circumference and one in thickneſs, ſurrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and their ſignifications or portents, according to the *Egyptian* aſtrology. This circular border was carried away by *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*. Such was

have been ſurrounded by a river, which he will have to have been the river *Eulæus*, and the city itſelf *Suſa*; for *Pliny* ſays, that river ſurrounded the fortreſs of the *Suſiaks*, and obſerves, that *Suſa* was commonly called, by the *Greeks*, *Memnonia*. He obſerves moreover, that *Memnon*'s expedition into *Aſia*, was more celebrated by the *Greeks* than that of *Seſoſtris*, which he attributes to the poets who ſprang firſt up in, or near, his time: and concludes, that he dwelt ſome time in *Suſa*. All this, according to his cuſtom, he endeavours to prove from antient teſtimony (7).

Perizonius uſes much argument upon this king's reign, and who he was; but comes to no poſitive deciſion, and ſcarce offers a conjecture, ſo dark this period appears to him (8). We have already told you, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* takes *Oſymandyas* and *Menes* to be the ſame.

(7) *Vid.* MARSH. *ubi ſupr.*

(8) PERIZ. *ubi ſupr.*

a was the tomb of *Oſymandyas*, whoſe deſcendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The laſt of them was called *Uchoreus* [f].

THE building and fortifying of *Memphis*, which have already been aſcribed to *Menes*, are attributed to this UCHOREUS (E) alſo. He is ſaid to have given that city a circuit of 150 *ſtadia*, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it from the inſults either of the *Nile*, or of the invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of what had been done in that way by his predeceſſors. For the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter; and were proportionably leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former; b than in the repoſitories they founded for the latter. This king tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Thebes* to *Memphis* [g]. *Uchoreus.*

AFTER him, uncertain when, reigned SASYCHIS, the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator. Saſychis.

WE have now brought *Diodorus* down to *Myris*; and that we may do the ſame with *Herodotus*, we muſt relate what he has recorded concerning NITOCRIS (F). She ſucceeded her brother, an *Ethiopian*, whom the *Egyptians* murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She, meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately and by ſtratagem; and is particularly ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, whither ſhe invited the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a feaſt, and in the midſt of their mirth turned c the river upon them by a private paſſage, and drowned them all. Then to ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place well fortified with aſhes [h]. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her perſon beautiful; but it appears, that though her mind was great, as is ſaid, ſhe was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid [i]. Nitocris.

AFTER twelve generations MOERIS, or MYRIS (G) came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it [k]: He alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of *Vulcan*'s temple at *Memphis* [l]. According to *Herodotus* he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predeceſſor to *Seſoſtris*.

d SESOSTRIS, *Seſooſtris*, *Seſooſis*, *Seſonchis*, *Seſonchoſis*, *Sethoſis*, and ſeveral other appellations are by (H) ſome held to belong to one man, whoſe reign is eſteemed the moſt Seſoſtris.

[f] DIODOR. l. 1. p. 44. p. 58. See before, p. 230. [g] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 46. [k] See before, p. 195. [h] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [l] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 47. [i] SYNCELL.

(E) The laſt mentioned chronologer thinks the works of *Uchoreus* and *Mœris* ſavour of the ſame genius, and therefore would willingly think them one and the ſame perſon (1).

(F) Her name ſignifies *Minerva victrix*. Sir *John Marſham* places her ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came into *Egypt*. He thinks *Joſephus* means her by the name of Nic-aule, *queen of* Egypt *and* Ethiopia; but that he is miſtaken in alledging that the *Nitocris* of *Herodotus* was ſhe who viſited *Solomon*. According to this chronologer ſhe was queen of *This*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; and much older than the *Babylonian Nitocris* (2). Father *Pezron* writes much to the ſame purpoſe (3). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes her the ſiſter and ſucceſſor of *Myceri nus* (4).

(G) He recovered *Memphis* from the *Paſtors* ſays *Marſham* (5). *Perizonius* fixes upon nothing concerning him. *Mœris* was alſo called *Maris*, *Myris*, *Meres*, *Marres*, *Smarres*, and more corruptly, by changing *M* into *A*, *T*, *B*, Σ, ΤΧ, Λ, &c. *Ayres*, *Tyris*, *Byires*, *Soris*, *Uchoreus*, *Labaris*; ſo ſays Sir *Iſaac Newton* (6).

(H) Sir *John Marſham* allows him to have been called by theſe ſeveral appellations, and others beſides, which we may perhaps have occaſion to mention by and by. He is clearly of opinion, that the *Seſoſtris* of the prophane hiſtorians is the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſacred: he takes notice, that the more antient kings of *Egypt*, with whom the patriarchs and *Hebrews* were formerly concerned, are always called *Pharaoh*; whereas *Shiſhak* is the firſt *Egyptian* king in ſcripture called by his proper name; except *Rameſes* be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when *Seſoſtris*, or *Shiſhak* as he terms him, ſat out to invade *Aſia*, he could not well avoid falling upon *Judæa*, and accordingly took the capital thereof *Jeruſalem*, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced *Rehoboam* the king to ſerve him; for there is expreſs mention made in the LXX and vulgate verſions, that he was followed by multitudes of *Lybians*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*, nations whom, according to prophane accounts, he had previouſly conquered. He then lays a ſtreſs upon *Joſephus*, who ſays, *That* Herodotus *through miſtake aſcribed the actions of* Seſac *to* Seſoſtris: and again; *That* Herodotus *was only miſtaken in the king's name*. This does not ſeem to us ſo concluſive as it might appear to this gentleman; for we do not ſee how from thence it muſt naturally follow that *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* are the ſame perſon. Let us, for example, ſuppoſe, that a foreign hiſtorian ſhould through miſtake aſcribe the great actions of our fifth *Henry* to our king *Stephen*; it would not thence be allowed that he meant king *Henry*, but it would be apparently putting back theſe great actions a great length of time before they were undertaken, or perhaps even thought of. However this gentleman holds, that ſince *Herodotus* and *Joſephus* agree as to fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they uſe; and becauſe *Herodotus* profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of *Seſoſtris*'s ignominious pillars in the *Syrian Paleſtine*; and

(1) *Vid.* Sir ISAAC NEWT. *ubi ſupr.* (2) MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (3) PEZRON. *ubi ſupr.* (4) Sir ISAAC NEWT. *ubi ſupr.* (5) MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (6) Sir ISAAC NEWT. *ubi ſupr.*

moſt extraordinary part of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. He is repreſented as potent at land, and on ſea, wiſe, juſt, generous, valorous, magnificent, but ambitious almoſt beyond compare.

and becauſe it is ſaid by the ſcripture and *Joſephus*, that *Rehoboam* gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſeems to be perfectly of opinion that *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* ſat them up upon that very account. We ſhall here leave him with this general obſervation, that to what is related concerning *Seſoſtris* by the prophane authors, which he grants, he adds what the ſcripture ſays of the reduction of *Judæa* by *Shiſhak*; and holds that his monarchy did not expire with himſelf (8).

Let us now ſee what *Perizonius* has to offer in contradiction to this; for we have already obſerved, that he makes it his chief buſineſs to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great poſitiveneſs, that *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* are kings widely different and remote from each other. How he proves this, we ſhall give in the briefeſt and cleareſt order we are able.

1. He handles the expreſſions above cited from *Joſephus*: and after proving that ſeveral of the learned, as well as Sir *John Marſham*, have taken them wrong, he proceeds. *Firſt*, he inſiſts, that, by the common conſent of the *Greeks*, *Seſoſtris* was much older than the *Trojan* war. So ſays *Herodotus*; and the fame is reported by *Diodorus*, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater ſpace between this king and that war than *Herodotus* does. This alſo is evidently confirmed by *Strabo* (9); and by *Ariſtotle* (10), who places him before *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver: as alſo by the writers of the *Argonautic* expedition, the ſcholiaſt of *Appollonius* (11); by *Arrianus* (12), who makes him contemporary to *Jandyſis* the *Scythian*; by *Jornandes* (13), who ſays he flouriſhed before the *Amazons*; and laſtly, by *Juſtin* and *Ælian* (14); the former declaring, the *Seſoſtris* lived before the days of *Ninus*, and the latter, that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*, and ſo makes him equal to the *Egyptian Mercury*, who muſt certainly have been more antient than the time of *Rehoboam*. After theſe citations, he blames Sir *John Marſham* for making ſlight of ſuch abundant teſtimony, and for pronouncing the whole a miſtake which aroſe from the ignorance of the *Greeks*, and then proceeds. But could the *Greeks* be ſtrangers to the age of *Seſoſtris*, if he lived ſo late? it is certain, there was no very great interval between *Homer* and *Rehoboam*: and who can conceive, that he who was born in *Aſia Minor*, and ſpent the greateſt part of his days there, or in the ajacent iſles, and who as *Marſham* allows, lived after the days of *Seſoſtris*; who, ſays he, can account for his not making mention of *Seſoſtris* in any of his poems, as he did of *Memnon*, who muſt have followed this conqueror very near? *Memnon* was celebrated, ſays *Marſham*, becauſe he lived nearer to the poetical times; but *Perizonius* will have it, that *Homer* wrote ſoon after the death of *Rehoboam*, and therefore muſt have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and freſh records of the deeds of *Seſoſtris*: beſides, *Aſia Minor* at that time was all *Greek*, by the *Æolic* and *Ionic* colonies which were tranſplanted thither ſomewhat before the reign of *Rehoboam*; and the inhabitants muſt have principally been *Greeks* when *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, if *Marſham* be right. What is here ſaid of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, is to clear the way for a further confutation of *Marſham*, who obſerves, that *if* Seſoſtris *had extended the war into* Greece, *we ſhould have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved ſo much in obſcurity; ſeeing that the* Athenians, Lacedemonians, *and* Corinthians *had begun to preſerve the memory of things*; continuing, that *the* Greeks *were not at this time very regardful of foreign tranſactions, were unſkilful in letters, and that* Homer *was not yet born, who preceded any* Greek *hiſtoriographer very much*: and from hence concludes, that *we ought not to wonder that the* Egyptian *affairs are almoſt buried in ignorance.* To this it is anſwered, that the *Aſiatic Greeks* were more likely to tranſmit the hiſtory of *Seſoſtris* down to poſterity, as being ſuperior and ſenior in learning to the *European*; that if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preſerved very faithful traditions of paſt occurrences, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the caſe of *Seſoſtris*, the monuments of whoſe conqueſts they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy deſcended to his ſucceſſors, as *Marſham* thinks it did to the firſt olympiad; and if *Homer* was not yet born, it is certain, that he muſt have been born ſoon after, and whilſt the fame and power of this monarchy muſt have ſubſiſted. In a word, *Perizonius* prefers the *Aſiatic* before the *European Greeks*, as to what concerns the remembrance of antient matters, and proves, that the latter received the greateſt part of the arts and ſciences, nay, of their alphabet from the former; obſerving, that if not all, yet moſt of the antienteſt *Greek* writers were *Aſiatics*. He continues; Now if *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor* after the *Grecian* ſettlement there, the *Aſiatic Greeks*, who firſt of all delivered down the memory of things both in proſe and verſe, muſt certainly have known ſomething of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as juſt and accurate an account thereof as the *European Greek* could have given. But nothing of this appears; for *Herodotus*, the moſt antient of the *Greek* hiſtorians we have, profeſſes to have received the whole ſtory of *Seſoſtris* from the *Egyptian* prieſts. He thinks moreover, that ſuppoſing *Marſham* to be in the right, the *European Greeks* muſt have had ſufficient knowledge of *Seſoſtris*, ſeeing he carried on the war into *Thrace*, and that *Lycurgus* within an hundred years afterwards muſt have travelled into *Aſia*, whence he brought over with him the works of *Homer*. He certainly would have alſo brought ſome account with him of ſo great a victory from the *Aſiatic Greeks*, if it had been obtained only ſeventy years, or thereabouts, before.

2. But, ſays he, the *Greeks* alone did not put *Seſoſtris* many ages more backward than *Seſac*; the *Egyptians* did it alſo. *Manetho* expreſly ſays, that *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethoſis* [*Seſoſtris*] and his brother *Armais*: now *Danaus* came into *Greece*, as is ſaid, three ages before the *Trojan* war; and he could borrow this from no *Greek* author at leaſt that is extant; and therefore, that *Seſoſtris* and *Armais* were *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, ſeems to have been the opinion of the *Egyptians*, or at leaſt of *Manetho*, who could not have borrowed this from the *Grecian* mythology.

3. The ſacred hiſtory does not favour the opinion of *Seſoſtris*'s being *Seſac*: for by the prophane accounts, *Seſoſtris*, in a continued expedition of nine years, ran over all *Aſia*: but the ſcripture mentions no farther of *Seſac*, than that he ſpoiled the temple and the city, and returned back (14). *Joſephus* ſays expreſly, that he returned into his own country.

4. What

(8) *Vid.* MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (9) *Vid. l.* i. *p.* 38. & *l.* xvii. 824. (10) *Vid. Politic.* vii. 10. (11) *L.* 4. *c.* 272. (12) *Apud Photium cod.* 53. (13) *Geticis c.* 6. (14) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 12. 4.

a compare. or verſe, Both the *Greeks* and *Egyptians* who recorded his actions, whether in proſe differed widely from each other; but they could never differ more, nor ſure ſo

4. What *Marſham* ſays of the duration of *Seſoſtris*'s monarchy, as that it reached down to *Amaziah* and *Uzziah* kings of *Judah*, and down to the beginning of the firſt olympiad; by the ſcripture it appears, that the kings of *Judah* after *Reboboam*, never ſerved any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till the *Aſſyrians* came upon them. So that if *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* be the ſame as *Marſham* would have them, it does not appear, that the *Egyptian* monarchy was of any duration; ſo that here he is alſo miſtaken. So far we have given you the ſubſtance of *Perizonius* againſt *Marſham*. We will now inſert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived:

And concerning this he ſpeaks with great uncertainty and caution; but however, we will in brief give a general idea of his manner, of inveſtigating this (as he thinks) dark period. He begins thus; *Herodotus* declares, that king *Mæris* had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in *Egypt*. Now the ſame hiſtorian makes *Seſoſtris* the immediate ſucceſſor of *Mæris*, and moreover ſays, that the *Trojan* war was about 800 years older than when he wrote, and that *Hercules* the ſon of *Alcmena* was about 900 years before himſelf. By this chronology *Seſoſtris* lived about an age or century before the *Trojan* war, and was coetaneous to the aboveſaid *Hercules*, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but in fact he muſt have been older, if he be the ſame with *Egyptus*, whoſe brother *Danaus* was the ſixth predeceſſor of *Perſeus*, who was the great grandfather of *Hercules*: and from hence he conjectures, that *Seſoſtris* may be fixed in the days of the *Judges*. After a pretty long diſcuſſion of the point, continues he; but it may be objected, that there is not the leaſt mention made of *Seſoſtris* and what he did in holy writ? To this he anſwers, that the *Iſraelites*, when *Seſoſtris* came into *Paleſtine* were under ſubjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that *Paleſtine* bent under the incurſion of *Seſoſtris*, appears plain from *Herodotus*, who there ſaw the ignominious pillars which he uſed to raiſe in countries where he met with no reſiſtance. And ſince the *Iſraelites* were not principals in this calamity, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their maſters, and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it could be no immediate part of their own hiſtory. Add to this, that *Seſoſtris* could make no long ſtay there, conſidering that they voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and that he had no leſs a conqueſt in his eye than all the eaſtern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth, which required diſpatch: and thence he takes occaſion to ſpeak in the words of *Juſtin*, that though *Seſoſtris* gloried in his conqueſts, he abſtained from empire; and made no change in the government of any country. Finally he ſuppoſes alſo, that *Seſoſtris* might have come into *Paleſtine* when *Iſrael* was under the *Moabites*; and owns, that it is no way important, whether or no *Danaus* was the brother of *Seſoſtris*; deems what *Manetho* ſays on that head, to be calculated to pleaſe the *Greeks*; and in a word concludes, that he has deſtroyed Sir *John Marſham*'s hypotheſis, by proving that *Menes* is not *Ham*, or *Mizraim*; or *Seſoſtris*, *Shiſhak* (15)

We will now in general terms inſert the opinion of *Pezron*. He teaches, that *Sethoſis* and *Seſoſtris* are one and the ſame perſon, and that he was the *Egyptus* brother to *Danaus*; that he was a prince widely diſtant from *Seſonchis*, whom he will have to have been the ſame with *Shiſhak*; and that neither *Seſonchoris*, or *Seſonchoſis* was *Seſoſtris*, but diſtinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reaſons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of theſe three celebrated chronologers (16).

We mean Mr. *Whiſton*, who becauſe he is pretty ſingular in that he takes this king for the very *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, and the very *Typhon* of the *Mythologiſts*, we will give you his own words. And firſt he premiſes this propoſition. Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun, or *Rameſtes* the Great, *the grandfather of* Seſoſtris, *was king of the* Lower-Egypt *when* Moſes *was born:* Amenophis III. *his ſon was there king after him, during* Moſes's *youth*; *and* Seth-os, *or* Sethoſis, *or* Seſoſtris the Great, *the ſon of* Amenophis III. *was ſo during the reſt of the ſervitude of the children of* Iſrael *in* Egypt; *and was that very* Pharoah *who periſhed in the* Red-ſea. He then offers thirteen reaſons or arguments in demonſtration of this propoſition; but paſſing over to the tenth of them, he there ſays; that "the preſervation of *Moſes* and his educa-
" tion by *Pharaoh*'s daughter (17), are very agree-
" able to what her brother, *Amenophis* III. did
" about, or ſoon after the birth of *Moſes*; I mean,
" when he called together, and educated with his
" ſon *Seſoſtris* no fewer than 1700 boys (18), or
" all the male children that were born in *Egypt*
" the ſame day with him: which might well be
" in imitation of *Thermutis* [the daughter of this
" *Pharaoh*, who was otherwiſe called *Harmeſſes*
" *Mi-Amôun*, or *Rameſtes the Great*] when ſhe
" drew *Moſes* out of the river, and educated him
" for her own ſon (19). And, by the way, if
" this *Thermutis* were but as ſagacious and learn-
" ed as her great niece *Athirtes*, the daughter
" of *Seſoſtris*, is deſcribed by *Diodorus* (20), we
" ſhall have no reaſon to wonder at what St.
" *Stephen* informs us, that Moſes *was learned in*
" *all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty*
" *in words and in deeds*, even before he received
" any particular commiſſion from God for the
" delivery of his people out of *Egypt*. Nay in-
" deed, theſe laſt words concerning *Moſes*, that
" he was ſo early mighty *in words and in deeds*,
" ſeem to me to confirm thoſe accounts we have
" in *Artapanus* an heathen, and *Joſephus* the *Jew*,
" conſidering *Moſes*'s wiſe and valiant conduct un-
" der the king of *Egypt*, when he was young,
" againſt the *Ethiopians*; who attempted the con-
" queſt of that country at that thime. Which ſuc-
" ceſſes of theſe *Egyptians* under the conduct of
" *Moſes*, might probably enough encourage king
" *Seſoſtris* to undertake thoſe other vaſt expediti-
" ons, which raiſed the *Egyptian* monarchy, and
" ſpread his empire over almoſt all the then known
" world. Nor is it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that
" the *Ethiopic* war, which is known to have been
" undertaken both at ſea and land by this *Seſoſtris*,
" might be when he was young; and might be
" that very *Ethiopic* war which was managed by
" *Moſes* under the king of *Egypt*, as mentioned
" by *Artapanus* and *Joſephus*.

Mr. *Whiſton*'s eleventh argument runs thus;
" There are evident remains of this *Seſoſtris*'s pe-
" riſhing in or near the *Red-ſea*, as did this *Pharaoh*
" at the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* aſſures
" us, that *Seſoſtris* at laſt became blind; and that
" he

(15) *Vid.* Perizon. *Hiſt. Ægypt.* (16) *Vid.* Perizon. Antiq. des Temps, tab. (17) Exod. ii. (18) Marsh. *p.* 353. (19) Exod. ii. (20) Marsh. *p.* 354.

ſo much as our modern chronologers and hiſtorians do in fixing his age, and in ſpeaking a concerning him: However, we ſhall collect the beſt account we can of his reign.

SESOSTRIS

" he was voluntarily the occaſion of his own " death; and that he deſervedly obtained the ad- " miration of the prieſts and people of *Egypt* on " account of that his magnanimous death. But " what ſort of voluntary and magnanimous death " this was, it ſeems the *Egyptian* prieſts did not " inform him. But then, if we conſider that " *Seſoſtris*'s real or *Egyptian* name was *Seth-os*, " or *Seth-oſis*; and that there was an antient " famous *Egyptian* king, whoſe fictitious name " among the *Greeks* was *Typhon, the Proud*; but " his real or *Egyptian* name was no other than " *Seth*, as *Plutarch* himſelf, a great maſter of old " *Egyptian* learning, more than once aſſures us; " that *Typho*'s own city *Peluſium* was peculiarly " the city of this *Seſoſtris*, whither he firſt came " when he returned from his famous eaſtern ex- " pedition; and where he and his queen received " a ſort of miraculous deliverance from the mur- " derous deſigns of his brother *Armais*, and was " by the *Egyptians* called according to his own " name *Seth-ron*; and the *Nomos* thereto belong- " ing, the *Seth-roite Nomos*; we ſhall find, that what " the *Egyptians* could not, or would not directly " inform *Diodorus* of in the way of plain hiſtorical " fact, and thereby concealed the true manner of " his death from foreigners; yet did ſome of thoſe " *Egyptians* preſerve the memory of it under ano- " ther form; and that this *Seth*, or *Seth-os*, or " *Seth-oſis*, or *Typho*, came to the ſame end that " the *Egyptian Pharaoh* did, and was drowned in, " or near to the ſame *Red-ſea*. For as they, in " ſome places at leaſt, long kept the memory " of *Oſyris*, the uſual name of any beloved king " of *Egypt* that was murdered; as was *Iſis*, the " uſual name of ſuch a king's wife, or queen; " and *Typho*, the uſual name of ſuch a murderer; " ſo was it here. *Oſyris* ſeems to have been ſome " beloved king that *Seſoſtris* had ſlain [perhaps " his own brother *Ramaſſes*], and himſelf ſeems " thence to have had the hateful name of *Typho* " given him by the other's ſubjects. And cer- " tainly this name *Typho*, or the *Proud*, was ne- " ver applied more fitly than to this *Seſoſtris*; " who after his conqueſt uſed ſometimes to take " his horſes out of his chariot, and to harneſs " a certain number of his captive kings, and to " be drawn in ſtate by them inſtead of the other. " And as to the death of this *Typho*, the *Egyptian* " records are plain and direct, and aſſure us, that " he was *ſtruck by a thunderbolt, and his blood ran* " *out at* Heroopolis, a city very near the " place where the *Iſraelites* entered the *Red-ſea*; " the very ſame, I ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* calls by " its elder name *Baalzephon*; that the ſame city " was called *Blood*, or *the bloody city*, from that " *firſt ſhedding of the blood of* Typho *there*; and " that he *lies drowned under the waters of the lake* " Sirbon, which is not far from the *Red-ſea*; and " was antiently ſuppoſed to communicate there- " with under ground. The city alſo itſelf ſeems " to me to have had its later name *Heroopolis*, " or *the city of Heroes* on this very account, that " near thereto the moſt potent *Egyptian* king, and " his mighty commanders, with their entire army, " thoſe great heroes, became martyrs for the " *Egyptian* idols, idolatry, and tyranny, in op- " poſition to the GOD of *Iſrael* and his people: " nor do I meet with any other in hiſtory for that " appellation. And very remarkable it is, how " exactly all this agrees to the other more direct " *Egyptian* account already ſet down: viz. That " *Seſoſtris*'s death was voluntary and magnani- " mous, and ſuch indeed as was highly extolled " both by the prieſts and people of *Egypt*. And " what *Paulinus* in *Auſonius* could mean, when, " in the diſtinct mention of two of the moſt il- " luſtrious kings of *Egypt*, *Necepſos* and *Seſoſtris*, " he ſays of the latter, *Et qui regnavit, ſine no-* " *mine mox*, Seſooſtris; *That he who had been ſo* " *great a king, was by and by without a name*; " unleſs he refer to ſome ſuch ignominious death " of his, as we have here deſcribed, is hard to " ſay. Nor is that *thunderbolt*, or *ſtorm of thun-* " *der and lightning*, mentioned in this account of " *Typho*'s deſtruction, other than what we have " hinted at in the caſe of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction " in our preſent copies of the *Pentateuch*; where " we find, that GOD looked through the pillar " of fire, and of the *cloud*, and ſo *troubled the hoſt* " *of the* Egyptians, that *their chariot wheels were* " *taken off, and they drave heavily*; *and the* Egyp- " tians *reſolved to flee from the face of* Iſrael, *be-* " *cauſe they* now perceived that GOD *himſelf* " *fought for them againſt the* Egyptians: while " with the *blaſt of his noſtrils the waters were ga-* " *thered together*; and directly ſet down by *Joſe-* " *phus* and *Artapanus* in the hiſtory itſelf; and alſo " by the pſalmiſt in his celebration of this moſt " wonderful deliverance and judgment; who de- " clares, that beſides the pouring out of water " from the *clouds* at that time, *the ſkies* then *ſent* " out a ſound, and GOD's arrows went *abroad*: " that *the* voice of his thunder was in the *heaven*; " that *the* lightnings lightned the *world*; and that " *the* earth trembled and *ſhook*: in exact agree- " ment with the heathens account of the deſtru- " ction of *Typho*." To conclude; the ſame writer thinks it a plain ſolution to the queſtion *of what became* of the famous *Egyptian* monarchy after the death of *Seſoſtris?* that he and his numerous hoſt was loſt in the *Red-ſea*, which together with the loſs of 600,000 ſlaves, as the *Hebrews* were no better in *Egypt*, he thinks muſt have given a great ſhock to the *Egyptian* power, and natu- rally ruin their newly acquired monarchy. In a word, it is his opinion, that the ſudden extin- ction of this vaſt monarchy, at the death of its founder *Seſoſtris*, is little elſe than a demonſtra- tion, that he was that very *Pharaoh* who with all his hoſt periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, and no o- ther (21).

The great Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion that *Seſoſtris* is the *Oſiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſcrip- ture; towards the proof of which he produces the following arguments.

" 1. *Bacchus the Conqueror* loved two women, " *Venus* and *Ariadne*, by the laſt of theſe he had " ſons who were *Argonauts*; therefore the great " *Bacchus* flouriſhed but one generation before the " *Argonautic* expedition. This *Bacchus* was po- " tent at ſea (22), conquered eaſtward as far as " *India*, returned in triumph, brought his army " over the *Helleſpont*; conquered *Thrace*, left muſic, " dancing, and poetry there; killed *Lycurgus* king " of *Thrace*, and *Pentheus* the grandſon of *Cad-* " *mus*; gave the kingdom of *Lycurgus* to *Thereps*; " and one of his minſtrels, called by the *Greeks* " *Calliope*, to *Oeagrus* the ſon of *Thereps*; and of " *Oeagrus* and *Calliope*, was born *Orpheus*, who " ſailed with the *Argonauts*: this *Bacchus* was " therefore contemporary to *Seſoſtris*; and both " being kings of *Egypt*, and potent at ſea, and great " conquerors, and carrying on their conqueſts in- " to *India* and *Thrace*, they muſt be one and the " ſame man.

" 2. *Dicearchus*

(21) *Vid.* WHISTON's *Appendix.*

(22) *Vid.* HERMIPPUM *apud Athenæum, l.* 1.

SESOSTRIS then is by some thought to have been the son of *Amenophis*; but whether *Amenophis*, or any one else, it is said, that the god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admonished him, that the son which was, or should be born to him, would

" 2. *Dicæarchus*, as he is cited by the *Scholiast* " upon *Apollonius* (23), represents *Osiris* and *Orus*, " two generations older than *Sesostris*, saying, that " after *Orus*, the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, reigned *Se-* " *sonchosis*. The people of *Naxus* made *Bacchus* two " generations older than *Theseus*, and for that end " feigned two *Minos*'s and two *Ariadne*'s. Now, " by the consent of all antiquity, *Osiris* and *Bac-* " *chus* were one and the same king of *Egypt*: " this is affirmed by the *Egyptians* as well as by " the *Greeks*; and some of the antient mytholo- " gists, as *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus* (24), called *Osiris* " by the names of *Dionysus* and *Sirius*. *Osiris* was " king of all *Egypt*, and a great conqueror, and " came over the *Hellespont* in the days of *Tripto-* " *lemus*, and subdued *Thrace*, and there killed " *Lycurgus*; and therefore his expedition falls in " with that of the great *Bacchus*. *Osiris*, *Bacchus*, " and *Sesostris* lived about the same time, and by " the relation of historians were all of them kings " of all *Egypt*, and reigned at *Thebes*, and adorn- " ed that city, and were very potent by land and " sea: all three were great conquerors, and car- " ried on their conquests by land through *Asia*, " as far as *India*: all three came over the *Helle-* " *spont*, and were there in danger of losing their " army: all three conquered *Thrace*, and there " put a stop to their victories, and returned back " from thence into *Egypt*: all three left pillars with " inscriptions in their conquests: and therefore " all three must be one and the same king of " *Egypt*; and this king can be no other than " *Sesac*. All *Egypt*, including *Thebais*, *Ethiopia* " and *Libya*, had no comman king before the " expulsion of the *Shepherds*, who reigned in the " *Lower Egypt*; no conqueror of *Syria*, *India*, *Asia* " *Minor*, and *Thrace* before *Sesac*; and the sacred " history admits of no *Egyptian* conqueror of " *Palestine* before this king.

" 3. *Bacchus* had *Libyan* women in his army, " and they were commanded by *Minerva*, herself " a *Libyan* (25). *Diodorus* (26) calls her *Myrina*, " and saith, that she was queen of the *Amazons* " in *Libya*, and there conquered the *Atlantides* " and *Gorgons*, and then made a league with *Orus* " the son of *Isis*, sent to her by his father *Osiris*, " or *Bacchus*, for that purpose; and passing through " *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians*, and *Syria*, and " *Cilicia*, and came through *Phrygia*, *viz.* in the " army of *Bacchus*, to the *Mediterranean*; but pas- " sing over into *Europe* was slain with many of " her women by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, un- " der the conduct of *Sipylus*, a *Scythian*, and *Mopsus*, " a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace* had " banished. This (says our most sagacious au- " thor) was that *Lycurgus* who opposed the pas- " sage of *Bacchus* over the *Hellespont*, and was " soon after conquered by him and slain: but af- " terwards *Bacchus* met with a repulse from the " *Greeks*, under the conduct of *Perseus*, who slew " many of his women, as *Pausanias* (27) relates, " and was assisted by the *Scythians* and *Thracians* " under *Sipylus* and *Mopsus*; which repulses, to- " gether with the revolt of his brother *Danaus*, " put a stop to his victories: and in returning " home, he left part of his men in *Colchis* and at " *Mount Caucasus*, under *Æetes* and *Prometheus*; " and his women upon the river *Thermodon* near " *Colchis*, under their new queens *Marthesia* and " *Lampeto*; for *Diodorus* (28), speaking of the " *Amazons* who were seated at *Thermodon*, saith, " that they dwelt originally in *Libya*, and there " reigned over the *Atlantides*, and, invading their " neighbours, conquered as far as *Europe*: and " *Ammianus* (29), that the antient *Amazons*, break- " ing through many nations, attacked the *Athe-* " *nians*, and then receiving a great slaughter re- " tired to *Thermodon*: and *Justin* (30), that these " *Amazons* had at first, (he means at their first " coming to *Thermodon*) two queens, who called " themselves daughters of *Mars*; and that they con- " quered part of *Europe*, and some cities in *Asia*, " *viz.* in the reign of *Minerva*, and then sent back " part of their army with a great booty under " their said new queens; and that *Marthesia*, be- " ing afterwards slain, was succeeded by her daugh- " ter *Orithya*, and she by *Penthesilea*; and that " *Theseus* captivated and married *Antiope* the sister " of *Orithya*. *Hercules* made war upon the *Ama-* " *zons*, and in the reign of *Orithya* and *Penthesilea* " they came to the *Trojan* war: whence the first " wars of the *Amazons* in *Europe* and *Asia*, and " their settling at *Thermodon*, were but one genera- " tion before those actions of *Hercules* and *The-* " *seus*, and but two before the *Trojan* war, and " so fell in with the expedition of *Sesostris*: and " since they warred in the days of *Isis* and her " son *Orus*, and were a part of the army under " *Bacchus*, or *Osiris*, we have here a farther ar- " gument for making *Osiris* and *Bacchus* contem- " porary to *Sesostris*, and all three one and the " same king with *Sesac*.

" 4. The *Greeks* reckon *Osiris* and *Bacchus* to " be sons of *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptian* name of " *Jupiter* is *Ammon*. *Manetho* (31), in his ele- " venth and twelfth dynasties, as he is cited by " *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, names these four kings " as reigning in order; *Ammenemes*, *Gesongeses*, or " *Sesoncheris* the son of *Ammenemes*, *Ammenemes* " who was slain by his eunuchs, and *Sesostris* who " subdued all *Asia* and a part of *Europe*: *Gesongeses* " and *Sesoncheris* are corruptly written for *Seson-* " *chosis*: and the two first of these four kings, " *Ammenemes* and *Sesonchosis* are the same with the " two last *Ammenemes* and *Sesostris*, that is, with " *Ammon* and *Sesac*; for *Diodorus* saith, that *Osiris* " built a temple at *Thebes* to his father *Jupiter Am-* " *mon*, who reigned in that city (32): and *Thyma-* " *sles*, who was contemporary to *Orpheus*, wrote " expressly, that the father of *Bacchus* was *Ammon*, " a king reigning over part of *Libya*; that is, a " king of *Egypt* reigning over that part of *Libya* " antiently called *Ammonia*: Πᾶσα ἡ Λιβύη οὕτως " ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἄμμωνος (33). All *Libya* was call- " ed *Ammonia* from *Ammon*; that is, that king of " *Egypt*, from whom *Thebes* was called *No-Ammon*, " and *Ammon-No*, the city of *Ammon*, and by " the *Greeks*, *Diospolis*, the city of *Jupiter Ammon*. " Here again our author seems to demonstrate " that *Sesostris* and *Osiris* were the same person.

5. And to corroborate what is said in the pre- ceding article; *Sesostris* upon his returning home divided *Egypt* by measure amongst the *Egyptians*; and this gave a beginning to surveying and geo- metry: and *Jamblichus* derives this division of *Egypt* and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of *Egypt*. And because *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*, to render the *Nile* more useful, dug ca- nals from it, and thereby made a general distribu- tion of its water; this chronologer is of opinion, that

(23) ARGONAUT. *l.* 4. *c.* 272. (24) DIOD. *l.* 1. *p.* 7. (25) *Vid.* DIOD. *l.* 3. *p.* 140. (26) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 131, 132. (27) PAUSAN. *lib.* 2. *c.* 20. *p.* 155. (28) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 130. & SCHOL. *Apollonii*, *lib.* 2. (29) *Lib.* 22. *c.* 8. (30) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4. (31) *See before*, *p.* 230. (32) *See before*, *p.* 241. (33) STEPH. *in* Ἄμμων.

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt *that were born on the same day with him.*

would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this vision, he got together all the males in *Egypt* born on the same day with his son, and appointed nurses and proper persons to take care of them, and had them treated in all respects like his own child; persuaded, that they, who had been the constant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the most faithful ministers, and most affectionate fellow-soldiers. They were abundantly furnished with every thing needful, and as they grew up they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and were in particular never permitted to taste of any thing till they had performed a course of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exercise of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. *Amenophis*, after he had been at this vast expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his son's future grandeur, resolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of displaying the good effects of their institution; and therefore he sent him and them with an army into *Arabia*. In this expedition the young *Sesostris* surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country, and in the end subdued the *Arabians*, who till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him westward, and he subdued the greatest part of *Africk*, nor stopped his career (as should seem) till he saw the *Atlantic* ocean[l]. Whilst he was on this expedition his father died: and having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the success which had hitherto attended him, he grasped at no less an object than the whole earth. Or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some reported that his daughter *Athyrte*, a young lady of great wit and sagacity excited him thereto by her counsel, representing it as an easy

Sends him into Arabia *and* Afric.

a

b

c

[k] DIOD. lib. 1. p. 48.

[l] LUCAN. 10. v. 27.

that the river was consecrated to him, and he was called by its names, *Ægyptus*, *Siris*, *Nilus*; and observes from *Plutarch*, that the syllable *O*, put before the word *Siris*, by the *Greeks*, made it scarce intelligible to the *Egyptians*.

6. He thinks it appears "That *Sesostris* was also "*Shishak*, or *Sesac*, because the first conquests this "king is said to have made were *Troglodytica*, "*Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, and in the first year of "*Rehoboam*, *Sesostris* [*Sesac*] came out of *Egypt* "with a great army of *Lybians*, *Troglodytes*, and "*Ethiopians*, and spoiled the temple, and reduced "*Judæa* into servitude, and went on conquering "first eastward towards *India*, and then westward "as far as *Thrace*; for GOD *had given him the* "*kingdoms of the countries* (34).

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater stress, for the proof of what he lays down concerning *Sesostris*, than the following: "*Solon* having travelled into "*Egypt*, and conversed with the priests of *Saïs* "about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what "he had learned, but did not finish it (35); and "this poem fell into the hands of *Plato*, who re-"lates out of it, that at the mouth of the *Straits*, "near *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, there was an island call-"ed *Atlantis*, the people of which, nine thou-"sand years before the days of *Solon*, reigned over "*Libya* as far as *Egypt*, and over *Europe* as far as "the *Tyrrhene-sea*; and all this force collected into "one body invaded *Egypt* and *Greece*, and what-"ever was contained within the pillars of *Hercules*, "but was resisted and stopped by the *Athenians* "and other *Greeks*, and thereby the rest of the "nations not yet conquered were preserved: he "saith also, that in those days, the gods, having "finished their conquests, divided the whole earth "amongst themselves, partly into larger, partly "into smaller portions, and instituted temples "and sacred rites to themselves; and that the "island of *Atlantis* fell to the lot of *Neptune*, "who made his eldest Son *Atlas* king of the "whole island, a part of which was called *Gadir*; "and that *in the history of the said years mention* "*was made of* Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, "*and others before* Theseus, *and also of the wo-*"*men who warred with the men, and of the habit*

"*and stature of* Minerva, *the study of war in* "*those days being common to men and women.* By "all these circumstances it is manifest, that these "gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and "lived between the age of *Cecrops* and *Theseus*; "and that the wars which *Sesostris*, with his bro-"ther *Neptune*, made upon the nations by land "and by sea, and the resistance he met with in "*Greece*, and the following invasion of *Egypt* by "*Neptune*, are here described; and how the cap-"tains of *Sesostris* shared their conquests amongst "themselves, as the captains of *Alexander the* "*Great* did his conquests long after, and insti-"tuting temples and priests, and sacred rites to "themselves, caused the nations to worship them "after their death as gods: and that the island "*Gadir*, or *Gades*, and all *Libya*, fell to the lot "of him who after death was deified by the "name of *Neptune*. The time therefore when "these things were done, is by *Solon* limited to "the age of *Neptune* the father of *Atlas*; for "*Homer* tells us, that *Ulysses* presently after the "*Trojan* war found *Calypso* the daughter of *Atlas* "in the *Ogygian* island, perhaps *Gadir*, and there-"fore it was but two generations before the *Tro-*"*jan* war. This is that *Neptune* who, with *Apollo*, "or *Orus*, fortified *Troy* with a wall, in the reign "of *Laomedon* the father of *Priamus*, and left many "natural children in *Greece*, some of which were "*Argonauts*, and others were contemporaries to "the *Argonauts*; and therefore he flourished but "one generation before the *Argonautic* expedi-"tion, and by consequence about 400 years "before *Solon* went into *Egypt*: but the priests "of *Egypt* in those 400 years had magnified the "stories and antiquity of their gods so exceed-"ingly as to make them 9000 years older than "*Solon*, and the island *Atlantis* bigger than all "*Africa* and *Asia* together, and full of people; "and because in the days of *Solon* this great "island did not appear, they pretended that it "was sunk into the sea with all its people: thus "great was the vanity of the priests of *Egypt* in "magnifying their antiquities." These are the most obvious and direct arguments concerning *Sesostris*, which we meet with in Sir *Isaac Newton*.

(34) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3,—8.

(35) PLAT. *in Timæo & Critia.*

a easy matter: others, that she obtained assurances of her father's success by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like[g]; so that, according to these, he could be no very young man at this time. Lastly, it was said that he was instructed by *Mercury*, who prepared him for the war[h].

Undertakes to conquer the whole world.

HAVING this view of a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and far remote from *Egypt*, he bethought him how he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people: wisely deeming it the most natural means of preparing those who followed him, to lay down their lives chearfully in his service; and of preventing those at home from attempting any innovations during his absence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, indeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in b money, by donations in land, or by the remission of punishments: he discharged all that were guilty of treason with impunity, and paid the debts of all that were thereby incumbered, of which last he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair speeches and a familiar deportment.

Divides Egypt *in* 36 *nomes.*

In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 nomes, or provinces; assigned a governor to each of them[i]; and constituted his brother *Armaïs* supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but forbad him the use of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines[k]. Having thus settled the government, he picked out the choicest of his subjects, and listed an army equal to the vastness of his designs, and bestowed the chief commands of it on his be-

He institutes the military order.

e loved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earnest of his benevolence, and besides the favours he had bestowed on them in common with the rest of their countrymen, and that he and his successors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he settled certain portions by lot, of the most fertile land in *Egypt*, on his whole army; whence a handsome income arising to them, neither they nor their posterity might lie under the necessity of seeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themselves to the military exercises. His army consisted of 600,000

Conquers Ethiopia.

foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He first marched into *Ethiopia*, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory[l]. He is generally believed to have been the first that subdued *Ethiopia* and *Troglodytica*, and is said to have reached d the promontory of *Dira*, near the straits of the *Red-sea*, where he sat up a pillar with a sacred inscription on it; and went on as far as the cinnamon country, or at least some place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raised monuments and pillars with inscriptions, which were to be seen many ages afterwards[m].

His fleets.

HIS land forces alone were not answerable to the conquest he intended; and therefore, breaking through the antient superstition of the *Egyptians*, he was the first of their kings that fitted out fleets of tall ships. He had two; the one of 400 sail in the *Arabian Gulph*, if we may add faith to *Diodorus*[n] who gives us this number, and to *Herodotus*[o] who mentions the same fleet in general terms; and the other in the *Mediterranean-sea*, if we may believe *Manetho*[p] by *Sethosis* understands *Sesostris*. By these naval armaments, and by the great e services they are said to have done, it should seem, that *Sesostris* wiped away the aversion the *Egyptians* had to sea affairs[q] at least for a time, and instituted the marine class,

He institutes the marine class or order.

as by what appears hitherto he did the military order. But to have done with this conjecture, we shall only add, that the spacious and magnificent ship he consecrated to the supreme god of the *Thebans*[r], looks as if he designed to bring navigation into credit in *Egypt*. With the first of these fleets he sailed out of the *Arabian Gulph* into the *Red*, or *Indian-sea*, and subdued the coasts thereof, and continuing his course till he was stopped by certain shoals and difficult places, returned back to *Egypt*[s]: or according to another author, he went not on board himself, but sent them out against the islands and maritime places of the continent as far as *India*[t]. With his *Mediter-*

f *ranean* squadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the sea coast of *Phœnicia*[t], and several of the *Cyclades*[u]. This is all we know concerning his exploits by sea.

Continuation of his conquests and wars.

Now as to his further conquests on the land; it is by almost all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all *Asia*, and some part of *Europe*. He crossed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and to use the poets expression, did the fame in the remotest mountains of *India*[w]; and indeed he is said to have marched on till he was stopped by the main ocean eastward[x]. From thence returning he invaded the *Scythians* and *Thracians*; but the accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conquest over them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Agathias*[y], and others represent

[g] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 49. [h] ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 4. [i] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 50. [k] MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Apion, l. 1. p. 1041. [l] DIOD. ubi supr. [m] Vid. STRABO, lib. 16. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam lib. 17. p. 790. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. 6. c. 29. [n] Ubi supr. [o] Ubi supra. [p] Apud Joseph. contra Apion, ubi supr. [q] See before, p. 227. [r] See before, ibid. [s] HEROD. ubi supr. [t] DIOD. ubi supr. [t] MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Apion, ubi supr. [u] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 51. [w] DIONYS. in Perie. v. 625. [x] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 50. [y] Lib. 2. p. 55.

preſent him victorious; but ſome relate, that he met with a repulſe, and fled from the *Scythians*, and was worſted by the *Colchians*. For *Juſtin* tells us, that *Vexores*, or *Seſoſtris* diſpatching ambaſſadors before him to ſummon the *Scythians* to ſurrender, they ſent back his meſſengers with contempt, and threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. *Seſoſtris*, being informed that they were advancing towards him by haſty marches, ſuddenly faced about, and fled from before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike apparel to the purſuers, who followed him till they came on the borders of *Egypt*[z]. *Pliny* relates, that he was overthrown by the king of *Colchis*[a]; and *Valerius Flaccus* inſinuates, that he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, and put to flight in theſe parts[b]. But whether he had good or bad ſucceſs in theſe countries, it is a common opinion, that he ſettled a colony in *Colchis*, though *Herodotus*, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide, whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily ſat down on the banks of the river *Phaſis* in that kingdom. He ſays, from his own experience, that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent, as was viſible from the perſonal ſimilitude they bore to the *Egyptians*, who were ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, particularly circumciſion, and from the affinity of their language with that of *Egypt*. And many ages afterwards at *Æa*, the capital of *Colchis*, they ſhewed maps of their journies, and the bounds of ſea and land for the uſe of travellers[c], and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both ſides[d]. We now attend upon him into *Thrace*, the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in *Europe*. Here he was in danger of loſing his army through want of proviſions and the difficulty of the paſſes; and therefore he here ſtopped his progreſs*. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was haſtened by advice he received from the high prieſt of *Egypt*, concerning his brother's revolt and diſobedience[e]. However this was, his pillars were no where to be ſeen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace*[f]. For it was his cuſtom to ſet up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inſcription, or one to the like effect; Seſoſtris, *king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms*. If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, beſides the inſcription, cauſed the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baſeneſs[g]; if they had defended themſelves bravely, their pillars bore the diſtinction of the contrary ſex, in teſtimony of their courage[h]. Beſides theſe he left ſtatues of himſelf behind him, two of which are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays *Herodotus*, the one on the road between *Epheſus* and *Phocæa*, and the other between *Smyrna* and *Sardis*: they were armed after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian* manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Acroſs the breaſt they had a line drawn from one ſhoulder to the other, on which there was this inſcription; *This region I obtained by theſe my ſhoulders*. They were miſtaken for images of *Memnon*[i].

Supposed to ſettle a colony in Colchis.

His pillars and ſtatues.

Return to Egypt.

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long abſence and great diſtance, had aſſumed the diadem, violated the queen, and made promiſcuous uſe of the royal concubines[k], he haſtened from *Thrace*, and at the end of nine years came to *Peluſium*, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and laden with the ſpoils of *Aſia*[l]. Here the rebel *Armaïs*, or *Danaus* received him with outward ſubmiſſion and joy, but with inward deſigns to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children to a banquet he had prepared for their refreſhment, which they accepting, and drinking very freely, were overcome thereby, and betook them to reſt. In the mean time he cauſed a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they ſlept, and ſetting fire thereto he hoped to burn them all together. *Seſoſtris* perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy and incapable to aſſiſt him, lifted up his hands, and imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children ruſhed through the flames, and they followed him. In thankſgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he preſented donations to ſeveral gods, and particularly to *Vulcan*[m], as will be obſerved hereafter. *Herodotus* ſeems to have been miſinformed in the particulars of this happy eſcape; ſaying, that his wife perſwaded him to lay two of his ſons acroſs the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother *Armaïs*[n], who is ſaid to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks*[o], and is thought to have been now driven out from *Egypt*, and to have proceeded to *Greece*.

Is miraculouſly delivered from the murderous deſigns of his brother.

His

[z] Lib. 2. c. 3. [a] Lib. 33. c. 3. [b] ARGONAUT. l. 5. v. 420. [c] APOLLON. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. * DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [e] MANETH. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [f] HEROD. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 59, 60. [i] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [k] MANETH. ubi ſupr. [l] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [m] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] MANETH. ubi ſupr.

a His brother's unnatural deſigns thus defeated, and himſelf in the quiet repoſſeſſion of his kingdom, he adorned all the temples with ſpoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to merit. His army was not only glorious in their return for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired, but alſo for the great variety of conveniencies and neceſſaries they brought home with them, and with which they ſtored the whole kingdom. *Seſoſtris* now laying aſide all thoughts of war, diſbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undiſturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himſelf, he from henceforward applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the publick good.

His works.

b His works were of three ſorts; religious, military, and civil. And firſt he erected a temple in every city in *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and ſupreme deity of each place. In the courſe of ſo univerſal an undertaking as this no *Egyptian* was ſet to work; wherefore upon all theſe temples there was this inſcription: *No one native laboured hereon* [o]. In the city of *Memphis*, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he raiſed ſix gigantic ſtatues, which were each of one ſtone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and repreſented himſelf and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and repreſented his four ſons [p]. Theſe he dedicated to *Vulcan*, in remembrance of his and his family's preſervation at *Peluſium* [q]. Many ages afterwards it was ſaid, that *Darius* would have placed his own ſtatue above this of *Seſoſtris*; but the prieſt of *Vulcan*

c ſtifly oppoſed it, urging, that the *Perſian*, though great, had not yet equalled the *Egyptian*, and particularly had never conquered *Scythia*; and that therefore it was unjuſt to prefer him to one he had not yet excelled, and ſo put a ſtop to the attempt [r]. He moreover raiſed two obelisks of hard ſtone [marble] 120 cubits high; and charged them with inſcriptions, which deſcribed the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. Theſe are his works, which may be ſaid particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and laſting welfare of his people.

In order to prevent the incurſions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, he fortified the eaſt ſide of *Egypt* with a wall, which ran from *Peluſium* through the deſart to *Heliopolis*,

d 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation, to ſecure the men and cattle from the dangers of the *Nile* in its inundations. All the way from *Memphis* to the ſea he dug canals which branched out from the *Nile*, and not only gave an eaſier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and proſperity of the kingdom; but alſo rendered the country impracticable to an enemy, or at leaſt very incommodious and difficult. So that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face [s]. This looks as if *Seſoſtris* feared, that the ſeveral nations he

e had diſturbed, or at leaſt ſome of them, might unite againſt *Egypt*; but quite the reverſe appears by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be ſeen by and by. In the mean time it is ſaid, that ſome of the captives grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed on them, and that particularly the *Babylonians* aroſe and reſolved at all hazards to ſhake off their bondage. They firſt ſeized upon a ſtrong hold, and acting offenſively againſt the *Egyptians*, waſted the country round about them. But on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built them a city which they called *Babylon*: the like was ſaid of the *Trojan* captives [t]. According to *Herodotus* there was a report that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongſt all the *Egyptians*: this claſhes with

f what has been ſaid of the lands he beſtowed on his army before his outſet; which we take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince, and therefore are inclined to think that *Herodotus* was miſinformed. The ſame author upon this occaſion ſays; that the king reſerving to himſelf a ſmall rent out of the lands ſo divided, whenever it happened that the waters of the *Nile* in their retreat waſhed away any part of a perſon's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who in ſuch caſe remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by ſending ſurveyors to meaſure it, gave riſe to the invention of geometry *.

His inſolence.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited on him with their tribute, is moſt remarkably inſolent; for upon certain occaſions he would unharneſs his horſes, and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot [u]: this practice he continued,

[o] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51, 52. [p] Herod. ubi ſupr. [q] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [r] Herod. ubi ſupr. [s] Diod. ubi ſupr. 52. [t] Idem ibid. * Herod. ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day, when obſerving one of the kings who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he aſked what took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye ſo fixed behind him? he anſwered, *Oh king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo is it with men, who one day ſit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery.* This anſwer ſhocked the inſulting conqueror, and he gave over the practice. It was thus he was wont to triumph over his tributaries, but at all other times he treated them with great humanity. At length he loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf, and died. The manner of his death was extolled by the prieſts into the higheſt act of magnanimity [w]; and that nothing might be wanting to make his hiſtory compleatly glorious, they reported, that the *phœnix* came to *Thebes* during his reign [x]. By what has been here ſaid concerning *Seſoſtris*, it may ſeemingly be gathered, that he was the firſt that divided *Egypt* into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and claſſes; that he was the firſt *Egyptian* king who was conſiderable at ſea; and that he erected the firſt great empire in the world. *Juſtin* ſays, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conqueſt he made [y]. But all are not of his opinion.

Pheron, *or* Seſoſtris II.

PHERON was the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and ſucceeded him. He is alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis* [*Seſoſtris*] II. The ſtory of his reign, as it is handed down to us, ſavours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be properly owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is reported, that his loſs of ſight was a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river. For

He is ſtruck blind.

upon a time that the *Nile* had overflowed the country to an unuſual height, a gale of wind aroſe, and greatly diſturbed the waters, whereat he capriciouſly took offence, and inſolently darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this he was immediately ſeized with a pain in his eyes, and ſoon after by a total darkneſs, which oppreſſed him for ten years. In the eleventh year the oracle at *Butus* declared, that the term of his affliction was elapſed, and that his ſight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at *Heliopolis*, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own

He recovers his ſight again, and raiſes two obeliſks.

wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promiſed. Her therefore he made queen; but as for the adultereſſes he ſent them to a city called *Erithybolus*, which, together with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in ſeveral rich donations, and particularly raiſed two magnificent obeliſks in the temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis* [z].

Amaſis *or* Ammoſis, *a tyrant.*

MANY ages after the ſcepter fell into the hands of AMASIS, or AMMOSIS. He miſuſed his people with the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. Many he condemned to death without a cauſe; many he deprived of their poſſeſſions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with inſupportable arrogance. Under

His ſubjects join with the Ethiopians *to drive him out.*

this oppreſſor they groaned for a while, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power. But in time *Actiſanes* king of *Ethiopia* made war againſt *Ammoſis*, and entering *Egypt* the people joined him, and aſſiſted to drive their unnatural prince from the throne [a].

BUT before we take in hand the hiſtory of *Actiſanes*, we muſt obſerve, that a king, very near allied in name to *Ammoſis*, blocked up the *Shepherds* in the city of *Abaris*, or *Peluſium*, with an army of 480,000 men; but deſpairing, as is ſaid, to carry the place by ſiege, he made a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed, that they ſhould go out of *Egypt* and march which way they pleaſed without moleſtation (I). This

The expulſion of the Shepherds.

article they executed, and went away with their families to the number of 240,000, and taking the way of the deſart entered *Syria*, but fearing the *Aſſyrians*, they built them a ſtrong city in *Judæa*, called *Jeruſalem*. This favours the opinion of thoſe who take

[w] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [x] TACIT. Ann. 6. p. 154. [y] Lib. 1. c. 1. [z] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 54. [a] Idem ibid.

(I) We have already obſerved to you, that *Perizonius* reckons what is called the expulſion of the *Shepherds*, and the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael*, to be one and the ſame event (1).

Sir *John Marſham* is of a quite different opinion, but decides nothing (2).

Father *Pezron* ſays nothing of the expulſion of the *Shepherds* in particular, but thinks he has ſufficiently proved, that the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* under *Moſes* in the reign of *Themoſis*, the ſame who is ſaid to have expelled the *Shepherds* (3).

Sir *Isaac Newton* places this expulſion in the year 1070 before CHRIST, or 62 years before the firſt expedition of *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, as he calls him, into *Africa* (4).

(1) *Vid.* PERIZ. *ubi ſupr.* (2) MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (3) PEZRON. *ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir* ISAAC NEWTON's *Short Chronology.*

take the *Shepherds* to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves; but the *Egyptian* hiſtory
a being hitherto, and for a conſiderable time to come, involved in palpable darkneſs we
ſhall only ſay, that this is confeſſedly a contradiction to the hiſtory of *Moſes*, by whom
it plainly appears, that theſe *Shepherds* could not be the *Iſraelites*, and him we chooſe
to confide in. This king is called *Amoſis*, *Thummoſis*, *Tethmoſis*, *Thomoſis*, and *Themoſis*,
the ſon of *Haliſphragmuthoſis*. One *Amoſis* is alſo ſaid to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of
ſacrificing men to *Juno* at *Heliopolis*, and inſtead of them to have ſubſtituted waxen
images. They were examined and ſealed like pure calves, and were called *Typho-*
nians [b]. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their aſhes were ſcattered abroad ſo
as to be no more ſeen, and this publickly every year during the dog-days. This is
b ſaid to have been done at the city of *Idithia* [c].

As to the 200,000 *Shepherds*, which we are told came from *Jeruſalem* to aſſiſt the leprous *Egyptians* under *Oſarſiphus*, and the wars they were engaged in with *Amenophis* king of *Egypt*, we refer our reader to *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, not knowing where to give a place to theſe tranſactions in the courſe of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. *Joſephus* arraigns the whole ſtory as fabulous [d].

Actiſanes *the* Ethiopian.

We now return: Actisanes united *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* under him, and was the common king of both. He bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. He cauſed a general ſearch to be made after the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, and giving them a juſt hearing commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them away to the remoteſt part
c of the deſart between *Syria* and *Egypt*, where he built them a town which was called *Rhinocolura*, from the diſfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarce afforded any one neceſſary of life; for even the few wells and ponds there found were brackiſh, bitter, and moſt unpleaſant to the palate. Hither he baniſhed them, that they might not injure their honeſt neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their ſituation was, neceſſity the mother of invention, ſuggeſted means to them of ſupplying themſelves with food: for it is reported, that they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails which came in flocks from the ſea-
d ſhore; and of theſe they had barely ſufficient to live upon [e].

He ſends all the Egyptian *thieves and robbers to* Rhinocolura.

Actiſanes died, and the *Egyptians* were left to their own diſpoſal; and therefore they choſe them a king, named by ſome Mendes, and by others Marus. He is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built. It was not ſo admirable for its extent as for its inimitable contrivance, which was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was impoſſible to find the way out, but by the help of a moſt experienced guide [f].

Mendes, *or* Marus. *He builds a labyrinth.*

After *Mendes* there enſued an anarchy, or inter-reign, for five generations. At length a *Memphite* of obſcure birth was choſen king. His *Eyyptian* name was Cetes, which the *Greeks* rendered Proteus (K). Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* make him coætaneous with the *Trojan* war. The prieſts gave him out for one ſkilled in the wea-
e ther, or a magician, and pretended, he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even fire. This fable, as it was told by the *Greeks*, drew its origin from a cuſtom among the *Egyptians* (and perhaps introduced by *Proteus*), who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals, or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, and to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition [g]. Whilſt *Proteus* reigned, *Paris*, or *Alexander* was driven on the coaſts of *Egypt* by a ſtorm, and there landed with *Helen*, whom he was carrying from *Greece* to *Troy*. But when he heard the perfidious breach of hoſpitality this young man had committed, he ſeized upon him, his miſtreſs, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from
f *Greece*. As for *Helen* and her huſband's effects, he detained them, promiſing to reſtore both to the injured party whenever demanded, and ſo he did: but *Paris* and his companions

Proteus *is choſen king.*

The fable of Proteus *whence derived.*

Paris *and* Helen *arrive in* Egypt.

[b] Joseph contra Apion. l. 1. p. 352, &c.
[c] Manetho apud Porph. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55.
[d] Josephus ubi ſupr. [e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 55.
[f] Idem ibid. See before, p. 193. [g] Idem p. 56.

(K) According to *Perizonius Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, and the *Typhon* of the poets. He thinks that *Homer*'s *Proteus* and this king are the ſame; and that he was ſtiled a ſea-god, becauſe he had commanded the coaſt of *Egypt*. He gives no credit as to *Herodotus* to the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* under this king. It is not conſiſtent with his hypotheſis (1).

Sir *Iſaac Newton*, on the contrary, ſeems to give credit to *Herodotus* as far as relates to *Paris* and *Helena*, but makes him cotemporary with *Amenophis*, who, as we have already obſerved, he makes the ſame with *Menes*. He thinks, he might have been governor of ſome part of the *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*: and obſerves, that *Homer* places him on the ſea coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of *Neptune*, and that his *Greek* name ſignifies only a prince, or preſident (2).

(1) *Vid.* Perizon. *ubi ſupr* (2) *Sir* Isaac Newton, *Chronol. of anc. kingdoms amended.*

ons he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. In fine, he had a very rich and ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, and left a ſon and ſucceſſor behind him called *Rhempbis*, [h]. a

Rhemphis, or Rhampſinitus.

RHEMPHIS is alſo called RHAMPSINITUS (L), and was of an inclination to hoard up money. *Diodorus* reports him to have been ſo ſordidly avaritious, that during his whole reign he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward than of a king; and never could find in his heart to be at the leaſt expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men: and that to this retentiveneſs it was owing that he left ſo immenſe a treaſure behind him, no leſs than 400,000 talents [i]. Now *Herodotus* ſufficiently inſinuates, that he was fond of riches, but does not reduce him to ſo wretched a degree of baſeneſs as this. Let us give ear b to what he ſays. *Rhampſinitus* added the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the *Egyptians* under the title of *Summer*; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of *Winter*, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any king of *Egypt* that ſucceeded him, and, being deſirous to depoſite it in ſome ſecure place, commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built for that purpoſe. The architect employed in this work, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out and put in again by one man only, it being his intention to partake in the riches of the place. But about the time that the treaſure was lodged in it, this man fell into a violent ſick- c neſs; and finding himſelf at the point of death, ſent for his two ſons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the moſt exact directions in the management of the buſineſs, which he foreſaw would never be his fate to accompliſh. The father died, and the young men went to the treaſury, and finding every thing to be as their father had told them, they gained an eaſy admittance, and robbed the king to a conſiderable value; and this they repeated every night. Some time after *Rhampſinitus* went in to view his heaps, and was ſurprized to find a viſible diminution of them; and the more, becauſe his ſeal was whole on the door, the only part of the building that could give entrance. The two brothers continued their nightly expi- lations till the king, after two or three further ſurveys, was perfectly ſenſible that d ſome how or other his wealth ſuffered a ſucceſſive decreaſe. And now convinced that ſome body muſt do this, he ordered ſnares to be laid all around the veſſels which held his money. The brethren failed not to come at night, and taking out the ſtone, one of them went in, and going up to a veſſel full of ſilver was immediately en- ſnared. Under this ſurprize he called to his brother who ſtood without, and earneſtly beſought him to come in to him and cut off his head, that ſo he might ſave his own life, and effectually prevent the diſcovery of their intrigue. The brother, perceiving the reaſonableneſs of his requeſt, went in and did as he was deſired, and putting the ſtone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early the next morning the king came in to ſee the event of his project, but was e quite aſtoniſhed to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confuſion of thought, but however directed that the body ſhould be hung on the outſide of the wall, and expoſed to publick view; charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they ſhould make a narrow inſpection into the countenances of the ſpectators, and in whomſoever they perceived ſigns of ſorrow and mourning to bring ſuch perſon into his preſence. When the mother of the deceaſed heard that the body was expoſed in this manner, ſhe was diſtracted with grief, and upbraiding her ſurviving ſon, threatned that if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, ſhe would let the king know who had robbed his treaſury. The young man

builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a treaſure-houſe,

which is plundered by the architects two ſons.

[h] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

(L) Sir *John Marſham* is inclined to think him the eldeſt ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and to be the ſame with *Rampſes*; and this he advances, fraught with the authority of *Manetho*, who calls him the ſon of *Sethos*: and that the famous inſcription which was interpreted to *Cæſar Germanicus* at *Thebes*, related to him: and indeed there is no very great difference between the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* and the *Rhampſes* of *Manetho*. In fine, that he enjoyed by right what his father had obtained by conqueſt (1).

Perizonius ſuppoſes, that the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* is *Seſoſtris* himſelf. But *Rameſſes*, or *Rhamſinitus*, the ſon of *Proteus*, he makes cotemporary with the *Trojan* war, in which he is ſupported by a paſſage, from *Pliny* (2).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*, or *Menes*, and to be ſhadowed under the different names of *Rhamſinitus*, *Ramſes*, *Ramiſes*, *Rameſes*, *Rameſſes*, *Rameſſes*, *Rhampſis* and *Rhempſis*; and that the obeliſk which was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor *Conſtantius*, with an inſcription interpreted by *Hermapion* an *Egyptian* prieſt, expreſſing that he was long-lived and reigned over a great part of the earth, as alſo that pompous inſcription mentioned by *Tacitus*, belonged to him (3).

(1) *Vid.* MARSH. *ubi ſupr.* (2) PERIZ. *ubi ſupr.* (3) *Sir* ISAAC NEWT. ubi ſupr.

a man did his utmoſt to bring her to ſome temper, by remonſtrating to her the impracti-
cability of her requeſt; but to no purpoſe; for ſhe perſiſted ſtill in her threats.
Therefore finding that ſomething muſt be contrived to gratify her, he conſulted how
he might ſucceed in ſuch an enterprize: and at length loading his aſſes with ſkins of
wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached
the guard, he privately opened ſome of the ſkins, and as ſoon as the wine poured down
he ſtruck himſelf upon the head, and counterfeited the trouble and conſternation of a
perſon utterly undone. In the mean time the ſoldiers upon duty ran to the aſſes with
pots, to ſave as much of the liquor as they could for themſelves; which he ſeeing,
fell on them with the moſt bitter reproaches, and reviled them for the pleaſure they
b took in his misfortune, inſtead of giving him their aſſiſtance: but they ſpeaking him
fair, he pretended to be pacified, and leading his aſſes out of the way, feigned to be
very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of his wine. Whilſt he was doing this the guards
ſtood about him, and laughing and joking with him, he at laſt conſented to give them
a ſkin of wine; and they in return for ſo great a favour preſſed him to ſtay and take
a part of it with them. He did ſo, and when this ſkin was emptied he gave them
another; ſo that by exceſſive drinking the whole guard was overcome, and fell into
a deep ſleep. Then watching his opportunity, and perceiving it to be the dead of night,
he went to the body, and taking it down, laid it acroſs an aſs; and ſhaving the right
cheek of each of the ſoldiers by way of deriſion, went away with the body and car-
c ried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of additional wonder to
the king, who, that he might find out the perſon who had done it, bethought him
of the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf in a cer-
tain apartment of the palace to all comers promiſcuouſly; but under this reſtriction,
that ſhe ſhould previouſly extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingeni-
ous intrigue he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever com-
mitted. His daughter obeyed, and did as ſhe was inſtructed, and when the thief
heard of this extraordinary procedure, he reſolved to perplex the king a little farther.
With this view he got the arm of a newly-dead body, and taking it under his cloak,
went in to the king's daughter. She examined him in the ſame form, and to the ſame
d purpoſe as the reſt who had been with her before him; and in return, he frankly con-
feſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his
brother's head when enſnared in the treaſury; and that the moſt ingenious thing he
had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then of-
fered to lay hold on him; which he perceiving, held out the dead arm to her;
which ſhe graſping, he ran out, and by the favour of the night made his eſcape.
Rhampſinitus's rage was now converted into an admiration of the boldneſs and
ingenuity of the man; and therefore he had it proclaimed in every city, that if the
perſon, whoever he was, would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned,
but alſo greatly rewarded. The young man confiding in this, went ſtrait to the pa-
e lace, and made himſelf known. In the end the king gave him his daughter in marri-
age, and accounted him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth.
Our author does not warrant every particular of this ſtory.

Rhampſinitus *goes down to hell.*

AFTER this it was fabled, that *Rhampſinitus* deſcended alive into the infernal regi-
ons, where he plaid at dice with *Ceres*, but neither won or loſt; and that at his
departure ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl. The ſpace between his deſcent and
reaſcenſion was obſerved with great ſolemnity by the *Egyptians* many ages afterwards.
And now that we may conclude the hiſtory of this king with ſome air of truth and
probability, he reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and was a conſtant and ſtrict
obſerver of the good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted through-
f out the kingdom from its firſt foundation [k].

Nilus.

THIS king was ſucceeded by 7 others, all of nameleſs fame and ignoble character,
except one, called NILUS. He is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all
over the country, and for his endeavours to make the *Nile* as univerſally ſerviceable as
poſſible. Whence it was that the river which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was
now called after his name [l].

Cheops, Chemmis, *or* Chembes, *a tyrant.*

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS, or CHEMBES, (M) is by *Diodorus* reckoned the eighth from
Rhampſinitus. *Herodotus* places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for
his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and for-
bidding

[k] HEROD. l. 2.

[l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 57.

(M) Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſuſpects, that he intended to be worſhipped himſelf after death; and ſuppoſes that he was alſo called *Chemnis*, *Phiops*, *Apathus*, *Apappus*, *Suphis*, *Saophis*, *Syphoas*, *Syphaoſis*, *Soiphis*, *Syphuris*, and *Anoiſis*.

Builds the largeſt pyramid.

bidding all public ſacrifices. And then trampling on the laws and invading the liber- a
ties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. Great num-
bers he ſent to dig out ſtone in the quarries among the mountains of *Arabia*, and to
tranſport them into *Egypt* [m] : and harraſſed them in the end in raiſing the largeſt of the
three great pyramids [n]. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the ſame kind, he was

Proſtitutes his daughter, who builds a ſmall pyramid.

reduced ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution ; telling her
in general terms to earn what ſhe could. She obeyed, and, by her father's example
deſiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a
ſtone towards a building ſhe had in view. With the ſtones ſo collected, ſhe built a
ſmall pyramid. * This tyrant reigned fifty years and died [o].

Cephrenes, Cephren, *or* Chabryis *a tyrant.*

He was ſucceeded by CEPHRENES, CEPHREN, or CHABRYIS. It was b
doubted, whether *Cephren*, and *Chabryis*, were one and the ſame perſon ; ſome ſay-
ing, that *Cephren* was the brother, and that *Chabryis* was the ſon of *Cheops*. But
leaving this obſcure controverſy ; this king trod in the foot-ſteps of his pre-

Builds a pyramid.

deceſſor, and particularly in building a pyramid ; but it fell much ſhort of the
former. He reigned fifty ſix years. Though both he and his predeceſſor deſigned
theſe pyramids for their eternal manſions, to uſe the *Egyptian* phraſe, yet neither of
them were depoſited in them after death , dreading what the rage of the multitude
might prompt them to, their friends buried them where no body could ever find
them [p].

Mycerinus, *or* Cherinus, *a good prince.*

AFTER *Egypt* had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and ſix years, c
MYCERINUS, or CHERINUS, (N) the ſon of *Cheops*, a ſerene and merciful
prince, aſcended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injuſtice of his father and his
uncle, he opened the temples, re-inſtituted the ſacrifices, and left the miſerable people
to the purſuit of their private affairs. His clemency is reported to have been ſuch,
that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard ſentence adjudged in a matter
of property, he would ſatisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loſs, out of
his own treaſure [q]. Whilſt he was thus intent upon the happineſs of his people, a

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

heavy misfortune fell upon him, meaning the death of his daughter. He mourned her
with great bitterneſs, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral : For cauſing an d
hollow wooden image of a cow to be made and richly gilt with gold, he therein
depoſited her body. This cow was never interred, but was expoſed in a magnificent
chamber of the palace in the city of *Sais* ; where they burned the moſt exquiſite odours
by day, and illuminated the place by night with a lamp. In a room contiguous to this
were twenty naked images of women, which the prieſts of *Sais* reported to have been
the concubines of *Mycerinus*. But, as it generally happens in caſes of remote anti-
quity, this was not the only report that was ſpread concerning this cow and theſe
ſtatues. A ſtory went, that *Mycerinus* falling in love with his daughter, forced
and deflowered her ; whereupon ſhe fell into a deep melancholy and hung her ſelf.
The twenty naked ſtatues in the next room, ſaid they, were her women, who had
been inſtrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural luſt, and therefore had e
their hands cut off by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands ; but our author,
who was an eye witneſs of theſe things, tells us they were dropped off with age, and
lay ſcattered upon the floor He tells us alſo, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture,
and as big as the largeſt living cow. Its neck and head were richly laid over with
gold, and between the horns there was a golden circle in imitation of the ſun, and its
body had a fine *Tyrian* carpet thrown over it. This ſepulchral image was removed
once a year from the apartment where it ſtood, and expoſed to the open day, in pur-
ſuance of a requeſt the deceaſed made to her father, that ſhe might behold the ſun
once every year.

The oracle at Butus *declares him to be ſhort liv'd.*

Now to return whence we digreſſed ; the death of his daughter was not the only f
misfortune that befel *Mycerinus* ; a more dreadful one enſued : For it was denoun-
ced againſt him from the oracle at *Butus*, that he had but ſix years more to live, and
that in the ſeventh he ſhould ſurely die. At this he was greatly troubled, and ſent
to expoſtulate with the oracle, and remonſtrated, that ſince his father and uncle, who
had been monſters of impiety and cruelty, had been bleſſed with great length of days,
it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of ſo rigid
a ſentence. To this it was anſwered ; That his father and uncle knew the decree of
fate, which had condemned the *Egyptians* to a hundred and fifty years of bondage and
miſery,

[m] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem ibid. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. See before, p. 184. * HEROD. ubi ſupr. See before, p. 185. [o] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr. P 57, 58. [q] Idem ibid. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

(N) The laſt cited chronologer calls him alſo *Cheres*, *Bicheres*, *Moſcheres*, *Menchere*.

misery, and acted conformably thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the course of their affliction, was the cause that he was so suddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreversible, he consulted how to make the most of the small remainder of his life; and, commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, he spent his whole time in drinking and revelling. So thence forward making no distinction between day and night, he roved about among the groves and the meadows, and wherever he heard of the most gay and sportive company. Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falshood, and instead of six, to live twelve years. Finally *Mycerinus* is said to have built a pyramid, which from the basis to the middle was *Ethiopian* stone; and on the northern front of it he inscribed his own name. This pyramid the *Greeks*, by a gross mistake, attributed to the courtezan *Rhodopis*, who flourished in the days of *Amasis*, several reigns lower [r].

Endeavours to convict the oracle of falshood.

We now proceed to Gnephacthus, the father of *Bocchoris* the wise. He is also named *Technatis* by *Plutarch* [s], and *Neochabis* by *Alexis*. What interval there was between him and *Mycerinus*, or whether any, does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abstinence, and for the execration he denounced against *Menes*. For it is recorded of him, that leading an army into *Arabia*, and travelling the vast and barren deserts, he there fell into great streights and want of provision: and being one day obliged to take up with the poor and slender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound sleep. This so delighted him, that he forbad all excess and luxury, and cursed Menes, who first introduced them: And so earnestly did he persecute the memory of this his predecessor, that, by the consent of the priests, he engraved his curse upon a pillar, which was seen in the temple at *Thebes*; from whence it came to pass, that the fair name of *Menes* was seen through a cloud by succeeding generations.

Forbids all luxury, and curses Menes.

Bocchoris, the son of *Gnephachthus*, was surnamed the wise. He was a despicable person to look at, but for prudence and wisdom far beyond any of his predecessors. He is reckoned the fourth *Egyptian* law-giver; but his laws [t] seem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were for their excellence retained many ages after his death; but his great qualities were somewhat debased by his propension to avarice [u]. So high was the veneration his subjects paid him, that they fabled *Isis* to have sent an asp to prevent his sight, that he might judge righteously [w]. However, he drew a general odium upon himself, by letting in a wild bull to the sacred one, called *Mnevis*; but this got the better, and killed his antagonist. At last, with all the equity of his judgment [x], and the purity of his mind, he is said to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive [y].

Bocchoris.

Asychis is by *Herodotus* placed next in order to *Mycerinus*; but in compliance with *Diodorus*, we have put two reigns between them, notwithstanding our full persuasion that *Bocchoris* and *Asychis* were the same king, as we shall take occasion to observe by and by: In the mean time it is recorded of *Asychis*, that he built the eastern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipsed the others. And finding that the riches of *Egypt*, were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the sepulchre of his father, and deposite the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor. And till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the sepulchre of his father, or in any other, nor put any of his descendants there. This king, to surpass all his predecessors, built him a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a very vaunting inscription [z].

Asychis

builds the eastern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a brick pyramid.

After *Asychis*, a blind man named Anysis, from a city of the same name, became King. In his reign *Sabbaco* king of *Ethiopia* broke into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and *Anysis* fled for shelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader [a].

Anysis.

But before we enter upon the reign of *Sabbaco*, let us take a cursory retrospect of these three last reigns, and perhaps we may find reason to think, that *Bocchoris* and *Asychis* are different names for one King, and that the blind man *Anysis* was his contemporary. For the law said to have been instituted by *Asychis* favours so much of *Bocchoris*'s genius as might incline one to think them but one man. And if it be true, that *Bocchoris* was burnt alive by *Sabbaco*, they must not

Bocchoris *and* Asychis *the same king, and contemporary to* Anysis, *and* Necas, *the father of* Psammitichus.

[r] Idem ibid. See before, p. 191. [s] De Iside & Osirid. [t] See before, p. 203. [u] Diod. l. 1. p. 59, 85. [w] Plut. περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, p. 529. [x] Ælian. de Anim. l. 11. c. 11. [y] Syncel. p. 74. [z] Herod. l. 2. See before, p. 185. [a] Herod. ubi supr.

not only have been ſo, but *Anyſis* muſt alſo have been king of another part of *Egypt* at the ſame time. Furthermore, it is declared by *Herodotus*, that NECUS, the father of *Pſammiticus*, was ſlain by the ſame *Ethiopian*[b]. Here we have three kings, if we may ſuppoſe *Necus* to have been of royal dignity, ſubdued by one and the ſame enemy, and all in *Egypt*. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of *Egypt* are placed in order of ſucceſſion, that were collateral, meerly out of oſtentation, and to ſupport the pretenſions the prieſts made to the exceſſive antiquity of their kingdom. a

Sabbaco *the* Ethiopian.

WE now return to SABBACO; and if it be true that he dealt ſo rigidly with *Bocchoris*, thoſe are ſurely right who ſuppoſe he began his reign with barbarity and cruelty towards others. But no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed firmly on the throne, than he became a new man; ſo that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the *So* in ſcripture, and to have entered into a league with *Hoſhea*, king of *Samaria*, againſt *Shalmannaſſar*, king of *Aſſyria*. He was excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream, or viſion, which aſſured him he ſhould hold *Egypt* fifty years; and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into *Ethiopia* again, reſigning his conquered kingdom. But whilſt he was in *Egypt*, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and yielded to none of his *Egyptian* predeceſſors in the art of governing. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned; commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which purely conſiſted in raiſing of mounts, and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of *Egypt* were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious than by *Seſoſtris*; and particularly the city of *Bubaſtis*, where ſtood a moſt delightful temple to the Goddeſs of the ſame name, whom the *Greeks* interpreted to be their *Diana*. At length *Sabbaco* had a viſion as he ſlept, wherein the tutelar god of *Thebes* admoniſhed him, that he could not hold the kingdom of *Egypt* with ſafety and happineſs, except he maſſacred the prieſts as he paſſed through them with his guards. This viſion he had at ſeveral repetitions; but, his heart abhorring ſo dreadful an undertaking, he ſent for the prieſts, and declared to them what the gods would have prompted him to, and that thereby he began to apprehend it was their pleaſure he ſhould remain no longer in *Egypt*; and that therefore with pure hands and a clear conſcience he would return into his native kingdom, rather than lie under the neceſſity of polluting his life by ſo general a bloodſhed, to preſerve himſelf on the throne of *Egypt*. And upon the whole, conſidering that the predicted fifty years were expired, he accordingly retired into his own country[c]. b c d

His firſt viſion.

His policy.

His ſecond viſion.

Anyſis *again.*

As ſoon as *Sabbaco* had departed the kingdom, *Anyſis* came out from his hiding-place, and reaſſumed the government. He had been abſent fifty years, and in that time had formed an iſland for his habitation, compoſed of aſhes and earth; for when any *Egyptian* came to him with proviſion, he always deſired that aſhes might be brought to him unknown to the *Ethiopian*. This iſland was called *Elbo*, and lay undiſcovered ſeven hundred years and upwards, till the reign of *Amyrtæus*. e

Sethon *king and prieſt.*

AFTER him there reigned one SETHON, who was both king and prieſt of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military claſs or order, but injuriouſly diveſted them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were ſo incenſed that they thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and entered into a combination not to bear arms under him, if he ſhould ever ſtand in need of them. But he, regardleſs of their threats and murmurs, gave himſelf wholly up to contemplation and the functions of religion. This was the ſtate of affairs when *Sennacherib* king of *Aſſyria* drew near to *Peluſium*, deſigning to enter *Egypt*. *Sethon* perceiving his danger, and that now his only truſt muſt be on the military order whom he had ſo unjuſtly dealt with, he ſought their aſſiſtance; but in vain: They obſtinately perſiſted in their refuſal to march under his banner. The prieſt, now deſtitute of all other advice and ſupport, repaired to his god, and in the utmoſt dejection of mind implored his aid. Whilſt he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep, during which it ſeemed to him that the god ſtood at his ſide, and exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed, that if he would but go out againſt the *Aſſyrians*, he ſhould obtain a compleat victory over them. Fraught with this viſion, he aſſembled together a promiſcuous body of artificers, ſhopkeepers, and labourers; and, with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards *Peluſium*. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow-ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps to pieces. f

This

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, p. 59.

a This is very conſonant to the prophecy of *Iſaiah*, if we may be allowed to inſert it here: *The king of* Aſſyria *ſhall not come into this City*, (meaning *Jeruſalem*) *nor ſhoot an* arrow *there, nor come before it with a* ſhield [d]. For *Sennacherib* (as ſhould ſeem) had broke up the Siege of *Jeruſalem* for a time to fall upon *Egypt*; but whether this *Sethon* be the ſame with *Tirhakah*, or *Sevechus*, is more than we can decide. But to return; when *Sethon* next morning found the enemy thus diſarmed, and moving off, he purſued them with a great ſlaughter. In memory of this miraculous Event, there was a ſtone ſtatue of this king erected in the temple of *Vulcan*, with a rat in one of his hands, and delivering theſe words from his mouth; *Whoſo beholdeth me, let him be pious* [e].

b A ſhort time after the death of *Sethon*, *Egypt* was (upon what motive is not preciſely known) divided into twelve kingdoms, and twelve of the chief *Egyptian* lords were appointed over them. Theſe twelve entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation for the public welfare. The mutual league between them was conceived in the more obligatory manner, and cemented by all the ſtricteſt ties that could poſſibly conduce to a perpetual union and harmony between them; becauſe it had been foretold by an oracle, upon their aſſuming the Government, that he of their number that ſhould perform a libation in a brazen cup would in time be king of all *Egypt*. This new regulation was attended with peace and happineſs, and the twelve kings reſolved to raiſe a monument, which might perpetuate their names to lateſt ages; and ac- *The twelve kings.*

c cordingly they raiſed the famous Labyrinth [f] near the lake *Mœris*. At length it came to paſs, that at a ſtated time they all met together to ſacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*, and being to offer a libation on the laſt day, the high prieſt, through miſtake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reſerved for the uſe of the twelve princes; and *Pſammitichus*, ſtanding the laſt in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of braſs (they all twelve wore the ſame), and performed his libation with that. This he did inadvertently; but it being obſerved by the reſt, they called to mind the oracle which promiſed him to be ſole king of *Egypt*, who ſhould happen to perform a libation in this place with a braſs bowl. Wherefore, though they were ſatisfied he had no ill intention, and for

d that reaſon would not ſentence him to die, yet they were unanimous for expelling him to the marſhy Country, and for diveſting him of the greateſt part of his diſtrict, and forbidding him to concern himſelf with the affairs of the public [g]. The reaſon of this diſcord is told differently by ſome, and the whole is attributed to envy: For at the diviſion of the country into twelve provinces, as has been obſerved, the ſea-coaſts fell to the lot of *Pſammitichus*; and he greatly encouraging all commerce with the *Grecians* and *Phœnicians*, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired alſo the favour and friendſhip of ſeveral foreign kings and nations, which drew on him the envy of his collegues; who, fearing he ſhould grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, reſolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all de-

e clared war againſt him; and he, finding himſelf unequal to the conflict, hired an army of mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and repelled force with force, and in the end ſubdued the other kings, and put an end to the *duodecemvirate* [h]. On the other hand it is related, that, in purſuance of his ſentence, he retreated to the fens; but, greatly reſenting the ſeverity of his uſage for ſo trifling a thing, in which he meant no harm, either preſent or future, he ſent to the oracle of *Latona* at the city of *Butus*, to know how, and when he might hope for redreſs: The anſwer he received was, That *Brazen* would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea and avenge his cauſe. This he received as a flat abſurdity: But not long after ſome *Ionian* and *Carian* pyrates landed in braſs armour. And an *Egyptian*, who had never ſeen men

f armed ſo before, going up to *Pſammitichus*, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had riſen out of the ſea, and were pillaging the land near the ſea-ſhore, he perceived that the oracle was come to paſs: Therefore, perſwading them to ſtay by the large promiſes he made them, if he ſucceeded; and joining to them ſuch *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, he ſubdued, and dethroned the eleven kings, and ſeized on the whole kingdom for himſelf [i]. It is ſaid, the deciſive battle was fought at *Moremphis*, and that ſome of the kings were ſlain, and others took refuge in *Afric*. Thus was the government by twelve diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted fifteen years [k].

HITHERTO

[d] 2 Kings xix. 32. [e] Herod. ubi ſupr. [f] See before, p. 193. [g] Herod. ibid.
[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. p. 60. [i] Herod. ubi ſupr. [k] Diod. ubi ſupr.

Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Christ, 670.

Psammitichus *Gives great encouragement to the* Greeks.

HITHERTO the *Egyptian* history has been covered with an impenetrable mist: it now begins to clear up a little. PSAMMITICHUS of the tribe of *Sais*, thus poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, reigned with as much wiſdom, magnanimity, and ſplendour as any of his predeceſſors. He was the ſon of *Nechus*, whom *Sabbaco* put to death when he conquered *Egypt*: and, had he not fled into *Syria*, would have ſhared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above preſented them with certain lands on each ſide of the *Nile*, and called their ſettlements *the Camp*. He alſo put ſeveral children under their tuition, that they might be inſtructed in the *Grecian* language; and thoſe who afterwards performed the office of interpreter deſcended from theſe. They had their ſituation near the ſea, below the city of *Bubaſtis* in the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*: and here they continued till *Amaſis* removed them to *Memphis*, as will be ſhewn in its proper place. However, it is here proper to obſerve, that theſe *Grecians* are ſaid to have been the firſt foreigners that were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*; and that from the intercourſe and correſpondence which was conſtantly kept up between them and their Countrymen in *Greece*, we are well aſſured of the truth and exactneſs of the *Egyptian* hiſtory from the days of *Pſammitichus*.

His public buildings.

CONCERNING the public edifices he erected, there is ſome diſcrepancy: *Herodotus* ſays, he added the ſouthern, and *Diodorus*, that he added the eaſtern portico to the Temple of *Vulcan*. The former ſays, that he built a ſpacious edifice oppoſite to this portico for the reception of the god *Apis* whenever he ſhould appear; and that it was enriched with ſculptures, and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues of twelve cubits high, inſtead of pillars. The latter, that he encompaſſed the temple with a wall, in which he ſubſtituted coloſſuſes inſtead of pilaſters [k].

His wars.

NOW in conſideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whoſe aid he ſeated himſelf on the throne, he always kept ſome of their countrymen in pay, and went ſo far as to compliment them with the poſt of honour, when he marched his army into *Syria*, where he warred many years. This ſo incenſed the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own ſubjects, he at firſt ſent ſome of the chief officers after them to excuſe the matter: but finding that their perſwaſions had no effect, he took ſhipping with ſome of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the *Nile*. And there entreating them to halt, in conſideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, their gods, and fireſides; they unanimouſly ſtruck their ſpears upon their ſhields, and cried out, that, as long as they had arms, they did not doubt but they ſhould find a convenient country to ſettle in: then betraying their nakedneſs, that they ſhould never want wives and children whilſt they were ſo perfect. This done, they ſullenly marched on till they came into the territories of *Ethiopia*, where they ſat down on a fertile ſpot, and dwelt there.

Opens the ports of Egypt *to ſtrangers.*

TO repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers, whom he greatly careſſed, contrary to the cruel or reſerved maxims of his predeceſſors. At the ſame time that he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he alſo entered into, or renewed an alliance, with the *Athenians*, and others of the *Greeks* [l]. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, on the borders of *Egypt*, and which a ſhort time before had been taken by *Aſar-haddon*, king of *Babylon*; for it was twenty nine years before he reduced it [m]. His conduct towards the *Scythians*, who about this time conquered the *Medes*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aſia*, and were now marching with deſign to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, is highly commended: For, inſtead of oppoſing them, he joined them in *Syria*, and by his preſents and intreaties prevailed on them to march back again [n]. After a reign of fifty four years [o] he died, and was buried in the temple of *Bubaſtis*, or *Minerva*, at *Sais*, the place where all the *Saitic* kings were depoſited. He is reported to have been the firſt king of *Egypt* that drank wine [p], to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the *Nile* [q], and to have made an experiment to find out which was the moſt antient nation in the world: to which purpoſe, he got two new-born children, and brought them up after ſuch a manner that they never heard any body ſpeak; and becauſe when at two years old they pronounced a word *(beccos)* which ſignified bread

His ſiege of Azotus, *and tranſaction with the* Scythians.

[k] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 61. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HEROD. ubi. ſupr. [n] Idem l. 1. [o] Idem l. 2. [p] Eudox. apud PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 333. [q] HEROD. ubi ſupr. & ATHENÆUS, l. 8. p. 345.

bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, the *Egyptians* no longer vaunted of their seniority before all other nations, but submitted to the *Phrygians* [r]. Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Christ, 616.

NECHUS was the son and successor of PSAMMITICHUS. He is the *Pharaoh-Necho* of scripture. He was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and sea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* [s]; and after the loss of 120,000 of those employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to desist, and leave the finishing of it to a *Barbarian*, or foreigner. The oracle he obeyed; but thenceforward turning his thoughts towards warlike enterprizes, he built a fleet of gallies in the northern [*mediterranean*] sea, and another in the straits of the *Arabian* gulph, where footsteps of his naval preparations were seen many ages afterwards. The warlike actions of this naval force, if any, are no where extant; but, as his mind was bent upon the empire of the sea, he sent some of the experteſt *Phœnician* mariners he could procure to go out upon a discovery of the *African* coasts. Accordingly, sailing out of the *Red Sea* through the straits of *Babelmandel*, as now called, they steered down the eastern shores of *Afric*; and doubling the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, coasted up northward, till they came to the straits of *Gibraltar*; by which they entered into the *Mediterranean*, and so returned into *Egypt*; and this voyage they performed in three years [t]. Nechus. *Affects the empire of the sea.*

HE was not only great at sea, but was also formidable by land. *Josephus* following *Ctesias* says, that he made war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; who had just then dissolved the *Assyrian* monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near [u]: but the scripture expressly says, that he went out against the king of *Assyria*, who was then on the river *Euphrates*, perhaps at *Babylon*. In his march thither, *Josiah* king of *Judah*, refused to let him pass through *Judæa*, and drew up an army to prevent his design, which was to besiege *Carchemish* [w]. Finding therefore that *Josiah* opposed him, he sent messengers to him to remonstrate, that his arms were not taken up with design to do *Josiah* the least prejudice; that the war, he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the express command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withstanding its decree. But, finding that *Josiah* gave no ear to this, he resolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of *Megiddo* (or *Magdolus*, as *Herodotus* has it [x]), *Josiah* was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and *Necho* held on his march [y]. He arrived on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and there overthrew the king of *Assyria*, and took the great city of *Carchemish*; where he lodged a sufficient garrison, and after three months returned towards *Egypt* [z]. As he drew near to *Jerusalem*, he heard that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be king; and sending him an order to meet him at *Riblah* in *Syria*, he there bound him in chains, and sent him away prisoner to *Egypt*. After which he went to *Jerusalem*, and made *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, king over *Judah*, imposing on him at the same time a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold [a]. And thus he became master of *Judæa* and *Syria*. *Herodotus* says, that he took the great and mountainous city of *Cadytis* in *Palestine*, which is very rationally understood to mean *Jerusalem*. It is plain *Nechus* was there; but it is almost as plain that he entered it in a peaceful manner [b]. Hitherto then he was successful in his wars, by which he weakened the declining power of *Assyria*; which very soon after ceased to give name to a monarchy: and in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is said to have consecrated the garments he wore in these actions to *Apollo*, and sent them to *Branchis* in the land of the *Milesians* [c]. *His wars at land.*

BUT he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions; for, about three years afterwards, *Nebuchadnezzar* came from *Babylon*, which, in conjunction with *Media*, had subverted the *Assyrian* empire, designing to drive the *Egyptians* from *Carchemish*, and recover the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* provinces, which *Necho* had subdued [d]. But he, no way daunted at the formidable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the *Euphrates* with a very numerous army, against *Nebuchadnezzar*; but in the end *Necho* was routed with a terrible slaughter, and lost *Carchemish*, and all *Syria* and *Judæa*, quite home to *Pelusium* [e]. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with *Jehoiakim*, *His turn of fortune.*

[r] HEROD. ubi supr. [s] See before. [t] Idem ibid. [u] JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 10. c. 6. [w] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxv. ver. 20. [x] HEROD. ubi supr. [y] 2 Chron. xxxv. JOSEPHUS Antiq. ubi supr. [z] Idem ibid. [a] 2 Kings xxiii. [b] Vide PRIDEAUX Connect. p. 56, 57. HEROD. ubi supr. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Jerem. xlvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 9. [e] JOSEPHUS ubi supr.

Year of the Flood, 2399. Year before Christ, 600. Pſammis.

Jehoiakim, and made as if he intended to renew the war againſt the *Babylonians*; but a
he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor ſtirred out of *Egypt*; and died about eight
years after he had been defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar* [f], having reigned ſixteen, and left
his ſon *Pſammis* to ſucceed him in the kingdom [g].

IN the reign of PSAMMIS the ſon of *Necho* there came ambaſſadors into *Egypt* from
the *Elæans*, to know, if the moſt ſage *Egyptians* could add any thing to their regula-
tions concerning the olympic games, or could perceive any defect in them. When
the king was informed of their buſineſs, he called a council of the wiſeſt heads in the
nation; and ſending for the ambaſſadors to come before this aſſembly, he aſked them,
if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games: to which they anſwered
in the affirmative. Whereupon the *Egyptians* pronounced, that they erred from all b
the rules of hoſpitality; obſerving, that it was natural for them to favour their fellow-
citizens more than ſtrangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what
ought, or ought not to be done, in the matter they had propoſed, the moſt equitable
law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none
but ſtrangers to contend for the prizes. *Pſammis* reigned ſix years, and died in an
expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, leaving his ſon *Apries* to ſucceed him [h].

Year of the Flood, 2405. Year before Chriſt, 594. Apries.

His affairs with the Jews.

APRIES is the *Pharaoh-hophra* of ſcripture. The firſt of his reign was great and
proſperous; the laſt inſolent and miſerable. In the firſt year of his reign he received
ambaſſadors from *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and with them he entered into league,
promiſing to aſſiſt their king againſt the king of *Babylon* [i]; and about two years after- c
wards marched out of *Egypt* with ſeeming intent to relieve *Jeruſalem*, then cloſely
beſieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no ſooner heard of his motions than he raiſed the
ſiege, and reſolved to meet *Apries* half way [k]. He did ſo; but the *Egyptians*, afraid
of venturing a battle, retreated as faſt as the *Babylonians* approached, and ſo continued
till they had fallen back into their own country [l], leaving the *Jews* to the mercileſs
rage of their enemy, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements. And for this
breach of faith it was, that *Ezekiel* denounced the heavy doom againſt them, that
they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for forty years enſuing [m]; and that afterwards
they ſhould degenerate to ſo baſe a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to
ſet up a king of their own for the time to come [n]; which will be ſeen accompliſhed d
in the courſe of this hiſtory. The ſcriptures paint him in very diſadvantageous colours,
and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which came to paſs, as we ſhall
ſee anon. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to take notice, that *Herodotus* gives
this king twenty five years of greater proſperity than any of his predeceſſors, except
Pſammitichus, had enjoyed; though *Diodorus* allows his whole reign no more than
twenty two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a
martial prince, and ſpeak of ſucceſsful wars which he waged, both by ſea and land,
His victories. againſt the *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots* [o]. The city of *Sidon* he took by
ſtorm, and vanquiſhed both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſea-fight; and returned
with immenſe ſpoil into *Egypt* [p]. And all this no way claſhes with what the ſacred e
writings record of him; but is rather conſonant therewith: For ſure it muſt have
been a mighty king, in whom the *Jews* dared to confide againſt the monarch of
Babylon? And as to the feint *Apries* made to relieve *Jeruſalem* and his ſhameful re-
treat, that rather reflected diſhonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune.

BUT now, in order to harmonize the ſacred and prophane hiſtorians, let us hear the
former denounce judgment againſt him, and then ſee how the latter execute it;
which is the moſt obvious and diſtinct method we can think of in this caſe, where
we are obliged to reſort to both. We have already in general terms obſerved, that
the ſcripture threatened this king with a violent death, let us attend to the words of
the prophet himſelf: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold I will give* Pharaoh-hophra *king of
Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life; as I gave
Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon his enemy, and
that ſought his life* [q]. Many predictions of the ſame kind are uttered againſt him in
Ezekiel, but there he is only involved with the reſt of his ſubjects, and therefore we
ſhall paſs them over. We are now to ſee how his deſtruction was brought about.
The *Cyrenæans*, a colony of the *Greeks*, had a very numerous acceſſion of their country-
men under their third king *Battus the happy*; and, being impelled by an oracle from
the *Pythians*, fell to ſharing the lands, and unjuſtly driving the *Libyans*, their neigh-
bours, from their poſſeſſions, their king *Andicran* ſent an embaſſy of ſubmiſſion to *Apries*,
and

[f] 2 Kings xxiv. 9. JOSEPHUS ubi ſupr. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Ezek. xvii. 15. [k] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [l] Idem ibid. c. 7. [m] Ezek. xxix. [n] Idem xxx. 13. [o] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 62. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Jerem. xliv. 30.

a and implored his protection from the violence of theſe new comers. *Apries* condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent a powerful army to relieve him. But the *Egyptians* were beaten by the *Cyrenæans* with ſo cruel a ſlaughter, that the few who eſcaped were incenſed with the fierceſt rage againſt their king, as if he had ſent them to certain deſtruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize at will over the remainder of his ſubjects. What ground there was for this clamour does not appear, but the giddy multitude were ſo taken with it, that almoſt an univerſal defection enſued. Upon news that they were embodied in a tumultuous manner, and were talking loud of a revolution, *Apries* ſent a truſty friend, as he thought, and one much reſpected by the people, called *Amaſis*, to appeaſe them. He went; but inſtead *The cauſe of his ruin.*

Is betrayed by Amaſis.

b of reconciling them with *Apries*, he made intereſt with them for himſelf; and as he was pretending to reproach them, and recall them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and ſaluted him king of *Egypt*; and from that inſtant he prepared himſelf to war againſt his maſter[r]. *Apries* finding himſelf ſo foully betrayed, commanded one *Patarbemis*, the moſt conſiderable of all the *Egyptians*, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring *Amaſis* to him alive. He obeyed; and coming in ſight of *Amaſis*, called out to him, and charged him to attend on him to the king. At this, *Amaſis*, who was ſitting on horſeback, lifted up his thigh with the utmoſt ſcorn, and breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his maſter. Notwithſtanding this, *Patarbemis* ſtill urged him to

c obey the royal ſummons; but all he could obtain was this anſwer from *Amaſis*, That indeed he had been ſome time preparing to viſit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a ſuitable equipage along with him. *Patarbemis* had now heard and ſeen too much to imagine he ſhould ſucceed in the buſineſs he was charged with, and began to think, that the beſt ſervice he could do for *Apries*, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the moſt early notice of the poſture and temper of the rebels. He therefore returned back; but when the king ſaw him come into his preſence without *Amaſis*, he ſpoke not one word to him, but ordered his ears and noſe to be cut off. This inſolent and tyrannical behaviour compleated his ruin: for when the reſt of the *Egyptians*, who had continued faithful to him, beheld

d the inhuman mutilation of ſo worthy and noble a perſon, they all withdrew from him and went over to *Amaſis*. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the uſurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only ſuch *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other mercenaries and foreigners he could engage in his ſervice[s].

DURING theſe inteſtine broils, and theſe diviſions, which muſt have greatly weakened *Egypt*, it is probable, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years ſiege of *Tyre*, and had at laſt nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled ſtate of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire ſuch ſpoil as might make amends for what he miſſed at *Tyre*. And this is perfectly conſonant

e to the ſcripture, where it is ſaid; *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus .....yet had he no wages nor his army for Tyrus .... Therefore, ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon .....and it ſhall be the wages for his army*[t]. A nation in ſuch diſtraction, as *Egypt* muſt have been in at this time, was an eaſy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and beſides, muſt have been in the moſt proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the *Babylonians* doubtleſs were. *Nebuchadnezzar* therefore entered *Egypt*, and miſerably harraſſed the country, and ſlew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; ſo that ſome think it did not recover this incurſion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the country;

f but whether he appointed *Amaſis* for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to ſay; no more than whether *Amaſis* and *Apries* ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy; or whether they left him to act his pleaſure in *Egypt*. This alone is certain, that the *Babylonian* carried away immenſe ſpoil with him.

Nebuchadnezzar waſtes and plunders Egypt.

AND now we reſume the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devaſtation of the country by a foreign enemy. *Apries* marched from *Sais*, where he had a moſt ſumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 *Carians* and *Ionians*; and *Amaſis*, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of *Egyptians*[u]. They met in the fields near *Memphis*; and *Apries* was ſo far from

Civil war between Apries *and* Amaſis.

[r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr.
[s] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr.
[t] Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.

from doubting the victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, That it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom [w], as he is upbraided by the prophet, *the river is mine, and I have made it* [x]. But his confidence availed him nothing; the armies drew up at *Memphis*, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet they were overpowered by the multitude of the *Egyptians*, and were utterly overthrown, and *Apries* himself was taken prisoner. a

Year of the Flood, 2430. Year before Christ, 569. Amasis.

AND now AMASIS of the tribe of *Sais* usurped the kingdom. He confined *Apries* in the palace of *Sais*, formerly his own; and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst *Apries* enjoyed his life *: and therefore murmuring against *Amasis*, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering *Apries* into their hands. And now, being fallen under the power of those who *sought his life* [y], they strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of *Minerva*, adjoining to the palace, on the left hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of *Sais* were intombed [z]. b

Apries is strangled.

WE know it is said, that *Amasis* did not thus seat himself on the throne; and that he did not succeed *Apries*. It was one *Partamis*, say they, whom *Amasis* succeeded, and that, by the following incident. *Partamis* celebrating his birth-day, *Amasis*, as yet a private person, presented him with a most beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: whereupon being invited to the table as a guest, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends; he was at last sent at the head of an army to reduce the *Egyptians* who had rebelled; but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to *Partamis* [a]. We are inclined to think, that the *Partamis* here and the *Patarbemis* above are the same man; and if so, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this, and shall only say, that our author, in which we find this, is not always the most faithful transcriber. c

WHOEVER *Amasis* succeeded, and which way soever he came by the crown, it is commonly allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And perceiving at first, that it was with reluctance the people payed him the respect due to the sublimity of his station, he took a golden cistern, in which his guests were used to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and cast in the shape of a god. This precious idol was set up in the most frequented part of the city; and all paid devout reverence and honour to it. He then called an assembly of the *Egyptians*, and acquainted them, That the god they now worshipped was made of the vessel in which they had often pissed, vomited, and washed their feet: that his own case was the same; formerly he was a mean person, but, being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as such. It was a rule with him to attend closely to business every morning, and to divert himself with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: but his mirth was somewhat of too low an allay for a king; at which some of his friends were scandalized, and assured him, that such forgetfulness of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his subjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly lose much of its spring and energy, and in the end be wholly useless; so a man, who should uninterruptedly, attend upon serious matters, would grow stupid and lose his senses: and being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between business and diversion. And indeed it is said of him, that when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jest; and was so averse to business, that he supported himself in his riot and luxury by thieving. And in consequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accused, and continually denying his guilt, they were used to carry him to the oracle of the place, wherever he was, by which he was sometimes convicted, and sometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former transactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulness and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he slighted the temples of such gods, abstained from their sacrifices, and refused to present them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered those for veracity and omniscience, who had charged him with his odious crime. d e f

The public works of Amasis.

HE built a portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, which was of the utmost magnificence, both in the vastness of its proportion, and the massiveness of the materials, adorning it with colossuses, and the monstrous images of *Androsphynges*. Part of the stones of this building were taken out of the quarries at *Memphis*; but the largest of them g

[w] HEROD. ubi supr. [x] Ezek. xxix. 3. [*] PLATO in Tim. [y] Jerem. ubi supr.
[z] HEROD. ubi supr. [a] HELLANIC. apud Athenæ *Deipn.* l. 15. p. 680.

a them came by water from the city of *Elephantis*, twenty days paſſage on the river, and a great many of theſe he prepared for other works. But what is moſt to be admired, he removed a houſe all of one ſtone from the ſame city to *Sais*. The exterior dimenſions of it were twenty one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high: the interior meaſures were eighteen cubits, twelve, and five. Two thouſand mariners were employed three years in tranſporting this extraordinary edifice. It ſtood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was ſaid, becauſe the chief engineer ſighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work, and therefore *Amaſis*, who ſtood by, taking offence, would never ſuffer him to have any thing more to do with it; or, becauſe rolling it in towards the temple, one of the b men was cruſhed to death by it, and therefore might not be advanced any further. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he beſtowed upon the other celebrated temples, and particularly at *Memphis*; where, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he cauſed a coloſſus of ſeventy five foot in length to be laid on its back, the face looking upwards: and on the ſame baſis, or pavement, whereon this lay, he erected two ſtatues of twenty foot high, cut out of the ſame ſtone, and ſtanding one on each ſide of the great one. In *Sais* there was juſt ſuch another coloſſus as this. To conclude on this head, he built the great temple of *Iſis* at *Memphis*.

The ſtate of Egypt *under him and his laws.*

Moreover, *Egypt* is ſaid to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the fecundation of the *Nile*, and to have now contained no leſs than 20,000 populous cities. c And, that good order might the better ſubſiſt in the midſt of ſo vaſt a multitude, *Amaſis* enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province by what means he earned his living, and in default thereof to ſuffer death; which alſo was the puniſhment now ordained for thoſe who were not able to give a very ſatisfactory account of themſelves [b]: and for this, and for other laws he enacted, he is ſtiled the fifth law-giver of *Egypt* [c].

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

He was a great friend to the *Greeks*, and had a viſit from *Solon* *. And, beſides the favours he conferred on particular perſons and cities of that nation, he allowed as many as pleaſed to come into *Egypt*, and either to ſettle in the moſt celebrated mart of *Naucratis*, or drive on their trade upon the ſea-coaſts; and granted them places d where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected ſeveral temples, the moſt frequented and noted of which was called the *Grecian* temple, being built at the joint charge of the *Ionian* cities of *Chio*, *Teos*, *Phocæa*, and *Clazomene*; together with the *Dorians* of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, *Phaſelis*; and of the *Æolians* only the city of *Mytelene*. Thoſe of *Ægina* alſo built a temple to *Jupiter* at their ſole expence; the *Samians* another to *Juno*, and the *Mileſians*, a third to *Apollo*. And to conclude, the *Greeks* elected officers to preſide over their commercial affairs, and over their religion, and from henceforward were a conſiderable body in *Egypt*.

Marries a Greek.

So great was the fame of *Amaſis* for his generoſity and humanity, that when the e *Delphians*, whoſe temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raiſe ſuch a contribution, as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was impoſed on them, they applied not only to the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, but alſo to *Amaſis* himſelf, who gave them a thouſand talents of alom. He made an alliance with the *Cyrenæans*, and being deſirous of a *Grecian* woman, or elſe willing to give an ample teſtimony of the affection he had for that people, he married *Ladice*, the daughter of *Battus*, according to ſome; but others ſaid, ſhe was daughter of *Arceſilaus*; and others again, of *Critobulus*, a perſon of high authority among the *Cyrenæans*. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be conſummated without the intervention of a deity. For *Amaſis*, though he at the ſame time found no f impediment in himſelf with regard to other women, was ſenſible of a total inability in reference to his wife. Whereupon he, after ſome time, concluded, ſhe had inchanted him, and practiſed ſome infernal art to debilitate him; and therefore told her one night as they lay together, That as deeply verſed as ſhe was in ſupernatural contrivances, ſhe ſhould not have it in her power to eſcape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the wickedneſs and ingratitude ſhe had been guilty of towards him. She earneſtly denied the unkind accuſation, and endeavoured to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this diſtreſs ſhe ſighed out a prayer to *Venus*, *A miracle.* and implored her aid, vowing, in caſe of deliverance, to ſend a ſtatue of her to *Cyrene*, and erect it there. The goddeſs was propitious, and *Amaſis* found himſelf like other g men (the only expedient that could be effectual in this extremity), and continued to uſe

[b] See before, p, 202. Herod. ubi ſupr. [c] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 85. * Herod. lib. 2.

use *Ladice* as his wife, with the greatest tenderness and affection. *Ladice* performed her vow to the goddess, whose statue set up by her was seen without the gates of *Cyrene* some ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtless called, brought the gods of the *Grecians* into as much credit with *Amasis* as themselves; as should seem by his consecrated donations to *Greece*. To the city of *Cyrene* he sent a gilded statue of *Minerva*, and his own picture done from the life. To the city of *Lindus* he gave two stone statues of the same goddess, with a linen pectoral, or stomacher, wonderfully wrought and adorned. To *Samos* he sent two wooden images of himself, which were seen standing, several ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of *Juno*. This donation he made to *Samos* for the sake of *Polycrates*, with whom he was in especial alliance. As for *Lindus*, it was reported, that the daughters of *Danaus* founded the temple of *Minerva* there, when they fled from the sons of *Egyptus*. And add to all the great things which have been hitherto said of him, he was the first that subdued *Cyprus*, and that exacted tribute from the *Cypriots* its inhabitants [d].

His consecrated donations to Greece.

Conquers Cyprus.

HITHERTO we have represented this reign in the majestic colours the *Egyptian* priests bestowed on it; and under so prudent a prince, as it is likely *Amasis* was, the greatest part of what they said may be true enough: but they dwelt so much on the glory of this reign, as well as of those that preceded it, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. *Xenophon* writes, that *Cyrus* conquered *Egypt* [e]; and if so, it must have been during this long reign; and *Herodotus* says, that *Amasis* and *Crœsus* were leagued together against *Cyrus* [f]. It is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar* almost ruined the whole kingdom; but we find no acknowledgment of it among prophane authors, who, so far as they have touched upon the *Egyptians*, have copied their archives, or depended upon the oral traditions of their priests. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their dishonour, they frankly confessed it. For, according to themselves, the latter days of *Amasis* were darkened by a dreadful storm, which threatened the utter ruin of *Egypt*; and, though he died just soon enough to escape the rage of it, yet his dead body was so cruelly abused and destroyed, that could he have been sensible of the hard fate he was doomed to in that particular, he, according to the *Egyptian* superstition, would have thought the loss of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it.

His latter days unhappy,

FOR by some means or other *Amasis* had incensed *Cambyses* the *Persian* (who was naturally a rash and hot-headed prince) against him to so implacable a degree, as has scarce its parallel in the history of any nation. The seeds from whence this enmity sprang are not positively, nor perhaps at all, known to us. On one hand it is said, That *Amasis* sending an *Egyptian* oculist to *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, who had desired to have the best in his kingdom; the man, whose fortune it was to be chosen by the king for this purpose, took it much at heart, that he should be thus as it were exiled from his wife and children, and sent into *Persia*; and especially since *Cyrus* had desired the best oculist in *Egypt*, which he was conscious was not himself. The angry *Egyptian* continuing in *Persia*, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of *Cambyses*, prevailed on him to send an herald to *Amasis*, to demand his daughter to wife, assured, that whether *Amasis* complied with this request or not, he should have his full measure of revenge on him. *Cambyses* hearkened to this man, and did as he had suggested. When the *Persian* herald came to *Amasis* he knew not which way to resolve: he dreaded the *Persian* power if he refused, and was ashamed of the dishonour which must be reflected on his family if he complied, knowing, that instead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the *Persian*'s concubine. At last he bethought him, that his predecessor was survived by an only daughter, of great beauty and majestic deportment, called *Nitetis*. Her therefore he sent, with all the pomp and splendor befitting his own daughter, to *Cambyses* in *Persia*; who, when he saw her, saluted her by the title of daughter to *Amasis*. To this she immediately answered, that *Amasis* had deceived him; that she was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate *Apries*, whom *Amasis* had put to death, and whose throne he had ungratefully usurped. At this *Cambyses* was fired with indignation, and vowed destruction to *Amasis*. This was the story the *Persians* told: but this is not likely to be true; for at this time *Nitetis* must have been somewhat upwards of forty years old, or at least near it; and therefore but ill qualified for the bed of *Cambyses*. But secondly, the *Egyptians*, to give themselves some credit, even in this destructive misunderstanding, claimed kindred with *Cambyses*, and said, that it was *Cyrus* who sent for the daughter of *Amasis*, and that *Cambyses* was the son of *Nitetis*. This may give

and ruin.

[d] HEROD. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr. [e] CYROPÆDIA sub fine. [f] HEROD. l. 1.

give a better account of the dreadful malice he wrecked upon *Amaſis*, in revenge of his unhappy grand-father *Apries*; which, as is ſaid, he was excited to by his mother. But *Herodotus* declares it was contrary to the cuſtom of the *Perſians* to admit of a ſon of the half-blood to ſucceed as heir to the kingdom. Thirdly, it was reported, that a *Perſian* lady being admitted to the preſence of the king's women, and admiring the children of *Caſſandana*, was anſwered by her, That notwithſtanding ſhe was the wife of *Cyrus* and the mother of thoſe fine children, yet he neglected her, and preferred an *Egyptian* ſervant, meaning *Nitetis*, before her: which *Cambyſes* her eldeſt ſon, at that time but ten years of age, hearing, told her, that when he came to be a man he would for her ſake ruin all *Egypt*. This, ſay they, he remembered, and acted accordingly. But, notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, we chooſe to think with Dr. *Prideaux*, that *Amaſis* having ſubjected himſelf a *tributary* to *Cyrus*, upon his death withdrew his obedience from his ſucceſſor. Having thus laid before you the ſeveral cauſes of this war, as we find them, we leave *Cambyſes* to his preparation for it, and return to *Amaſis*.

Amaſis is betrayed by Phanes *of* Halicarnaſſus.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*, a commander of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, in the pay of *Amaſis*, took ſome private diſguſt, and embarked from *Egypt* to go into *Perſia*. He was a prudent counſellor, and a valiant captain, and perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to *Egypt*; and beſides, had great credit with the *Greeks* in theſe dominions. *Amaſis* was immediately ſenſible how great the loſs of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to ſtrengthen the hands of *Cambyſes*, or any prince elſe, who ſhould undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haſte he ſent a truſty eunuch with a ſwift galley to purſue him; and he was taken in *Lycia*. However, he was not brought back to *Egypt*; for making his guard drunk, he continued his way to *Perſia*, and preſented himſelf to *Cambyſes*, as he was meditating the downfal of *Egypt*, which he forwarded by his counſel and diſcoveries, as *Amaſis* had dreaded [g].

Makes Polycrates *his enemy.*

WE have already obſerved, that there had been an eſpecial harmony between *Amaſis* and *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*; but, a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, *Polycrates*, when occaſion offered, joined *Cambyſes* againſt his former *Egyptian* ally. For *Amaſis*, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted ſucceſſes and depredations of this *Samian*, feared, that in the end ſome heavy diſaſter would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore ſent him this letter, adviſing him as follows: *Amaſis* to *Polycrates* ſpeaketh thus.... *It is with pleaſure I hear of the happy ſtate of my friend and ally. Nevertheleſs I fear for thy great proſperities, knowing the unſtableneſs of fortune. For my part, I ſhould rather chooſe, that my affairs and thoſe alſo of my friends ſhould be ſometimes proſperous, and ſometimes unhappy, than have them go on with continued ſucceſs. Therefore do thou now harken to my counſel, and do as I ſhall bid thee, to take away from thy happineſs: conſider then with thyſelf what thou poſſeſſeſt of greateſt value to thyſelf; and what would the moſt bitterly grieve thee if loſt: and when thou haſt found it, caſt it away from thee, ſo that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happineſs, after this, knoweth no mixture of evil, preſerve thyſelf againſt the ſorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have ſhewn thee.* When *Amaſis* heard that *Polycrates* had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable ſignet into the ſea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored to him; he gave him over as the moſt unhappy of men, and dreading to partake as a friend in ſome diſmal calamity, which he feared muſt befal him, he diſpatched a herald to *Samos* to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and *Polycrates*, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the ſorrow of a friend [h]. *Amaſis*, by thus diſſolving the cement of this conjunction, left *Polycrates* to act againſt him, if his inclination led him ſo to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ſhips to *Cambyſes* to aſſiſt him in his invaſion of *Egypt*. Thus we ſee *Amaſis* in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and moſt powerful enemy, in concert with a diſguſted and formidable friend. But before the dreadful day came his life ended, after he had reigned forty four years. His dead body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre he had built for himſelf in the temple at *Sais*; but there, to ſpeak in the antient *Egyptian* phraſe, he enjoyed but a ſhort repoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, called *Pſammenitus*.

His death.

Year of the Flood, 2474.
Year before Chriſt, 525.

THIS following reign, in which *Egypt* ſubmitted to a foreign yoke, was of very ſhort duration, and deeply calamitous. For PSAMMENITUS the ſon of *Amaſis* was

Pſammenitus.

[g] HEROD. l. 2. [h] Idem l. 3.

was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was forced to put himſelf at the head a
of an army, with which he marched to *Peluſium*, and there encamped to receive
the *Perſian*, who now drew near to vent his fury upon *Egypt*. Under this new
king a fearful prodigy happened: ſhowers of rain fell at *Thebes*, where it had never
been known to rain before. This was doubtleſs conſtrued to portend a change, and
a great one ſoon followed it: for now *Cambyſes*, by the aid and aſſiſtance of the king
of *Arabia*, and the politic counſel of *Phanes*, had croſſed the dry and ſandy deſarts,
and coming in ſight of the *Egyptian* camp, immediately drew up to give them battle.
The *Egyptians* prepared themſelves for an aſſault, and in the interim their *Carian* and
Ionian auxiliaries gave a dreadful inſtance of their zeal in the cauſe of *Pſammenitus*, and
deteſtation of their traiterous countryman *Phanes*. For they lead his ſons he had left b
He is over-thrown by Cambyſes. behind him out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, which received their
blood in ſight of the father and his new friends; and pouring wine and water into the
ſame, drank off of that cruel and unnatural mixture, and then began the onſet. The
fight was obſtinately maintained on both ſides; but in the end the *Egyptians* gave
ground and fled in great confuſion to *Memphis*. Here they ſoon after were guilty of
a horrid and imprudent outrage towards a herald, whom *Cambyſes* ſent to them in a
ſhip of *Mytelene*; for they no ſooner ſaw her come into the port than they flocked
down to the ſhore, and deſtroyed the ſhip, and tore the *Perſian* herald and all the crew
to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not
Taken priſoner, and loſes his kingdom. long after, they were cloſely beſieged by the *Perſians*, and in the end obliged to c
ſurrender: and ſo fell the glory of *Egypt*. The news of this ſtruck ſuch a terror
upon the minds of the *Libyans*, *Cyrenæans*, and *Barcæans*, that they humbled them-
ſelves to *Cambyſes*, and implored his protection.

Upon the tenth day after *Memphis* had been taken *Pſammenitus* and the chief of the
Egyptian nobility were ſent ignominiouſly into the ſuburbs of that city, to act a part
The particulars of his captivity. in one of the moſt doleful tragedies that can be conceived: for, being there ſeated
in a proper place, he ſaw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor ſlave,
with a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the
greateſt families in *Egypt*, all in the ſame miſerable garb, and going on the ſame
errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and wailing with the utmoſt la- d
mentation. When the fathers ſaw their children in this diſtreſs, and reduced to ſo
ſordid a degradation, they burſt out into tears, and could not contain themſelves, all
but *Pſammenitus*, who, though ready to ſink under the burthen of his grief, only
threw his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. Theſe paſt by; came the
ſon of *Pſammenitus* and two thouſand of the chief *Egyptian* youths, all with bits in
their mouths, and halters round their necks, going to be executed, to expiate the
murder of the *Perſian* herald and *Mytelenæan* ſailors. But *Pſammenitus*, like one
perfectly ſtupified, as they paſſed by, obſerved the very ſame conduct as before,
whilſt the *Egyptians* about him cried out with the loudeſt lamentations. A ſhort
ſpace afterwards he ſaw an intimate friend and companion, who, now that he was e
advanced in years, was plundered of all he had, and walking up and down the ſuburbs
begging his bread. As ſoon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and calling
out to him by his name, ſtruck himſelf on the head as one frantic. Now *Pſammeni-
tus* had ſpies privately ſet over him to mark his behaviour, and they inſtantly re-
paired to *Cambyſes*, and gave him a particular account of it; and ſoon after a meſ-
ſenger came from him to the captive king to know what might be the reaſon of it.
To this he anſwered, "That the calamities of his own family confounded him, and
"were too great to be lamented by any outward ſigns of grief; but the diſtreſſed
"neceſſity of a boſom friend gave him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted
"tears from him. By this anſwer he wrought ſo much upon *Cambyſes*, that he ſent to f
ſtop the execution of his ſon; but his orders were given too late; for the young prince
was the firſt put to death. At the ſame time *Pſammenitus* himſelf was ſent for into
the city, and reſtored to his liberty: and had he not betrayed a deſire of change and
revenge, he might have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of *Egypt*; but being
vindictively diſpoſed, he was ſeized, and condemned to drink bull's blood [i]; and ſo
and death. ended his life after a diſmal reign of ſix months, and a ſhort captivity; and with him
died the antient ſplendor and liberty of *Egypt*.

The dead body of Amaſis *burnt; and the god* Apis *ſlain.* The *Egyptians* now felt the heavy preſſure of conqueſt in a very extraordinary man-
ner. They ſaw their late king *Amaſis* inhumanly taken out of his tomb, and cruelly
mangled, and finally burnt. They ſaw their god *Apis* ſlain, and their prieſts ig- g
nominiouſly

[i] Herod. lib. 2.

nominiouſly ſcourged; all which made ſuch dreadful impreſſions on the minds of the whole nation, that they afterwards bore a moſt uncommon averſion to the *Perſians*, and never reſted eaſy under their dominion.

THUS were the *Egyptians* reduced to the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the moſt outragious manner; and themſelves perſecuted and deſpiſed for the profeſſion they made of it. Egypt *a province of the* Perſian *empire.*

A PEOPLE, who had been bred up to ſuch a ſolemn obſervance of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governours as held their laws in deriſion; and therefore they continually conſulted, how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their *Perſian* oppreſſors.

AT length they broke out into an open revolt in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and continued in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the *Perſians* all the firſt year of *Xerxes* [k]; but in the ſecond year [l] of the ſame prince they were reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe; and had one *Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, for their governour. *The* Egyptians *revolt from the* Perſians; *but ſubdued again.*

BUT the more ſeverity they ſuffered, the more they were exaſperated. In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* they revolted again; choſe INARUS king of *Libya* to fill their throne; and called in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance, who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Perſians* out of *Egypt* [m]. The *Egyptians* almoſt ſucceeded in their project. The *Athenians* falling on the *Perſian* fleet at ſea, took and deſtroyed fifty ſail of them; and then ſailing up the *Nile*, landed under the command of *Charitimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Lybians* under *Inarus*. They all attacked *Achæmenides* the *Perſian* general, though his army was 300,000 ſtrong; of whom there fell 100,000, together, with the general himſelf. The reſt betook themſelves to flight, and returned to *Memphis*; but, being purſued by the *Egyptians*, they took refuge in a very conſiderable, and by much the beſt fortified, part of that city, called the *white wall*. The *Egyptians* had the reſt of it, and blocked up the *Perſians* three years within the *white wall*. Year of the Flood, 2539. Year before Chriſt 460. *Revolt a ſecond time, and chooſe* Inarus *for their king.*

By this ſucceſs the *Egyptians* hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themſelves and deſcendants; but their proſperity was by no means of long duration. They were at the end of three years obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall* by the *Perſian* army, under the command of *Artabazus* governour of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* [n]. In the mean time, when *Inarus* heard of the formidable preparations which were making by theſe *Perſian* governours to relieve the beſieged, he redoubled the attacks on the *white wall*, and made the utmoſt efforts to carry it; but the *Perſians* within defended themſelves with ſuch bravery, that the *Egyptians* made no conſiderable progreſs towards the reduction of the place [o].

IN the third year of this ſiege, and the ninth of *Artaxerxes*, *Inarus* and his auxiliaries were not only obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall*, but alſo defeated with a fearful ſlaughter, which fell chiefly on the *Egyptians*. In this fight *Inarus* was wounded by *Magabyzus*; but nevertheleſs he retreated with his *Athenian* confederates, and ſuch of the *Egyptians* as adhered to him, to the city of *Biblus* in the iſland of *Proſopitis*, which being waſhed on each ſide by navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenian* fleet was ſtationed in one of them; and here they held out a ſiege of a year and a half. But the bulk of the *Egyptians* ſubmitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged *Artaxerxes* for their ſovereign; all but *Amyrtæus*; he retreated with a party into the *Fens*, where he ruled many years; nor in the leaſt moleſted by the *Perſians*, who were never able to get at him through the inacceſſibleneſs of the place.

IN the mean time *Inarus* and his auxiliaries on the iſland of *Proſopitis* were buſy in defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, who attacked them with great vigour: but theſe finding that bare ſtrength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the beſieged, had recourſe to art and ſtratagem; for draining that branch of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* fleet rode, they at once rendered the ſhipping uſeleſs, and made a paſſage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the iſland. When *Inarus* ſaw this, he and all the *Egyptians*, and fifty of his *Athenian* auxiliaries delivered themſelves up to *Magabyzus*, on the condition of being ſecured in their lives: the reſt of the *Athenians*, being ſix thouſand in number, ſet fire to their ſhips, reſolved to die ſword in hand; which the *Perſians* perceiving, thought it adviſable to offer them ſome reaſonable terms: and this they did, and their propoſals were ac- Inarus *taken priſoner, and* Egypt *reduced again to the* Perſians.

[k] HEROD. lib. 7. [l] Idem ibid. [m] THUCYDID. lib. 1. CTESIAS. [n] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. CTESIAS. DIOD. SIC. l. xi. [o] CTESIAS. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 281.

accepted [p]. The *Athenians* had ſent a fleet of fifty ſail to relieve the iſland of *Proſopitis*, a where their citizens were in conjunction with the *Egyptians*; but they arrived too late, and as ſoon as they entered the river were aſſaulted by the *Perſians*, both on the river and from the ſhore; ſo that they all periſhed [q]. And thus ended the war between *Inarus* king of *Egypt* and *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, under whom the *Egyptians* ever afterwards kept quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. *Sartamas* was appointed governour of *Egypt*, and *Inarus* was carried priſoner to *Suſa*, and was there crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had of his life when he ſurrendered [r].

AMYRTÆUS the *Saïte* in the main time held the *Fens*, and in the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* was joined by a fleet of ſixty ſail of *Athenian* ſhips [s]; but nothing of b moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the *Perſians* in *Egypt*.

The Egyptians *revolt a third time, and* Amyrtæus *heads them.*

IN the tenth year of *Darius Nothus* the *Egyptians* revolted once more from the *Perſians*. For *Amyrtæus*, being apprized of the diſcontents of the *Egyptians*, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty and independance, ſallied out of his *Fens*, and being joined by all the *Egyptians*, he drove the *Perſians* out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of *Egypt* [t].

Year of the Flood, 2583. Year before Chriſt 414.

AMYRTÆUS thus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* by the total expulſion of the *Perſians*, reſolved to attack them in *Phœnicia* alſo, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him in this undertaking [u]. But he was engaged by *Darius* in perſon and overthrown; about which time *Amyrtæus* either died or was ſlain in c the battle.

Amyrtæus *king.*

PAUSIRIS his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, with the conſent of the *Perſians* [w]. And now the *Egyptians*, though perhaps tributary to the *Perſians*, had a governour of their own nation to alleviate the burthen of it.

Pauſiris.

PSAMMITICHUS ſucceeded *Pauſiris*. He was deſcended from the famous *Pſammitichus*, whoſe hiſtory we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign: for *Tamus*, who had been admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, though he was a *Memphite* by birth, thinking it adviſable for reaſons of ſtate to leave the *Perſian* ſervice, and confiding in the friendſhip of *Pſammitichus*, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly d offices, put all his family and effects on board his ſhips, and ſailed for *Egypt*. But when *Pſammitichus* heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he, unmindful of what *Tamus* merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hoſpitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and having ſlain him, his family, and all his followers, ſeized on thoſe treaſures which *Tamus* hoped to have enjoyed in his native country [x]. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

Nephereus.

HIM ſucceeded NEPHEREUS. This king was invited by the *Lacedæmonians* into a confederacy againſt the *Perſians*; and he ſent them a ſquadron of an hundred gallies to carry on the war by ſea, and 600,000 meaſures [*buſhels*] of corn for the ſubſiſtance of their army; but the veſſels, which were laden with this valuable preſent, e ignorantly putting into *Rhodes*, whoſe inhabitants had juſt then thrown themſelves under the protection of the *Perſian* fleet, which then rode at anchor there under the command of *Conon* the *Athenian*, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the *Lacedæmonians* [y].

Acoris.

ACORIS ſucceeded *Nephereus*. He joined *Euagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Arabians*, and *Tyrians*, and *Barcæans*, a people of *Libya*, againſt the *Perſians* [z]. *Acoris* ſent ſome forces to the aſſiſtance of *Euagoras*, the chief of this league, who being defeated came into *Egypt*, to engage *Acoris* to aſſiſt him with his full ſtrength; but *Acoris* could not be prevailed on to come ſo totally into his meaſures, and only diſmiſſed him with a ſupply of money, by no means equal to the neceſſitous occaſions of f that diſtreſſed prince. Soon after *Gaus*, the only ſurvivor of the family of *Tamus*, whom *Pſammitichus* murdered for the ſake of his wealth, and as well as his father had been now promoted to the degree of an admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, being diſguſted at the ill uſage of *Tiribazus*, the king of *Perſia*'s general in the former part of the *Cyprian* war againſt *Euagoras*, revolted from the *Perſians*, in which he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with *Acoris* and the *Lacedæmonians*. But the year after *Gaus* was treacherouſly ſlain by ſome under him; and

[p] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. CTESIAS. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 282. [q] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. [r] CTESIAS. [s] PLUTARCH in vita Cimon. THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. [t] EUSEBIUS in Chronico. [u] DIOD. SIC. lib. 13. p. 355. [w] HEROD. lib. 3. [x] DIOD. SIC. lib. 14. p. 415. [y] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 438. JUSTIN, lib. 6. c. 2. OROSIUS lib. 3. [z] THEOPOMP. in Excerpt. Photii. DIOD. SIC. lib. 15. p. 459.

and *Tachos*, who had undertaken to execute the ſame project, dying in the midſt of it, the whole fell to the ground, and the *Perſians* were freed from the troubleſome effects which threatned them from this new alliance [a].

It was now thirty years ſince the *Egyptians* had ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke under *Amyrtæus*, and had all along, upon all occaſions, ſignalized their averſion to the *Perſian* government. But *Artaxerxes Mnemon* being now at full leiſure to chaſtiſe them, they once more were threatned with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both ſides. *Acoris* joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own ſubjects [b]; but, the *Perſians* being pretty dilatory in their proceeding towards this war, *Acoris* died before it commenced, and was ſucceeded by

Pſammuthis.

Psammuthis, who reigned only a year [c].

Nepherotes.

After him Nepherotes (who is called the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race) reigned four months [d].

Year of the Flood, 2618. Year before Chriſt, 379.

Nectanebis.

And then Nectanebis, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race*. In the ſecond year of his reign the *Perſian* army and fleet came upon his coaſts and borders, and made their attempts firſt upon *Peluſium*: but *Nectanebis* having had time ſufficient to prepare himſelf, that city and adjacencies were ſo well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impreſſion could be made there. The commanders on the *Perſian* ſide differing in their counſels, and entertaining jealouſies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fortreſs that guarded it, and ſtruck the *Egyptians* with the utmoſt conſternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For *Nectanebis* lodged a ſufficient garriſon in *Memphis*, and taking the field, with the reſt of his forces, ſo annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian* general, that he could make no conſiderable progreſs up the country; and the *Nile*, at the accuſtomed period, overflowing the land, the *Perſians* were obliged to march off; which they did not without conſiderable loſs [e]. Thus ended this war.

Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367.

Tachos.

His impolitic conduct towards Ageſilaus.

About five years afterwards *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* came as an ambaſſador to *Nectanebis*, to ſollicite ſuccours for the *Lacedæmonians*, then driven to great diſtreſs by the *Thebans* [f]. Seven years after this *Nectanebis* died.

Tachos ſucceeded him. He gathered together all the Strength he was able, to defend his country againſt the ambitious deſigns of the *Perſians*, who, notwithſtanding their many miſcarriages, had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting *Egypt* to their dominion once more. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more he ſent to *Greece* to raiſe mercenaries; and ſucceeded ſo well in his application to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they diſpatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of *Ageſilaus* [g]. *Tachos* had promiſed this king, that he ſhould be generaliſſimo of all the forces; but upon the firſt interview, he conceived ſuch diſadvantageous ideas of the old gentleman, that he thenceforward ſlighted his counſels, and deſpiſed his perſon. He expected to have ſeen a gay and magnificent man, whoſe habit and train were equal to the fame and ſplendor of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking, old man. This haſty and ill-grounded impreſſion may be properly enough ſaid to have been the ruin of *Tachos*, as will be plainly ſeen. For *Tachos* allowed *Ageſilaus* to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been ſufficient to diſguſt ſo great, ſo old, and ſo experienced a commander, and was the firſt cauſe of his averſion to *Tachos*. The command of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme dignity over all. Having joined his mercenaries and *Egyptians* together, he marched out of *Egypt*, deſigning to attack the *Perſians* in *Phœnicia*, contrary to the advice of *Ageſilaus*, who repreſented to him the unſettled ſtate of *Egypt*, and remonſtrated how much more it would be for his intereſt to manage the war by lieutenants, and ſtay himſelf in his kingdom. The event ſhewed, that *Ageſilaus*'s counſel was the reſult of a very prudent forecaſt; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnicia* the *Egyptians* revolted, and ſet up his kinſman *Nectanebus* in his ſtead. *Ageſilaus*, taking this opportunity to vent his reſentment againſt *Tachos*, joined *Nectanebus*, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through *Arabia*, and went to the king of *Perſia*.

Is driven out of his kingdom.

Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367.

Nectanebus *the laſt King of* Egypt.

Nectanebus was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when a *Mendeſian* roſe up in oppoſition to him, with a force conſiſting of 100,000 men. *Nectanebus* was now adviſed by *Ageſilaus* to fall on them immediately, and diſperſe them before they had

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 471. [c] See before, p. 233. [d] See before, ibid. * See before, ibid. [e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 478, 479. Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrate. [f] Plutarch. in Ageſilao. [g] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 506.

formed themſelves into a regular body by diſcipline: but he took it into his head, a
that *Ageſilaus* intended to betray him, as he had betrayed *Tachos*, and therefore gave no
A rebel on againſt him. ear to him. In the mean time the enemy gathered ſtrength and regular order every
day, and became ſo formidable a body, that *Nectanebus* was conſtrained to ſhut him-
ſelf up in one of his towns, and endure a ſiege. He would now have urged *Ageſilaus*
to ſally out upon the beſiegers, that, putting them into diſorder, he might in the
mean time march out himſelf and take the field: and becauſe he refuſed to comply,
Nectanebus grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almoſt
round the town; which when *Ageſilaus* perceived, he told *Nectanebus*, that now was
his time to ſally out; that by the lines the beſiegers had raiſed, they would not be
able to encompaſs him; and that the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide b
enough for him to march through with ſafety and convenience. Hereupon a battle
enſued, in which the beſiegers were defeated; and the remaining part of the war
being left to the management of *Ageſilaus*, *Nectanebus*'s competitor was every where
which is quelled. driven out of the field, and at length taken priſoner. And thus was *Nectanebus* ſettled
in the full and quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* [h].

He is joined by the Sidonians, Phœnicians, *and* Cypriots, *againſt the* Perſians.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* revolted from the
king of *Perſia*, and entered into a confederacy with him againſt that monarch. This
happened very opportunely for him; for as the *Perſians* had been in conſtant agita-
tion againſt him, and were now making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, he had a
very good barrier, ſeeing the *Perſian* forces could not approach his borders, but by b
marching through *Phœnicia*. Therefore, to keep up their ſpirits, *Nectanebus* detached
a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*,
to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a diſtance. The *Phœnicians*, encouraged
by this ſupply, drove the *Perſians* out of their territories [i]; and immediately after, the
Cypriots made themſelves of the alliance againſt *Perſia* [k]. *Darius Ochus*, finding that
his lieutenants made no progreſs in the ſuppreſſion of theſe revolters, reſolved to head
his troops in perſon, keeping his eye chiefly upon *Egypt*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* when
he heard this, and the prodigious numbers of the *Perſian* army, went over to the king
of *Perſia*, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him ſignal ſervice
by his knowledge of the country of *Egypt*, and every thing that related to it: but we d
are not now on the affairs of *Perſia*, which will be particularized in their proper place;
let us therefore turn our eyes towards *Nectanebus*. When he found that the king of
Perſia was thoroughly reſolved to ruin him, and that he was by all means endeavour-
ing to do it without interruption, and effectually, he got together an army of 100,000
men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Lybia*, and the reſt
Egyptians; but all of them did not amount to a third part of the *Perſian* army. With
Is invaded by the Perſians. ſome of them he garriſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the
paſſes through which the *Perſians* were to march. The *Perſian* detached three bo-
dies from his army. The firſt of them, commanded by *Lacharee* the *Theban*, ſat down
before *Peluſium*, garriſoned by five thouſand *Greeks*. The ſecond, under the command e
of *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, embarked on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, and
ſailing up the *Nile* into the midſt of the country, landed there, and made a ſtrong
encampment. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, *Clinius* of the iſland of
Cos muſtered all the neighbouring garriſons, and offered to diſlodge *Nicoſtratus* from
his intrenchments. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy;
but at laſt the *Egyptians* gave way, having loſt *Clinius* and five thouſand more of their
number, and were utterly broken and diſperſed. The loſs of this battle was the ruin
of *Egypt*. For when *Nectanebus* heard it, he drew off from the paſſes, where he had
very prudently poſted himſelf, and marched for *Memphis* to defend that city againſt
Nicoſtratus, whom he feared had a deſign upon that capital with his victorious fleet and f
army. When the *Greek* garriſon in *Peluſium* heard that *Nectanebus* had deſerted his poſt,
they thought there was no further room for hope; and therefore they came to a
parley with *Lachares*, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and
their effects ſhould be ſafely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded
the third body of the *Perſian* detachment, finding the paſſes unguarded, entered the
country through them, and cauſing it to be univerſally ſpread abroad, That *Ochus* would
graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted; but utterly cut off ſuch as reſiſted, as he had
been known to have done before; both the *Egyptians* and the *Egyptian Greeks* ſtrove
which ſhould make the moſt humble and ready ſubmiſſion. This when *Nectanebus*
law,

[h] Idem ibid. Plutarch. ubi ſupr. [i] Diod. lib. 16 p. 531, 532, 533. [k] Idem ubi ſupr. P. 532.

A MAP of ANCIENT EGYPT, and its Circumadjacencies according to this History.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE CANAANITES

Sea of Tiberias

Dead Sea

MOAB AMMON PART OF ARABIA the DESART

EDOM

MIDIAN

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIA PART OF the HAPPY, or RED SEA

THE ARABIAN GULF

The Heroopolitan Gulf

The Elanitic Gulf

M. Sinai

Canopus

The Canopic or Heracleotic Mouth

The Bolbitic

The Sebennytic

Pinte Boat

Diale Boat

The Platnic

The Mendesian

The Tanitic

The Pelusian

Ostracine

Rhinocolura

THE DELTA

Aeris

Bubastis

Mendes

Saitis

Pelusium

Augustamnica

Alexandria

Sais

Leontopolis

Gabaratis

Busiris

Babastus

Arbon

Heroopolis

L. Maria

MARE OTIS

Phinthine

The lesser CATABATHMUS

Sebennytus

Babylon

Memphis

Heliopolis

Lake Maris

Labyrinth

Aphroditopolis

Nilopolis

Arsinoe

Crymnelitis

Heracleopolis

Cynopolis

Hermopolis

Oxyrinchus

Lycopolis

Antæopolis

Casis the lesser

HEPTANOMIS

R. Nile

City of Panus

Panopolis

Crocodilopolis

Ptolemais Hermii

Abydus

This

Coptos

Diospolis parva

The lesser City of Apollo

Casis the Greater

Tentyra

Thebes, the Great or Diospolis magna

Pampanis

Hermonthis

Typhium

Chnubis

Latopolis

Nile

Elethya

R.

Contra

The greater City of Apollo

Syene

Elephantine

Cataracts the lesser

Philæ

THE TROPICK OF CANCER

LIBYA MARMARICA

27 26 25 24 23 33 32 31 30 29 28

a law, he was driven to deſpair, and taking what treaſure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in *Memphis* into *Ethiopia*, and never returned more. He was the very laſt *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, which has ever ſince been under foreign ſubjection. *Nectanebus* loſt his kingdom by relying too much on himſelf. He, as has been ſhewn, was ſeated on the throne by *Ageſilaus*: his wars againſt *Perſia* (for they were always attempting a reduction of *Egypt*) were managed by the prudence and valour of *Diophantus* the *Athenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedæmonian*; but arrogating to himſelf a ſhare of their ſucceſſes, he took upon him to act by his own ſuggeſtions l, and ſo brought ruin upon himſelf, and ignominy and ſlavery upon his ſubjects, even to this day. For henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Perſia*, till *Alexander* ſubverted b that monarchy, and was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms, as their deliverer from the *Perſian* tyranny. They never had any tolerable underſtanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have purely, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this ſection with the ſevere prediction of the prophet; *There ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* m.

and flies into Ethiopia.

Egypt *finally reduced by the* Perſians. Year of the Flood, 2642, Year before Chriſt 355.

Submits to Alexander. Year of the Flood, 2660. Year before Chriſt 337.

SECT. VI.

The ſucceſſion of the kings of Egypt, *according to the oriental hiſtorians.*

c AS the oriental hiſtories differ entirely from the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, it may be perhaps deemed an omiſſion, if we ſhould take no notice of the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* given us by the *Eaſtern* writers. Wherefore we ſhall ſet down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions, leaving the reader to judge what credit ought to be given thereto.

SOME n write, that before the flood *Nakraüs*, or *Bakraüs*, the ſon of *Meſr*, the ſon of *Tarakil*, the ſon of *Zarayîl*, the ſon of *Aryân*, the ſon of *Adam*, when con-
d tention and violence began to reign among mankind, retired into *Egypt* with ſeventy eight perſons, and finding it a fine fruitful country, ſettled there, and built a city on the banks of the *Nile*, which he called after the name of his father. But this city, others ſay, was built after the flood, as will be obſerved by and by; and that the kings who reigned in *Egypt* before that deſtruction, were of the race of *Cain*. Their names follow.

Antediluvian kings of Egypt.

1. NAKRAUS called alſo *Amasûs*; who reigned 180 years.
2. NATRAS, ſon of *Nakraüs*, built ſeveral cities.
e 3. MESRAM, brother of *Natrâs*. Theſe three princes are ſaid to have been great diviners and magicians.
4. AICAM alſo practiſed divination. In his reign *Edrîs*, or *Enoch*, was tranſlated,
it is ſaid, came down from heaven o.
6. HASILIM, who firſt invented and built a nilometer.
7. HUSAL. In his reign *Noah* was born.
8. TEDARSAN, ſon of *Hûsâl*, was the firſt who cut canals from the *Nile*.
9. SARKAK.
10. SAHLUK, his ſon.
f 11. SAURID, ſon of *Sahlûk*. This prince, as the *Copts* affirm, built the pyramids, and lies buried in one of them, with all his treaſures p.
12. HUJIB, brother of *Saurîd*; who, as the ſame people aſſure us, is buried in the next pyramid q.
13. MANUS, or *Mankaüs*.
14. AFRUS, his ſon.
15. MALINUS, ſon of *Afrîs*
16. PHARAOH, couſin of the laſt prince; who periſhed in the flood.

AFTER the flood, *Kibt*, or *Kût* (which we imagine to be a miſtake for *Phût*,) one of the ſons of *Ham*, founded a monarchy in *Egypt*; and the greater part of that nation
g were his deſcendants r. But after the diſperſion *Ham*, himſelf went into *Egypt*, and there begat

l Idem ubi ſupr. p. 534, 535. m Ezek. xxx. ver. 13. n AL SOYUTI. o See before, p. 83. in the notes. p See before, p. 184. q Ibid. r EBN SHOHNAH.

begat *Beisar*; who having settled near the place where he afterwards built *Mesr*, was declared by the idolatrous inhabitants of the country king of *Mouf*, or *Memphis*, the most ancient city of *Egypt*, and the royal seat in the time of *Joseph*.

Kings of Egypt *after the deluge.*

1. Baiser, the son of *Ham*, built *Mesr*; being assisted therein by *Cancabendi*, or *Cancah* the *Indian*, a person famous for his great learning and knowledge in nature, and the inventer of several noble arts; by whose skill in architecture this prince erected many magnificent structures.

2. Mesr, the son of *Beisar*, succeeded his father. He was so named because he happened to be born while the city of *Mesr* was building. This prince was employed, during his whole reign, in building cities, and warring against his enemies. It is said, he divided *Egypt* among his sons, giving the middle part to *Kift*, the upper to *Ashmun*, and the lower to *Athrîb* and *Sa*.

3. Kift, or *Kibt* ascended the throne on the death of his father *Mesr*; and from him the *Copts* received their name.

4. Ashmun (who seems to be the same with *Esmunus*, or *Æsculapius*[s], succeeded his brother; though some reckon him not among the kings. From him the city *Ashmunain* in the upper *Egypt* took its name.

5. Athrib, the son of *Mesr*, built *Ain Shams*, or *Heliopolis*, some miles distant from *Mesr*. *Athribis*, the capital of a nome in the lower *Egypt*, was so called from this prince.

6. Sana, or *Sa*, another son of *Mesr*, is supposed to have built the city *Saïs*; and was the first who made laws, and established rules for the government of the state.

7. Tedaris, or *Edris*.

8 Malik.

9. Kharaya, the son of *Malîk*.

10. Kelkeli, the son of *Kharâya*, a wise and potent prince. Some say, he was the first who introduced the use of magic, which others tell us, was first taught *Solomon* by the *Genii*.

11. Harbiya, the uncle of *Kelkeli*; of whom nothing is recorded, but that he was an infidel, and very wicked.

12. Tulis was as bad as his predecessor, and a great lover of women; to obtain whom he scrupled not, on occasion, to use force. In his reign *Abraham* came into *Egypt*, and knowing the king's character, to preserve the honour of his wife *Sarah*, shut her up in a chest, thinking to pass the guards posted at the city gate by that means; but they, opening the chest, and finding a beautiful woman in it, carried her before the king. *Tulis* no sooner saw her, than he determined to enjoy her; but was not able to effect his purpose, being suddenly struck with frigidity; so that after he had in vain attempted it thrice, he was obliged to desist, and sent her back to her husband, having given her *Hagar* for a maid-servant, as some reparation for the affront he had offered her; but still continued an infidel.

13. Juriak *Khatûn*, daughter of *Tulis*.

14. Dhalka, or *Zalkâ*, daughter of *Manûn Khatûn*. This princess being unable to defend her kingdom, *Walid*, the son of *Thardân*, king of the *Amalekites*, who originally dwelt in *Syria*, took that opportunity of invading *Egypt*; and, having subdued the *Copts*, seized the crown. These *Amalekites* seem to have been the same people who are by the *Greek* historians stiled *Shepherds*; whose invasion of *Egypt* was, in all probability, a famous piece of history in the *east*.

15. Walid, the first king of *Egypt*, of the race of *Amalek*, took the surname of *Pharaoh*, which in the *Coptic* tongue signifies *King*, and was used by all his successors. He is said to have been an impious man, and rebellious against God; and delighting too much in hunting, and passing his time abroad and in the deserts for the sake of that exercise, he was at length slain.

16. Riyan, the son of *Walid*, succeeded his father; and first dwelt at *Ain Shams*, but afterwards removed to *Memphis*. In his reign *Joseph* was sold into *Egypt*, and having lain in prison twelve years, was at length delivered thence, on his interpreting of a dream, and being brought to court, was made *Wazir* (or *Visir*) in the room of *Kolfair*, and had the management of the whole kingdom put into his hands. This *Riyân* is reported to have embraced the true religion, and to have been a strict administrator

[s] See before, p. 136. not P

a ſtrator of juſtice. One author [t] tells us, that he ſpoke no leſs than ſeventy different languages; in every one of which he put queſtions to *Joſeph*, who anſwered him in the ſame. This prince flouriſhed four hundred years before the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*.

17. DAREM, the ſon of *Riyân*, was an impious perſon, rebellious againſt heaven, and exceſſively proud; for which he was, by a juſt judgment of GOD, drowned in the *Nile*.

18. CATHIM, the ſon of *Mádân*, an *Amalekite*, was famous throughout the world for the magnificent buildings erected by him. Some aſcribe the pyramids to this prince; adding, that thoſe ſtructures being in after-times propoſed to be demoliſhed,
b for the ſake of the treaſures hidden in them, that deſign was laid aſide, on a remonſtrance of the wiſe men of the country; who made it appear, that the riches, which might be found in them, would not countervail the charge of pulling them down. *Cathim* was the laſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of the *Amalekites*.

SOME writers ſay, that the *Wazir* of *Cathim* ſucceeded to the crown, and was the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*; but the more exact, leaving out both theſe laſt princes, tell us, that *Riyân* was ſucceeded by his grandſon.

19. KABUS, the ſon of *Maſáb*[u], who being invited by *Joſeph* to embrace the true religion, refuſed, and died ſoon after that patriarch. Some hiſtorians will have *Kabûs* to be the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*, pretending, that he lived ſix hundred and twenty years,
c and reigned four hundred; which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine his father *Maſáb*, or his grandfather *Riyân*, to have been that *Pharaoh*[w].

20. WALID, the brother of *Kabûs*, is generally ſuppoſed to be that king of *Egypt* with whom *Moſes* had to do, and who was drowned in the *red ſea*. Moſt of the commentators on the *Korân* tells us this prince was an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Ad*, or, as others ſay, of *Amalek*, who were alſo *Arabians*; though ſome pretend he was of *Coptic* deſcent. What the oriental authors write concerning this *Pharaoh*, and his conteſts with *Moſes*, we may take notice of in another place.

21. DALUKA, ſurnamed *al Ajûz*, or the *old woman*, of the royal blood, ſucceeded
d the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *red ſea*. This queen is ſaid to have been the moſt expert woman of her time in magic. She lived an hundred years; and encompaſſed the city of *Meſr* with walls, which were looked on as one of the wonders of the world; and ſome attribute the pyramids to her.

22. DARKUN, the ſon of *Maltás*, came to the crown very young; and, being of an illuſtrious family among the *Copts*, was greatly beloved and reverenced by his ſubjects.

23. TARDAS reigned a long time.

24. LOFASH ſucceeded; but who he was is unknown.

25. MARINA.

e 26. MALUS.

27. MANAKIL.

28. BULA. The actions of theſe ſix laſt kings are not recorded; and there ſeems to be an omiſſion of ſome intermediate princes; as alſo between the two following.

29. ASHYAF; or, as *Ebn Shohnah* more correctly writes the name, *Shiſhâk*, was contemporary with *Solomon*; and after his death took *Jeruſalem*, and greatly diſtreſſed the *Iſraelites*.

30. PHARAOH, ſurnamed *al Araj*, or *the lame*. In his time *Nebuchadnezzar*, governour of *Babylon*, led an army of 600,000 men againſt *Jeruſalem*, and ſlew a third part of the *Iſraelites*, carried a third part of them into captivity, and impoſed
f a tribute on the remaining third. But many of them flying into *Egypt*, he purſued them thither, and demanded them of *Pharaoh*; who refuſing to deliver them up, *Nebuchadnezzar* beſieged his capital city *Meſr*; and having taken it, hanged him. Then he burnt and demoliſhed the city, and proceeded forward into *Africa*. *Meſr*, they ſay, remained deſolate forty years; but was afterwards rebuilt, and the nation ruled by governours, who reſided there, firſt for the kings of *Perſia* of the ſecond race, called *Cayânians*; then for *Alexander*, who conquered *Perſia*: afterwards for the *Greek* kings, or *Ptolemies*; and at length for the *Romans*, and the *Chriſtian* emperors of *Conſtantinople*, who held *Egypt* till it was ſubdued by *Amru Ebn al As*, a general
g of *Omar*, the ſecond *Khaliff*, or ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*; ever ſince which that kingdom has been in the hands of *Mohammedan* princes[x].

[t] KITAB TAFASIR. [u] IBID. [w] KITAB TAFSIR LEBAB, et al KESHAF. [x] Ex libro MIRAT CAINAT dicto.

There is a series of the kings of *Egypt* somewhat different from this, given by a *Jewish* historian[y]: but as the names are most of them corrupted, and seem to have been originally taken from the *Arab* writers, we shall not trouble the reader with them; having perhaps already said too much of so apocryphal a piece of history.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, *and* Philistines.

SECT. I.

The History of Moab.

The descent of the Moabites.

Designing in this chapter to write the histories of those nations with whom the children of *Israel* had to do, before, or upon their settling in the land of *Canaan*, we shall begin with that of the *Moabites*.

This people were descended from *Moab*, the son of *Lot*, by his eldest daughter: but before we mention the occasion of that incest, it may be proper to take the history a little higher.

The life of Lot *their ancestor.*

Lot was the son of *Haran*, the brother of *Abraham*; and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather *Terah*, together with the rest of his family, from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, their native city, to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*[z]; where *Terah* dying, *Abraham* afterwards took his nephew under his protection, and, as *Josephus* tells us[a], adopted him, despairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into *Canaan*[b]; where, after they had dwelt some time, they were obliged by a famine to go into *Egypt*[c]; soon after their return from whence, they parted: for their flocks and herds were so much encreased by this time, and their substance was so great, that they could not dwell together any longer, the pasture and water not being sufficient for both; which occasioning disputes between their herdsmen, *Abraham* proposed, to prevent any misunderstanding between so near relations, that they should separate; and gave *Lot* the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon *Lot* chose the plain of *Jordan*, lying eastward of *Bethel* and *Ai*, between which *Abraham* and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, was so fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradise* it self[d]. To this delightful plain or valley therefore *Lot* came, and pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedness of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city it self[e]: but that city, with others in the same plain, being not long after taken by *Chederlaomer* and his allies, *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* tells us[f], assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his substance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods[g]. Notwithstanding this warning, and the abominable wickedness of the inhabitants, *Lot* still continued to live in *Sodom*, and had perished in the fearful catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculously preserved, and that partly for *Abraham*'s sake[h]. Two angels, who were sent to destroy the place, came to *Sodom* in the evening in the appearance of travellers; and *Lot*, sitting in the gate, no sooner saw them, than he invited and pressed them to be his guests that night, according to the hospitality of the eastern nations. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that *Lot* had strangers with him, and in all probability tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had assumed[i], encompassed the house, and demanded them to be delivered to them, that they might abuse them. *Lot* endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose;

y R. Abr. Zacuth, in libro Juchasin. z See before, p. 132. a Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. b Gen. xii. 4, &c. c Gen. xii. 10. & xiii. 1. d Gen. xiii. 10. e Gen. xiv. 12. f Antiq. l. 1. c. 10. g Gen. xiv. 16, &c. h Gen. xix. 29. i Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

a purpoſe; and, rather than violate the rights of hoſpitality, offered to give up his two virgin daughters to their diſcretion, if they would not moleſt his gueſts; but, inſtead of accepting this offer, they came to violence, and preſſed forward to break open the door: whereupon the angels ſuddenly pulled *Lot* into the houſe, ſhut the door, and ſtruck the riotous aſſembly with blindneſs (A); ſo that they ſought in vain to find the door, till they were tired.

WHILST they were thus buſied, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commiſſion; that they were ſent to execute the divine vengeance upon that ſink of iniquity; and adviſed him, if he had any friends, for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart in time. Where-
b upon *Lot*, before it was light, went to his ſons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B), and telling them what they muſt expect if they ſtaid longer in the city, earneſtly perſuaded them to leave it: but they, thinking he either laughed at them, or was out of his wits, rejected his advice[k].

THIS circumſtance is the only one which *Moſes* mentions of *Lot*'s admoniſhing his fellow-citizens; though it is probable this juſt perſon omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation; for it is ſaid, that *in ſeeing and hearing he vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds*[l]: which words give countenance to the traditions adopted afterwards by *Mohammed*, of *Lot*'s being ſent to preach to the inhabitants of *Sodom*[m].

c LOT not having been able to prevail on his ſons-in-law to ſave themſelves; as ſoon as it was day-break, the angels ordered him immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, leſt they ſhould be involved in the common ruin: but he delaying to go, being probably intent on preſerving ſome of his moſt valuable goods, the angels haſtily laid hold on them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a ſpeedy eſcape, for that their lives were in danger; and in particular directed them not to look behind them, nor to ſtay in the plain; but to make the beſt of their way to the mountains. Upon which *Lot*, conſidering the mountains were at a good diſtance, began to fear, he could not reach them time enough, and begged,
d he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall city not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but from this accident *Zoar*, or *the little*, which was elſe to have been deſtroyed with the other cities of the plain. This requeſt was granted; and the angels promiſed him, that their commiſſion ſhould not be executed till he got thither; which he did by ſun-riſe. Immediately upon which the fearful deſtruction of thoſe cities enſued: and *Lot*'s wife, contrary to the expreſs command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of ſalt[n] (C), which *Joſephus*[o] tells us was remaining in his days, and that himſelf had ſeen it.

[k] Gen. xix. 1—14. [l] 2 Pet. ii. 8. [m] *Korân*, c. vii. ver. 81. c. xxvi. ver. 159. c. xxvii. ver. 55. c. xxix. ver. 28, &c. [n] Gen. xix. 15—26. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that thoſe men were ſtruck, not with actual blindneſs, but with a dizzineſs, which diſturbed their ſight, and repreſented objects falſely, and in confuſion (1), as were the *Syrians*, who were ſent to take *Eliſha* (2): and this is the ſenſe of the *Septuagint*. The author of the book of *Wiſdom* ſuppoſes ſome change in the air, ſaying, that they were *compaſſed about with horrible great darkneſs*, which he compares to that with which *Moſes* plagued the *Egyptians*: he adds, that they could not even find the way home; *but every one ſought the paſſage of his own doors* (3).

(B) The *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other tranſlations, and ſome of the *Rabbins* ſuppoſe, theſe were the huſbands of other daughters of *Lot*, who were married, and had left their father's houſe: which ſeems to be confirmed by the angels ordering *Lot* to take with him his wife and his two daughters *which were there* preſent (4). But the original words, which in our verſion are rendered *his ſons in law which married his daughters* (5), may be tranſlated, according to the interpretation of *Onkelos*, *his ſons in law, which were to marry*, &c; the contract having been paſſed, but the marriage not conſummated; and there is no mention in ſcripture of any daughters *Lot* had, except the two who were ſaved with him; but if he had, they muſt have periſhed with their huſbands.

(C) It is not agreed by commentators what was the crime for which *Lot*'s wife was thus ſeverely puniſhed. Some are of opinion, ſhe deſerved it meerly for diſobeying the command of the angel, and expreſſing too much concern for a people who deſerved no compaſſion (6): which yet ſhe might be the more apt to entertain, as ſhe was probably a native of *Sodom* (7), and had near relations among them. Others ſay, that being anxiouſly ſollicitous for her daughters, who were married there, and turning about to ſee whether they followed her, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or majeſtic appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the place, which was the occaſion of her metamorphoſis. The writer from whom we take this,

(1) *Vide Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l.* 22. *c.* 19. *Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. T.* 2. *Exerc.* viii. § 16. *Cleric. in Loc.* (2) 2 *Kings* vi. 18. (3) *Wiſd.* xix. 17. (4) *Gen.* xix. 15. (5) *Ibid. ver.* 14. (6) *Joſ. Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 13. *Heidegg. ubi ſupr.* § 18. *p.* 23. (7) *Targum Hieroſol.*

AFTER

After this cataſtrophe, *Lot* ſtaid not long in *Zoar*, fearing ſome further misfortune; but went with his daughters to the mountains on the eaſt of the dead ſea, and dwelt in a cave there. In this ſolitude the two young women ſeeing no hopes of their ever being married (D), and being very deſirous of having children, to want which was reckoned a great reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. Accordingly they put their project in execution; and making him drink wine plentifully one evening, the eldeſt daughter lay down by him the firſt night, and the old man knew not when ſhe lay down, nor when ſhe aroſe: not that we ſuppoſe he was ſo far overcome as not to be ſenſible of what he did, which would have rendered him rather unfit than fit for their purpoſe; but he knew not who it was he lay with, imagining, probably, that it was a ſervant, to make uſe of which was then reckoned no crime. The next night they imployed the ſame artifice, and the youngeſt took her turn. They both proved with child; and from this inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons; that of the eldeſt daughter was therefore named *Moab*, ſignifying (though not in pure *Hebrew*, yet perhaps in ſome dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*, and was the progenitor of the people we are now ſpeaking of [p].

[p] Gen. xix. 30—37.

this, calls her *Adith* (8). *Mohammed*, from ſome traditions he met with, goes farther, and repreſents her as rebellious to her huſband (9); and the commentators of the *Korân*, who name her *Waïlah*, ſay, ſhe was in confederacy with the *Sodomites*; telling them her huſband was diſtracted, and giving them notice when any ſtrangers came to lodge with him, by a ſign of ſmoke by day, and of fire by night (10); or, according to others, by knocking at the wall, and crying, *Give me ſome ſalt* (11). Others however think the ſcripture does not repreſent the fate this woman met with as a puniſhment for any crime; but ſuppoſe it meerly accidental, as will be obſerved immediately.

The manner of her transformation or death is alſo differently apprehended. From the various acceptations of the word we render *pillar*, ſome have fancied ſhe was turned into [illegible] (12); others into a pillar (13), without any reſemblance of human ſhape; and a third party have imagined ſhe was changed into a ſtatue (14), having the perfect form of a woman. Nor is there any better agreement as to the matter of this monument, than the figure of it. Some ſuppoſe it to have been of rock ſalt, which laſts a long while, and is not ſubject to be waſted or diſſolved by the weather, as common ſalt is (15). *Aben Ezra* is of opinion, that *Lot*'s wife was burnt with fire mixed with ſalt; and *Grotius* is of the ſame ſentiment (16). But others think the word *ſalt* does not relate to the matter of the pillar or ſtatue, but either deſcribes the place where it ſtood; and then the meaning of the paſſage is no more, than that it was in a *ſalt*, or barren ſoil (17); or elſe that it ſignifies only the permanency of the ſtatue's duration; as *a covenant of ſalt* is elſewhere (18) uſed to expreſs a *laſting*, or *perpetual covenant* (19). Hence the *Rabbins* take occaſion, according to their cuſtom, to carry the matter farther, and ſay this ſtatue was deſigned for an everlaſting monument of divine juſtice, and ſhall remain till the day of judgment (20). They add, that though it is continually licked by the cattle, yet it is always miraculouſly repaired again (21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but alſo the diſtinction of ſex, and regular purgations, as if it were alive (22): which fable has been ſwallowed by ſome *Chriſtian* writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphoſis at all in the caſe; but that ſhe either turned back out of curioſity to ſee the burning nearer, and ſo periſhed in the dreadful ſhower, or by ſome poiſonous vapour; or elſe that the horror of the ſight, when ſhe looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible deſtruction of a place ſhe had but juſt quitted, ſtruck her ſtiff, and motionleſs like a ſtatue, and that ſhe died of the fright. And as to what is urged from *Joſephus* (25), and ſome books of travels (26), that this ſtatue or pillar [illegible] is now to be ſeen, it is anſwered, that *Joſephus* might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature: which really ſeems to have been the caſe; becauſe the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay they could never ſee it; and when they have aſked the people of the country after it, they either aſſured them there was no ſuch thing (27), or pretended it ſtands ſomewhere in the mountains, where the acceſs to it is very dangerous, becauſe of the wild beaſts and ſerpents, but more ſo on account of the *Arabs* (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuſe this act of *Lot*'s daughters, by ſuppoſing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly deſtroyed, and none left, except their father and themſelves. But there is no manner of foundation for ſuch an opinion; wherefore St. *Auſtin* very juſtly condemns the action, ſaying, they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made ſuch uſe of their father (30). One of theſe daughters a *Jewiſh* writer calls *Pelotith* (31).

(8) *R. Eliezer, Pirke, c.* 25. (9) *Korân, c.* 66. (10) *Jallaloddin, &c.* (11) *Pentat. Ebn Sina.* (12) *Sulpic. Sever.* (13) *Septuag.* (14) *Hieron. Onkelos.* (15) *Vide Watſii Miſcel. Tom.* 2. *and Howell's Hiſtory of the Bible.* (16) *Deut.* xxix. 22. (17) *Pſal.* cvii. 34. (18) *Numb.* xvii. 19. (19) *Vide Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.* (20) *Targ. Hieroſ.* (21) *R. Eliezer, ubi ſupr. Benjam. Itin. p.* 44. (22) *R. Eliezer, ibid.* (23) *Tertul. vel Auctor Carm. de Sodoma, Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. (24) *Vatablus, Bodinus, P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. T.* 4. *Let.* 44. *Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.* (25) *See alſo Wiſdom,* x. 7. (26) *Vide Quareſm. Elucid. terræ ſanct. Tom.* 2. *l.* 6 *c.* 14. (27) *Radzivil, Itiner. Hieroſ. p.* 95. (28) *Brochard, Deſcr. terræ ſanct. p.* 1. *c.* 7. *Numb.* 24. (29) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 34. *in Gen. Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. *Ambroſ. de Abrah. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *Theodor. in Geneſ. quæſt.* 69. *c.* 5. (30) *Auguſt. cont. Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 43. (31) *R. Jehuda, apud Eliezer, Pirke, c.* 25.

a THE posterity of this person settled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which some authors make part of *Cœle-Syria* q, others of *Arabia*; and, having driven out the old inhabitants, possessed a large tract, thence called *Moabitis*, or the land of *Moab*, bounded on the west by the mountaints on the east of the lake *Asphaltitis*, or the *Dead-Sea*, and by the river *Jordan*; on the north by the country possessed by the *Ammonites*, the descendants of *Lot* by his younger daughter; on the south by the brook, or little river *Zered*, which runs into the *Dead-Sea*, and by the countries of *Midian* and *Edom*; and on the east by the deserts of *Arabia*; which tract might be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country, which is chiefly mountainous, intermixed with vallies proper for pasturb ing of cattle, was given by GOD to the children of *Moab*; and the *Israelites*, notwithstanding the great provocations they received from them, were expressly forbidden to disturb them s. However, by the time of *Moses*, the *Amorites*, who had possessed themselves of great part of the land of *Ammon*, took also the adjoining part of the land of *Moab*, reducing their limits on that side to the brook *Arnon*, called also the river of *Gad* t, which empties itself into the lake *Asphaltitis*, and before passed through the midst of their territories. This the *Israelites*, seizing on as part of *Sihon*'s kingdom, which was theirs by right of conquest, kept it for several centuries, till recovered by the *Moabites*, when they brake into the borders of *Reuben* and *Gad*, on the declension of the kingdom of *Israel*, as will be observed hereafter.

Of the country possessed by the Moabites.

c THE chief city of *Moab* was *Ar* u, situate on the river *Arnon*, called also *Rabbah* w, or, *The Great*; and to distinguish it from a city of the same name in the land of *Ammon*, *Rabbath-Moab* x. In after-times it was called *Areopolis* y, by addition of a *Greek* word signifying *a city*. The other cities of *Moab* were *Mizpeh*, *Luthith*, *Horonaim*, and some others, whose situations are not certainly known.

THE customs and manner of life of these people we know very little of. They were governed by kings, used circumcision z, and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage, and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose good the *Jews* were forbbidden to seek a; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites*, even to their tenth gend rations b. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in *Canaan*, as appears from the sojourning of *Elimelech* there c, and the reception *David* met with in his troubles at *Mizpeh* d. What language they used we cannot say; but suppose they spoke a dialect of the *Canaanitish*, or *Hebrew*.

Their government, customs, &c.

THAT this people had once the knowledge of the true GOD, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty, but it appears from scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of *Moses*, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods e; which they seem to have done pretty e early, though the time cannot be fixed.

Their religion:

THE idols of the *Moabites* taken notice of in scripture are *Chemosh* f and *Baal-peor* g, sometimes simply *Peor* h; or, as the *Septuagint* write the name, *Phegor*. But what gods these were, learned men are not agreed. St. *Jerom* supposes, that they were both names of one and the same idol i: and from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several writers, both ancient and modern, have represented them as obscene deities, not much different from *Priapus* k. This opinion they endeavour to support from the etymologies of the names, and fancy some filthiness is implied therein (E). Others l however imagine, that though the *Israelites* and *Solomon*

q JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. r STEPHAN. de urb. in Μώβα. s Deut. ii. 9. Judg. xi. 15. t 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. u Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29. Numb. xxi. 15, 28. Isaiah xv. 1, &c. w Josh. xiii. 25. x HIERON. in *Moab*. y Idem ibid. z Jerem. ix. 25, 26. a Deut. xxiii. b Ibid ver. 3. c Ruth i. 1, 2. d 1 Sam. xxii. 3, &c. e See Numb. xxiv. 11. f Numb. xxi. 29. 1 Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. g Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. h Ibid ver. 18. Josh. xxii. 17, &c. i HIERONIM. in Esai. l. 5. k Idem in Oseam, & contr. Joven. l. 1. c. 12. ORIGEN. in Numer. Homil. 20. THEOPHYLACT. in Hoseam. CUMBERLAND on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. l SELDEN de Diis Syris, Syntag. 1. c. 5. CLERIC. in Numer. PATRICK's Comment. on Numb. xxv.

(E) *Peor* they derive from פער *paar*, to *open*, or *stretch*; because they used an indecent posture before the idol (*distendebant coram eo foramen podicis,*) and offered him dung; which the *Jews* pretend was the worship proper to this idol (31). If this derivation be true, it was most probably a name of contempt imposed by the *Jews*; and the nasty ceremonies they mention may have been invented to give some reason for the name.

(31) *Solom. Yarhi in Numer.* 25. 3. *Maimonides More Nev. part* 3. *c.* 46. *Vid. Philon. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p.* 1061.

Solomon were drawn in to worſhip thoſe idols by debauching themſelves with *Moabitiſh* women [l]; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodeſt ceremonies were uſed in their worſhip; nor are any ſuch mentioned in the moſt ancient authors [m]; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be built on. *Peor* was the name of a mountain, where the high places of *Baal* [n], which word ſignifies no more than *Lord*, and was a title of the ſun, were ſituate; and probably was added to that name by way of diſtinction, to denote the deity adored in that place [o], though he had probably alſo a temple in *Beth-Peor*, which ſtood in the plain [p]. *Voſſius* [q] ſuppoſes *Baal-peor* to be *Bacchus*; and Dr. *Cumberland* [r] ſays he was properly called *Meon*, and will have him to be the ſame with *Menes*, *Mizraim*, and *Oſiris* (F), who, according to his hypotheſis, were all one and the ſame man [s]. *Chemoſh* ſeems to have been a different idol. *Nebo* is thought by ſome to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was without diſpute an idol of the *Babylonians*, and poſſibly the ſame with *Mercury*: but whether the *Moabites* worſhipped it is not ſo certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the ancient dominions of *Moab*, conquered by *Sihon*, which the *Iſraelites* rebuilt, and changed its name [u]; and a part of mount *Abarim* in the ſame tract was alſo called *Nebo*.

Of their religious rights and ceremonies we can ſay very little. The obſcenity attributed to them by ſome authors we have already mentioned; of which, however, the *Pſalmiſt* takes notice, in ſpeaking of thoſe who *were joined to Baal-peor*; but ſays only, that they *eat the offerings of the dead*: by which words he may either mean, that the idol, to which they impiouſly gave divine honour, was no more than a dead man; or elſe that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They ſacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that ſervice [w], and alſo in temples built to their idols in their cities; and, beſides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occaſions offered human victims, according to the *Phœnician* cuſtom; an inſtance of which will be given by and by.

The Moabites *drive out the* Emims.

The firſt inhabitants of the land, afterwards poſſeſſed by the poſterity of *Moab*, were the *Emims*, a great and powerful people and of extraordinary ſtrength and ſtature [x]. They were, moſt probably, deſcendants of *Ham*, and of the ſame gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*, though the *Moabites* called them by the name of *Emims* [y], which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *terrible*. Theſe having been much weakened by the invaſion of *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and his allies [z], became the eaſier conqueſt to the *Moabites*; who drove them out, and took poſſeſſion of their country; but about what time is uncertain. However, they kept not their new dominions long entire;

But loſe part

for

[l] Numb. xxv. [m] See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. [n] Numb. xxiii. 38. [o] Theodoret ad Pſal. cv. Vid. Suid in Βεελφεγώρ. [p] See Joſh. xiii, 17 & 20. [q] De idolatr. l. 2. c. 7. [r] On Sanchon. p. 67. [s] See before, p. xlvi. 1. Pſal. cvi. 28. [w] See Numb. xiv. 5. [x] Deut. ii. 10. [y] Ibid p. 10, 11. [z] Gen.

Chemoſh, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb משש *Maſhaſh*, to *feel*: but Dr. *Hyde* derives it from the *Arabic Khamüſh*, which ſignifies *gnats* (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of *Hodail*), ſuppoſing it to have been an aſtrological Talliſman in the figure of a gnat, made to drive away thoſe inſects (32): and *Le Clerc*, who takes this idol for the ſun, from *Camoſha*, a root in the ſame tongue, ſignifying *to be ſwift* (33).

(F) This learned prelate ſuppoſes *Peor* was not his true name; and finding *Baal-Meon* (34) and *Beth-Meon* (35), and *Beth-Baal-Meon* (36), mentioned in ſcripture, as a place lying within the old territories of *Moab*, concludes *Meon* was the proper, or honourable title of this deity, whom he will have to be the ſame with *Oſiris*, becauſe of the obſcene proceſſions uſed in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodeſt ceremonies uſed in the worſhip of the former, and from the affinity between the names of *Meon* and *Menes*, The chief reaſons he gives, why *Meon* was the name of an idol, and the ſame with *Peor*, are, 1. The *Septuagint* and *Arabic* verſions have *Meon* for a proper name or title of a deity (37). 2. The *Targum* of *Jonathan* (38) calls *Baal-Meon a city of* Balak, *in which* Iſrael *deſtroyed the idol* Peor *in the houſe of altars*. 3. *Meon* was ſo great a title of honour, that it is given to God himſelf in ſcripture (39), though it is tranſlated *dwelling-place*. But we think nothing can be concluded from paſſages where the the word is plainly an appellative. 4. *Beth-Meon* ſignifies the *houſe* or *temple* of *Meon*; and no other than a ſuppoſed deity can be ſaid to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are ſeveral names of places compounded with the word *Beth*, which have no relation at all to idols. 5. The *Iſraelites* changed the name of the city *Baal-Meon*, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of *Nebo*, becauſe they were ſo named from falſe gods (40). But this is no neceſſary conſequence.

(32) *Hyde de rel. vet. perſ. c.* 5. *p.* 131. (33) *Cleric. in Numb.* xxxi. 28. (34). *Numb.* xxxii. 38. 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Ezek.* xxv. 9. (35) *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (36) *Joſh.* xiii 17. (37) *Vid.* 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (38) *On Numb.* xxxii, xxxviii. (39) *Pſal.* xc. 1, *and* xci. 9. (40) *See Cumberland on Sanchon. chap.* 2.

a for in the days of *Moſes*, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, who bordered on them eaſtward, fought againſt the king of *Moab*, the predeceſſor of *Balak*, and took from that nation all their land, to the north of the river *Arnon*[a].

of their acquiſitions to the Amorites.

BALAK the ſon of *Zippor*, was on the throne of *Moab* when the *Iſraelites*, having ſubdued *Sihon*, were incamped in part of their new acquiſitions, called the plains of *Moab*, becauſe they had lately belonged to that nation[b]. This prince, being exceedingly diſmayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to reſiſt, and not knowing that GOD had forbidden them to attempt the conqueſt of his remaining territories, aſſembled the nobles, and alſo the princes of the *Midianites* (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of *Moab*, as we ſhall b obſerve hereafter), and acquainted them with his apprehenſions, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould, as he expreſſed it, *lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the graſs of the field.* Having conſulted together, and not daring to truſt to their arms alone, the aſſembly agreed to ſend for *Balaam*, the ſon of *Beor*, a famous prophet (G), or diviner of that time, in the prevalency of whoſe prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might come and curſe the people, which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs (H). Accordingly ambaſſadors of both nations were ſent, not empty handed, but with preſents, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to *Balaam*, who dwelt at *Pethor*, a city of *Meſopotamia*, ſituate on the *Euphrates*[c], and told him the occaſion of their coming. The prophet deſired them to ſtay with him that night, that he might enquire of GOD, c whether he ſhould go with them and curſe the *Iſraelites* or not: but being commanded not to go, nor to curſe a people whom GOD had determined to bleſs; the next morning he told them, he could not diſobey the divine command, and ſo diſmiſſed them. On their return with this anſwer, *Balak*, whoſe ſole hopes lay in the prophet, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, conſiſting of perſons of more diſtinguiſhed quality, and in greater number, with promiſes of great riches and preferment, if he would comply with his requeſt. *Balaam* told them, that if he might gain ever ſo much wealth, he durſt not act contrary to the divine directions: however, being willing to gratify *Balak*, and tempted by the large offers which had been made him, notwithſtanding he knew it was a thing diſagreeable to GOD, yet he conſulted the oracle d once more, and had then leave given him to go, provided he ſaid nothing, but what GOD ſhould put in his mouth. *Balaam* therefore went with the ambaſſadors, reſolving, as it ſeems, with himſelf, to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of thoſe who had employed him. But his intentions being diſpleaſing to GOD, he ſent an angel to withſtand him by the way, who placed himſelf in the road with a drawn ſword in his hand, as *Balaam* came riding on his aſs, attended by two ſervants only, and at a diſtance from the reſt of the company; the aſs ſeeing the angel (though her maſter did

Balak *ſends for* Balaam *to curſe the* Iſraelites.

Year of the Flood 1547. Year before Chriſt, 1451.

[a] Numb. xxi. 26. [b] Numb. xxii. 1. [c] Geneſ. xv. 10, 18. Joſh. 24. 2—15.

(G) Some *Jews* imagine this *Balaam* was an aſtrologer, who obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them; which ſometimes coming to paſs in neighbouring nations, gained him a great reputation. Several of the ancient fathers ſuppoſe him to have been no more than a common ſoothſayer (41), who pretended to foretel future events, but by no juſtifiable arts. *Origen* will have it, that he was no prophet, but only a ſorcerer, who went to enquire of the devil; but that God was pleaſed to prevent him, and to put what anſwer he thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied however, but that the ſcripture expreſly calls him a *prophet*; and therefore ſome later writers (42) are of opinion, that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs (43), and proſtituting the honour of God to his covetouſneſs, he apoſtatized from God, and, betaking himſelf to idolatrous practices, fell under the deluſion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical enchantments; though at this juncture, when the preſervation of his people was concerned, it might conſiſt with God's wiſdom to appear to him, and vouchſafe him revelations. *Balaam* indeed was a man of no great probity, and might by profeſſion be a diviner; but by the free acceſs he had to God, it ſeems apparent, that he was no common ſorcerer or magician (44).

The *Jews* ſay *Balaam* was not his true name; but that he was ſo called, becauſe by his counſel בלע עם *Bala am*, i. e. *he deſtroyed the people* of God (45): and ſome have taken him to be the ſame perſon who in the book of *Job* is named *Eliſha* (46). The prophetical traditions of *Balaam* the *Perſian Magi* are ſaid to have had (47), and it is thought, that from his prophecy (48) the wiſe men knew the ſignification of the ſtar which appeared at our Saviour's birth (49).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private perſons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpoſe (50).

(41) *See Joſeph.* 13. 22. (42) *See Patrick's Comment. on Numb.* xxii. (43) 2 *Pet.* ii. 15. (44) *Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p.* 465, *&c.* (45) *Vide Hottinger. Smegma Orient. p.* 444. (46) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr.* (47) *D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p.* 528. (48) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (49) *Theodor. Tarſenſis, apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 384. (50) *Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l.* 3. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vita Craſſi, p.* 553.

did not) turned out of the way into the field; on which *Balaam* ſtruck her: then a the angel went forward, and ſtood in a path between two walls; againſt one of which the aſs thruſting her ſelf to avoid the angel, cruſhed *Balaam*'s foot, and provoked him to ſtrike her again. At length the angel went farther, and ſtood in a place ſo narrow, that there was no room for the aſs to turn out of the way; but ſhe fell down under the prophet, and enraged him ſo that he ſtruck her a third time. Whereupon God miraculouſly opened the aſs's mouth (I), and ſhe ſpoke to her maſter with an articulate voice, and aſked him, why he had given her thoſe three blows? *Balaam*, in the heat of his paſſion not conſidering the prodigy (K), angrily anſwered, that ſhe had purpoſely provoked him; and wiſhed he had a ſword to kill her. But on the aſs's demanding if ever ſhe had ſerved him in that manner before, he confeſſed that b ſhe had not. Immediately on this *Balaam*'s eyes were opened, and he ſaw the angel ſtanding before him armed with a naked ſword; whereupon he fell proſtrate on his face, and the angel told him, that he had ſtruck his aſs without cauſe, ſince it was he that oppoſed him becauſe of his perverſeneſs; and that if the aſs had not turned out of the way he ſhould have killed him, and ſaved her alive (L). The prophet on this reprimand offered to return home again; but the angel bid him go on, taking care only to ſay no more than what God ſhould direct him[d].

Balaam being come to the borders of *Moab*, *Balak* went out to meet him; and, after ſome expoſtulations for not coming on the firſt meſſage, brought him to *Kirjath-huzzoth*, where the king offered ſacrifices, and feaſted *Balaam* and the princes who c were with him. The next day *Balak* brought the prophet up into the high places of *Baal* on mount *Abarim*, where he might have a full proſpect of the camp of the *Iſraelites*, whom he had hired him to curſe[e]. There *Balak*, by the prophet's direction, built ſeven altars, in which number there might poſſibly be ſome ſuperſtition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true God, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram on each altar; and the ſame they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The two firſt times *Balaam* ſought for enchantments[f], or uſed ſuch means as he was able, to obtain leave of God to curſe the children of *Iſrael*; but without ſucceſs; for on the contrary he was commanded to bleſs them, ſore againſt his inclination, and to the great mortification of *Balak*[g]. Wherefore the third d time, finding that no enchantments could prevail againſt *Jacob*, nor any divination againſt *Iſrael*, he omitted his former arts, and not only bleſſed them a third time, but pronounced thoſe curſed who ſhould utter any imprecations againſt that people. *Balak* was exceedingly enraged at this diſappointment, and ordered him to depart immediately; but *Balaam* before he went, pronounced in *Balak*'s preſence a noble and magnificent prophecy of the future ſucceſſes of the *Iſraelites*, and what ſhould befall ſeveral nations and kingdoms[h]. As to *Moab* in particular, he foretold, *that a ſtar* (M) *ſhould come out of Jacob, and a ſceptre ſhould ariſe out of Iſrael, which ſhould ſmite the corners* (or, as it may be better tranſlated, *the princes*) *of Moab, and deſtroy all the children of*

[d] Numb. xxii. 2. 35. [e] Numb. xxii. 36—41. [f] See before. p. 220, 221. [g] Numb. xxiii. [h] Ibid. c. 24.

(I) This was ſo extraordinary an event, that ſome *Jews*, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to perſwade themſelves that it really came to paſs. *Philo* (50), in relating the ſtory of *Balaam*, wholly omits this circumſtance; and *Maimonides* (51) pretends it happened to *Balaam* in a prophetical viſion. But as there is no doubt of God's power to effect ſuch a miracle, and the words of ſcripture are very expreſs, there can be no reaſon for diſ-believing it. The heathens cannot reproach *Moſes* with any abſurdity in this ſtory, ſince they themſelves relate ſo many of the like nature, but not near ſo well ſupported. Witneſs what they ſay of the aſs upon which *Bacchus* rode; of the ram of *Phryxus*; the bull of *Europa*; the horſes of *Achilles* and *Adraſtus*; the elephant of *Porus* in *India*, and the lamb in *Egypt* when *Boccheris* reigned there (52).

(K) This ſeems to be the true reaſon why *Balaam* expreſſed no more ſurprize on this occaſion. But ſome ſuppoſe *Balaam* might have imbibed the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls, which was, and ſtill is, too common in the eaſt, and from thence might be the leſs aſtoniſhed to hear a brute ſpeak (53). *Joſephus* indeed tells us, but without authority, that he was affrighted at the accident (54).

(L) An inſtance of a prophet's being ſlain for diſobedience, and his aſs being ſaved alive, we have in the firſt book of Kings (55).

(M) The eaſtern nations denoted a king by a ſtar or comet, the appearance of which they thought portended the riſe of great princes, and the revolutions of empires (56).

(50) *De vita Moſis, l.* 1. (51) *More Nevoch. part.* 2. *cap.* 42. (52) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr.* (53) *Vide Clerici Comment. in locum.* (54) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 1. *c.* (55) *Chap.* xiii. 23, *&c.* (56) *Vide Cleric. in loc.*

a *of Seth*[i] (N). Which prophecy the moſt judicious interpreters take to be primarily ſpoken of *David*, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed alſo ſecondarily, and in a more exalted ſenſe, to refer to the *Meſſiah*. After this *Balaam* returned home[k], but not without giving a moſt wicked counſel (O) to *Balak* and the *Midianites*, which proved very pernicious to the children of *Iſrael*: for he told them, that it was in vain to expect that GOD would ever deſert that nation, ſo long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and diſtreſs them, would be to tempt them to idolatry and diſobedience, which he thought no means ſo proper to effect, as by inticing them to debaucheries with the *Moabitiſh* and *Midianitiſh* women. And therefore he adviſed them to ſend the moſt beautiful virgins they could find to
b the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, with proper inſtructions[l].

THIS was put in execution; the chief men among them making no ſcruple to proſtitute their daughters on this occaſion[m]: and the ſtratagem ſucceeded but too well. For the *Iſraelites* were immediately ſmitten with the charms of theſe fair idolatreſſes; and, having began to commit whoredom with them, were eaſily ſeduced in another point, and prevailed on to comply with the worſhip of their falſe gods. This occaſioned a dreadful plague, which deſtroyed 24,000 of them, beſides thoſe who were put to death by the order of *Moſes*[n].

THEIR hiring of *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael* was the reaſon why the *Moabites* were not to be admitted to mix, or intermarry with that people, as has been obſerved[o]; but
c the *Midianites*, who ſeem to have been more particularly the inſtruments of ſeducing them to idolatry, were more ſeverely puniſhed ſoon after, as will be related in a more proper place: and *Balaam* himſelf had his reward, being ſlain by the *Iſraelites* when they took their revenge on *Midian*[p].

The next action which is recorded of the *Moabites* is, that they were the inſtruments of the ſecond oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites* after their ſettlement in the land of *Canaan*. For that people, on the death of *Othniel* the ſon of *Kenaz*, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon GOD raiſed up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to puniſh them. This prince therefore having entered into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* his neighbours, with their aſſiſtance ſucceſsfully invaded
d *Iſrael*, and ſeized on the eaſtern part of their country, and particularly on a city called by *Moſes* the city of *palm trees*, by which is generally underſtood *Jericho* (P), which was in the lot of the tribe of *Benjamin*; and having left garriſons to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and exerciſed great tyranny over them for no leſs than eighteen years. At the expiration of which time, the children of *Iſrael* returning to a better mind, had recourſe to GOD in their diſtreſs, who raiſed them up to a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*. This perſon, being deputed by his countrymen

[i] Ibid. ver. 17. [k] Ibid. ver. 25. [l] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. [m] Numb. xxv. 15. [n] Ibid. ver. 1—5. [o] See before, p. 285. [p] Numb. xxxi. 8. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.

(N) According to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the ſame ſentence in different expreſſions, by *the children of Seth*, the *Moabites* ſhould be intended; but why they are ſo called we cannot find. There is a paſſage in *Jeremiah*, which ſeems to prove, that in his time this place was differently read. *A fire* ſays that prophet, *ſhall come out of* Heſhbon, *a flame from the midſt of* Sihon, *which ſhall devour the corner of* Moab, *and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones*, or, as is better rendred in the margin, *of the children of noiſe* (57). The former part of this paſſage is taken from another text (58), and the latter from that which we are now ſpeaking of. The difference between them is very little in the original: *Jeremiah* inſtead of קרקר *karkar*, *ſhall deſtroy*, having קדקד *kadkod*, the *crown of the head* (which is the reading of the *Samaritan* pentateuch in this very place) and inſtead of שת *Seth*, שאון *Shaon*, *noiſe*. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(O) Though *Moſes* mentions not this where he deſcribes the interview between *Balaam* and *Balak*, yet in another place (59) he lays the whole blame on *Balaam*, ſaying, that the *Iſraelites* treſpaſſed *through his counſel*. *Joſephus* is very particular in relating this circumſtance, and tells us, that *Balaam* bethought himſelf of it when he came to the *Euphrates*, and thence ſent to ſpeak with *Balak* and the princes of *Midian* (60). The *Targum* of *Jonathan* and that of *Jeruſalem* ſuppoſe he gave this counſel juſt before he pronounced the laſt prophecy; and that the ſame is intimated by theſe words, *I will adviſe*, or *counſel thee* (61).

(P) *Jericho* was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm trees of different kinds which grew in its neighbourhood (62). *Joſephus* ſays, that *Eglon* removed his court to this city (63): but he ſeems to have been miſtaken: for after it had been burnt by *Joſhua* (64), who curſed the perſon that ſhould rebuild it (65), it lay in ruins till the days of *Ahab* (66). However, the place might ſerve for a garriſon to keep the country in awe, for which uſe it was very well ſituated.

(57) *Jerem.* xlviii. 45. (58) *Numb.* xxi. 28. (59) *Numb.* xxxi. 16. *See alſo Revel.* ii. 14. (60) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 4. *c.* 6. (61) *Numb.* xxiv. 14. *Vid. etiam Cleric. in loc.* (62) *Deut.* xxxiv. 3. *Joſeph. de bello Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 4. (63) *Idem Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 5. (64) *Joſh.* vi. 24. (65) *Ibid. ver.* 26. (66) 1 *Kings* xvi 34.

countrymen to carry a preſent, or rather the tribute which was exacted of them, to *Eglon*, formed the deſign of freeing them from the intolerable oppreſſion they had ſo long undergone, by taking off their tyrant; he therefore provided himſelf with a dagger fit for the execution of his purpoſe, though ſhort enough to be hidden under his garments; and, being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which alſo gave the leſs ſuſpicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he ſent away thoſe who had brought it, and followed them ſo far homewards as the quarries near *Gilgal* (Q); but when he came thither he turned back again, and being admitted into the king's preſence, who was then in a ſummer apartment, he pretended to have ſomething to impart to him in private. Whereupon *Eglon* ordered his attendants to withdraw: and *Ehud* told him, that he had a meſſage to deliver him from God; which the king riſing from his ſeat to receive, *Ehud* ſtabbed him with his dagger in the belly, and that with ſo violent a thruſt, that the haft went in after the blade; and *Eglon* being a very fat man, the fat cloſed upon it, ſo that he was obliged to leave it in his body. Having thus executed his purpoſe, he locked the door of the apartment upon the king, and went out unſuſpected (R). The ſervants, after *Ehud* was gone, coming, and finding the door locked, concluded the king was eaſing himſelf, and therefore waited at the door till they were aſhamed; but at length they opened it, and found their maſter breathleſs on the floor. *Ehud* in the mean time eſcaped beyond *Jordan*, and gathering together what forces he could, attacked the *Moabites*, that were garriſoned on the weſt of the river within the land of *Canaan*, and ſlew ten thouſand of their beſt men; which utterly broke the power of *Moab*, and freed the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of that nation[q].

We hear no more of the *Moabites* after this diſaſter till the time of *Saul*, who warred againſt them with ſucceſs[r]. The enmity which ſubſiſted between him and this nation probably induced *David*, when perſecuted by that prince, to aſk the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, till his affairs ſhould be in a better poſture[s]; which the *Moabites* readily granted, and treated them with great hoſpitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown, the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy againſt him with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations[t]: whereupon he declared war againſt them; and having obtained a ſignal victory, put two thirds of them to the ſword (S), and made the reſt his vaſſals and tributaries[u].

From this time they continued ſubject to *Solomon* and *Reboboam* till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which it ſeems they became tributaries to the kings of *Iſrael*, though they had all along kings of their own, which were little better than viceroys. *Meſha* one of them paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many weathers, with the wool; his riches conſiſting chiefly in ſheep[w]. But when *Ahab* was dead he rebelled againſt his ſon *Ahaziah*[x], whoſe ſhort reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and ſucceſſor *Jehoram*, aſſiſted by *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his ally, and the king of *Edom* his tributary, made an expedition for that purpoſe, and took a compaſs of ſeven days march through the deſart of *Edom*, in order to ſuprize the enemy. Having reached the land of *Moab*, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water, and muſt have periſhed, had not the prophet *Eliſha* obtained a ſudden and large ſupply for them by a land-flood. The *Moabites*, being by this time alarmed,

[q] Judges. iii. 12—30. [r] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [s] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 14. [t] Pſal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c. [u] 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. 7. c 5. [w] 2 Kings iii. 4. [x] 2 Kings i, 1, & iii. 5.

(Q) The word *Peſilim*, which in our verſion is rendred the *quarries*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated τὰ γλυπτὰ, and in the vulgate, *the idols, the ſculptures*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſet up there by *Eglon* (67).

(R) This action of *Ehud* ſome juſtify, by ſuppoſing he had God's expreſs command for it (68). But as the ſcripture intimates no ſuch thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjuſtly enſlaved it, by any means (69). A poſition which may encourage aſſaſſinations in every caſe, where the actor judges the cauſe he engages in to be righteous.

(S) This is the meaning of the ſacred hiſtorian, when he ſays, *That David meaſured them with a line, caſting them down to the ground; even with two lines meaſured he, to put to death; and with one full line to keep alive.* It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in the eaſt, to order the priſoners of war to lie down, and to meaſure by a line ſuch a part of them as they deſigned to put to death. *Le Clerc* thinks this probably was a juſt retaliation for ſome cruelties of the ſame kind which the *Moabites* had been guilty of. As the ſcripture does not ſay whether *David* put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of thoſe who appeared in arms againſt him; it is more for the honour of that prince to ſuppoſe the latter (70).

(67) *Chytræus, &c. See before, p.* 81. *in the notes.* (68) *Vid. Patrick, in loc.* (69) *Cleric. in loc.* (70) *Idem, in* 2 *Sam.* viii. 2.

a alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms, and early in the morning, ſeeing the water to the weſtward look red, like blood, by reaſon of the reflection of the ſun, and never ſuſpecting it to be water in that dry deſart, and in ſo great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood, and ſuppoſing the confederated princes had fallen out, and turned their arms againſt one another, concluded they had no more to do than to take the ſpoil. On this imagination they ran in confuſion to the camp of *Iſrael*, but ſoon found their miſtake; for not being able to ſuſtain the firſt attack of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were ſlain by the enemy, who purſued them into the very heart of their country, waſted their lands, and demoliſhed their cities, except *Kir-laraſeth*, where the king of *Moab* ſhut himſelf up.
b *Meſha* being beſieged and cloſely preſſed, made a ſally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to eſcape, by breaking through the quarters of the *Edomites*, which were the weakeſt; but failing in the attempt, in the height of deſpair he took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-ſacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and returned home[y].

It was not long before the *Moabites* attempted to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained in this invaſion, on *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah* (U), by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly *Jehoram* was inabled to undertake it; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves, entered into alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir* (who were almoſt ripe for
c rebellion, and actually did rebel againſt *Jehoſhaphat*'s ſon), and ſome other neighbouring nations (W), and formed a very large army, carrying on their deſign with ſuch ſecrecy and diſpatch, that they were entered the kingdom by the way of *Edom*, and were got to *Hahazon-tamar*, or *Engedi*, on the weſt of the dead Sea, before *Jehoſhaphat* had any advice of their motion. That good prince was greatly diſmayed at the news, and, being unprepared for the reception of his enemies, had recourſe to God, who promiſed him by the prophet *Jahaziel* to deliver him from his enemies without his ſtriking a blow. And it happened accordingly: for while *Jehoſhaphat* and his army, in confidence of the prophecy, were marching towards the enemy, with the prieſts and ſingers at their head, praiſing God, the ſeveral nations that had leagued
d againſt them deſtroyed one another by falling into the ambuſhes which themſelves had ſet againſt the men of *Judah*; ſo that the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* firſt fell upon their confederates of *Edom*; and, having put them to the ſword, began to cut one another's throats till none were left alive. And when *Jehoſhaphat* and his people came up with them, they had no more to do than to ſeize the plunder, which was very rich, and in ſuch abundance that they were three days in gathering it[z].

After this we do not find, that the *Moabites* diſturbed *Iſrael* for many years; however, between this and the reign of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, they had invaded their neighbours

[y] Ibid. ver. 6, 27. Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1. [z] 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. Joseph. ubi ſupr.

(T) Several writers (71) ſuppoſe *Meſha* did not ſacrifice his own ſon, but the ſon of the king of *Edom*, whom, they ſay, he took in the ſally; and that this is the ſame action with that mentioned by the prophet *Amos*, who threatneth *Moab*, *becauſe he burnt the bones of the king of* Edom *into lime* (72). But they ſeem to be different actions; for, not to inſiſt on the ſtrict acceptation of the two paſſages, one ſpeaking of a king of *Edom*, and the other of a king's ſon, it was a known cuſtom in ancient times, for princes in extreme calamities of the public, to offer their moſt beloved child as an expiatory ſacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (73).

(U) Some make this action prior to the invaſion of *Moab* by this prince and *Jehoram*; but we ſhall elſewhere ſhew that it ought to be placed after it.

(W) Who theſe nations were is uncertain. The original word *Mehaammonium* ſhould be tranſlated (as it is in the *Vulgate*) *with the Ammonites*, were it not that the children of *Ammon* are mentioned before. To avoid the abſurdity of which repetition, the *Septuagint*, if their copies were not different from the preſent *Hebrew* in this place, render it *ſome of the* Minæans; of which name *Bochart* ſuppoſes there were two people, one of the race of *Shem*, dwelling in *Arabia felix*, and the other of the race of *Ham*, who ſettled in *Arabia petrea*, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the *Jews* called *Meonim*, which word occurs in two places of the book of *Chronicles* (74) (though the *Engliſh* tranſlation in the firſt place takes it for an appellative, and renders it the *habitations*) and is in both by the *Septuagint* tranſlated *Minæans*. Wherefore *Bochart* prefers the *Greek* reading in the paſſage before us, to the *Hebrew*; being of opinion, that there is a tranſpoſition of the letters *Mim* and *Ain* (75). The *Chaldee* paraphraſt has it, *with the Edomites*. But there ſeems to be no occaſion for any change, ſince the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elſewhere, be rendered *beyond* or *beſides*; (76) for which reaſon the *Engliſh* Verſion is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, *and others beſiege the* Ammonites.

(71) *See the Argument to the* iii *chap. of* 2 *Kings, in the Engliſh Bible; and Uſher's Annals, ad Annum Mundi, &c.* (72) *Amos* ii. 1. (73) *See before, p.* 138 *a. Vide etiam Porphyr. de Abſtin. l.* 2. *Ælian. var. Hiſt. l.* 12. *c.* 28. *Juſtin. l.* 18. *c.* 6. *Plut. in Pelopida, &c.* (74) 1 *Chron.* iv. 41. 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 7. (75) *Bochart, Phaleg. l.* 2. *c.* 23. (76) *Vide Cleric. in loc.*

neighbours of *Edom*; and having the better of them, inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead is not ſaid), and reduced his bones to aſhes: for which piece of cruelty God denounced ſevere judgments againſt them by the prophet *Amos*[a]. And on the declenſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, they alſo ſeem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invaſion of *Sihon*; for in the prophecies of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah* againſt *Moab* ſeveral cities in thoſe territories are mentioned, as then in the poſſeſſion of that nation, or of the *Ammonites*[b], who were probably their confederates in oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*. Theſe ſucceſſes elated the *Moabites* ſo much, that for their pride and inſolence God threatened them with utter deſtruction, by ſeveral of his prophets[c]: And *Iſaiah* in particular foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-Haraſheth*, two of their principal cities, ſhould be deſtroyed, and the reſt of their country brought to contempt and deſolation[d]. This prophecy being dated in the firſt year of king *Hezekiah*[e], muſt have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was firſt beſieged by *Salmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*, who probably ſubjected *Moab*, and placed garriſons in thoſe towns, to ſtop the incurſions which the *Arabs* might that way make on him, before he began the ſiege[f].

a

b

c

After the fearful deſtruction of the army of *Sennacherib* the ſon of *Salmaneſer*, the *Moabites* often revolted from his ſucceſſors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely ſubdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whoſe hands their king was given, according to a prediction of *Jeremiah*[g], the fifth year after his taking *Jeruſalem*[h]. For the *Babyloniſh* yoke ſat ſo uneaſy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of *Judah*, and miſſed few or no Opportunities of harraſſing that nation[i], yet, on *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure from *Judea* and *Syria*, after his ſecond expedition into thoſe parts, they with the other neighbouring nations propoſed to *Zedekiah* to enter into a league with him againſt the *Chaldeans*; which that prince[k], notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Jeremiah* to the contrary, conſenting to, on the acceſſion of the *Egyptians* to their confederacy, it became the occaſion of his utter ruin; his new allies deſerting him in his diſtreſs.

c

From this time hiſtory makes very little mention of the *Moabites*, who were hence forward ſubject to the great empires, and at length coaleſced with, and were ſwallowed up in, the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deſarts of *Syria*; ſo that though *Joſephus* mentions the *Moabites* as a diſtinct nation long after, ſaying they were ſubdued by *Alexander Jannæus* king of the *Jews*[l], and tells us they were a populous nation, even in his time[m]; yet by the third century after Christ they loſt their ancient name, and became comprehended under the more general denomination of *Arabians*[n].

d

SECT. II.

The History of Ammon.

e

This people were the poſterity of *Ammon*, otherwiſe called *Ben Ammi* (though that is not poſitively known), ſignifying *the ſon of my people* our kindred, the offſpring of *Lot* and his younger daughter[o]. We have given the hiſtory of this inceſtuous birth in ſpeaking of *Moab*, the ſon of the elder ſiſter by her father[p].

Of the country poſſeſſed by the Ammonites.

The children of *Ammon* poſſeſſed themſelves of the country called, after their own name, *Ammonites*, adjoining to the north of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummins*, as they called them, who were giants, and the ancient inhabitants of the land[q]. This country[r], as well as *Moabitis*, is by ſome reckoned a part of *Cœle Syria*[s], and by others of *Arabia*, and was, in its firſt ſtate under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabboc* on the north[t]; though elſewhere it ſeems as if it extended beyond that northward, into the mountains of *Gilead*[u]: on the weſt, it had the river *Jordan*; on the ſouth, the river *Arnon*[w], or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the eaſt, the deſarts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moſes* the *Amorites* had diſlodged them from their firſt boundaries, at the ſame time they diſturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the weſtern part

f

[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Iſaiah xv, & xvi. Jerem. lxiii. [c] Ibid. & Ezek. xxv. 8, & 9. Zeph. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. [d] Iſai. xv. 14. [e] Ibid. c. xiv. 28. [f] Vide Prid. Connect. part 1. B. 1. p. 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—6. xxv. 21. [h] Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] Jerem. xxvii. [l] Joseph. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Idem Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. [n] Origen. in Job. l. 1. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, p. 284. [q] Deuter. xi. 20. [r] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—2 [s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμων. [t] Judg. xi. 13. [u] Joſh. xiii. 24, 25. [w] Judg. ubi ſupr.

a part of their poſſeſſion into, and acroſs the mountains, which ſerved them for an immediate defence, perhaps, againſt the farther purſuit of the *Amorites*, and as a ſtrong barrier to protect them, in part, from invaſions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, eſpecially after this expulſion, we cannot ſettle. We have only to add, that their kingdom, probably, was not of very wide extent, no more than that of *Moab*; and that it was chiefly a corn country, as may be gathered from the tribute, which will be ſeen on its inhabitants in the courſe of their hiſtory.

THE cities of this kingdom we know little enough of. The metropolis was called *Rabbah*; which, to diſtinguiſh it from the chief city of *Moab*, which bore the ſame name or epithet was called *Rabbah of the children of Ammon* [y]. It was alſo known by the
b name of *Ammana* [z]. This capital ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed into two parts, *Rabbah* properly ſo called, and the *city of waters*. Whence the waters were derived to it, whether from the river *Jabbok*, or whether from exuberant ſprings in or about it, cannot be determined. This only we have ſome authority to ſay, that it was the moſt delightful part of the city, and that the king's houſe ſtood there; from whence this part may have been ſtiled the *royal city* [a]. *Rabbah* moreover was famous for being the place where the great iron bedſtead of *Og* king of *Baſan* was to be ſeen [b]. In proceſs of time this city was called *Philadelphia* [c] from *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who rebuilt it in a ſumptuous manner; and for ages after it was a city of firſt note: nay, of ſuch eminence as to impoſe its name upon the countries of *Ammonitis* and *Moabitis*; from whence
c you have the *Philadelphian Arabia* [d]. The other conſiderble cities of this kingdom were *Minnith* (concerning which there is ſome doubt) and *Abel* of the vineyard [e]. *Jaſer*, or *Jazar*, is alſo reckoned among the cities of *Ammon* [f], but inaccurately [g].

WE know very little of the manners and cuſtoms of this people. They had kings, and were circumciſed [h], and ſeem to have been principally addicted to huſbandry. They, as well as the *Moabites*, were among the nations, whoſe peace or proſperity the *Iſraelites* were not to ſtrive after. Neither the one nor the other of them were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; ſo wide was the diſtance between the *Iſraelites* and them! The reaſon, becauſe they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderneſs; and becauſe they joined to hire *Balaam* to curſe them [i]. How-
d ever, we find there was afterwards a very good underſtanding between their king *Nahaſh* and *David* [k].

THE religion of the *Ammonites*, as we have already obſerved concerning that of the *Moabites*, was originally as pure as it could flow from ſo clear a ſtream as the inſtruction of *Lot*; but they alſo ſwerved therefrom by degrees, and at length degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel idolatry. *Their religion.*

THEIR chief and peculiar deity is in the ſcripture called *Molech*, or *Moloch*. He is thought alſo to be underſtood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech*, and the like. Theſe names, or titles, ſignify no more than lord, or king, and ſometimes have a pre-junctive epithet, as in the two laſt, where he is ſtiled the
e *mighty* and *rich Melech*, *Moloch*, or king: theſe two were the gods of the *Sepharvites*. We ſhall only ſpeak of the *Ammoniti/h Moloch* in this place. The learned are not poſitively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of king, or *Moloch* [l]. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and to have been divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man ſtretched out in act to receive [m] (A). Now theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and inſtead of being within the

[x] See Numb. xxi. 24. [y] Deut. iii. 11. [z] STEPH. in *Αμμαν*. [a] See 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27. [b] Deut. ubi. ſupr. [c] Vide EUSEB. Onomaſt. urbium & locorum. [d] Vide CELLARII notitias Orbis Antiqui. c. 14. [e] Judg. xi. 33. [f] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. 1 Maccab. v. 8. [g] Vide CELAR. ubi ſupr. [h] Jerem. ix 25, 26. [i] Deut. xxxiii. [k] 2 Kings xi. [l] Vide VOSS. de Idolalat. & SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntag. 1. c. vi. [m] PAUL FAGIUS apud enund. ubi ſupr.

(A) An ancient *Jewiſh* traveller ſays, "that "when he was in theſe parts, there were yet ſtanding remains of the ancient temple of the *Ammonites*, and therein their idol ſeated upon a "throne. This idol was of ſtone, gilt over with "gold, and had on each hand the image of a "woman in a ſitting poſture (77): before the idol "was the altar on which the *Ammonites* offered "their ſacrifices and incenſe". *Selden* thinks this idol and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to *Moloch*, that moſt ancient deity of the *Ammonites*, (78). And indeed we think this traveller muſt have been ſome how or other impoſed on, or miſtaken. However, we muſt not apprehend, that the images of *Moloch* were always large and fixed: they were likewiſe ſmall and portable, and carried up and down in ſhrines, according to appearance, and as the cuſtom was with other idolaters, as will be obſerved at due times (79).

(77) *Benjamin Itinerar.* (78) *In Syntag. prim. de diis Syr.* (79) *Vide eund. ibid.*

image itſelf, are placed orderly before it [n]. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven a places, their number correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that they worſhipped the ſun intentionally [o]; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion as might, according to this people, beſt befit the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate in a conjectural way upon ſo obſcure a matter, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). *Chemoſh* alſo was a god of the *Ammonites*, concerning whom we have ſaid all we can already *.

As to the ſuperſtitions paid to *Moloch*, there is a wide diſcrepancy among authors. By the ſcripture it is often ſaid, that the *Ammonites paſſed their ſeed through fire to* Moloch. This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figuarative ſenſe by b others., The firſt ſentiment is embraced by the *Jewiſh* writers (C), who for the moſt part hold, that the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification: the latter is adopted by the chriſtian writers chiefly, who think that they actually burnt their children, by way of ſacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near *Jeruſalem* where this horrid cuſtom was obſerved. It was called the *valley of the ſons of Hinnom* [p] (D), ſo named from the ſhrieks of the children ſacrificed: as alſo *Topheth* [q], from a *Hebrew* word, *Toph*, ſignifying a drum or tabret, which they uſed among other inſtruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims. Whence this cruelty took birth, is what we may have occaſion to diſcuſs at large hereafter. c

They drive out the Zamzummins.

As the *Moabites* drove out the *Emims*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country, ſo the *Ammonites* forced the *Zuzims*, or *Zamzummins*, as they called them, from their habitations, and ſettled themſelves there. Theſe *Zamzummins*, as well as the *Emims*, are ſtiled giants [r], and were doubtleſs both derived from the ſame ſtock [s]. This gigantic race had been invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* [t], who, deſtroying great numbers of them, as ſhould ſeem, made it the eaſier for the children of *Ammon* to diſlodge them. When this expulſion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the *Ammonites* themſelves underwent the ſame fate in the days of *Moſes*, being diſpoſſeſſed by *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into, and to the eaſtward of, the mountains.

Their Hiſtory.

The names of their firſt kings do not occur. They joined *Eglon* king of *Moab* d againſt *Iſrael* [u], and ſhared in the ſucceſſes of that war; but who was their leader at this time is not ſaid.

They war with the Iſraelites *under an anonymous king.*

About two hundred years after this, we find the *Ammonites* as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, againſt the *Iſraelites*. This prince took it into his head to attempt the recovery of the ancient country of *Ammonites*; and making an irruption into it, he bore down all before him, and reduced the land, and kept it in ſubjection to him eighteen years. Encouraged by his ſucceſs, he croſſed over the river *Jordan*,

[n] See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 259.
[o] Vide Voss. ubi ſupr.
[p] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. [q] 2 Kings xxiii. 10.
[r] Deut. ii. 20, 21.
[s] See before, p. 286.
[t] Gen. xiv. 5. [u] See before, p. 289.
* See before. p. 285.

(B) To give you the various opinions of ſome learned men, *Moloch* has been taken for *Priapus*, for *Mercury*, for *Saturn*, and for *Venus* or the morning ſtar (80). But as fancy, chiefly, rules over theſe conjectures, it is enough that we give the bare mention of them.

(C) Some of the *Jewiſh* writers hold, That the children were ſolemnly delivered to the prieſts; who returning them again, they were carried by their parents, upon their ſhoulders, between two fires. According to others, the prieſts carried them. A very eminent writer of this ſort ſays, "That the "prieſts or ſervants of fire, perſwaded men that "their children would die if they did not paſs "them through fire: wherefore, parents being "anxious for the lives of their children, and per-"ceiving there was neither danger nor difficulty "in performing the ceremony, no one neglected "it, conſidering that the children were not to be "conſumed by fire, but only to paſs through it" (81). This alſo is the opinion of *Solomon Yarhi*, *Joſeph Karo*, and others; but *Aben Ezra* diſſents therefrom, and affirms, that *paſſing through fire* muſt be here underſtood of *burning*. *Voſſius* inſiſts on it, that wherever the expreſſion of *paſſing through fire* is met with, it muſt be taken in the ſtrictneſs of the letter; but allows, that in caſes of great calamity and upon other particular occaſions, they gave up their offspring as an expiatory ſacrifice to their god (82). *Selden* is of a quite different ſentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them alſo at the ſame time. This he proves as far as a matter of this nature can be aſcertained (83). Upon the whole, remembring how common a practice it was to offer up theſe unnatural oblations among ſome of the neighbouring nations, the ſame may probably have prevailed among the *Ammonites*.

(D) This valley was a very delightful place, watered by the ſprings of *Siloah*. It was ſhady and beautified with gardens. And indeed it is remarkable that the heathens commonly choſe fountain heads and ſolemn groves for the ſcenes of the homage they paid their deities. This cuſtom our author ſuppoſes they borrowed from the *Ammonites*. (84).

(80) *Vide Voſſ. de Idolatria, lib. 2. c. 5.*
(81) *Moſes. Maim. More Nebock lib. 3. c. 38.*
(82) *Vide Voſſ. ubi ſupr.* (83) *Vide Seld. ubi ſupr.*
(84) *Hieron. in Jerem. c. vii. xxxii.*

dan, and insulted the tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim* [w]; but returned to the other side again, and prepared (E) to make a compleat conquest of the country on both sides of the river [x]; or at least to get a handsom portion of it. For it is said, that the *Philistines* also at this time invaded *Israel*; but whether with separate views, or in combination with the *Ammonites*, does not appear; though it is most likely they intended to share the spoil between them. But to speak of the king of *Ammon* singly, he persevered in his purpose, and encamped in *Gilead*; and the *Israelites* having turned to GOD, who had suffered them to be so long oppressed for their wickedness, they were inspired with a courage to oppose this arrogant invader, and not only stop the progress of his Arms, but drive him out of *Gilead*, b where he had lorded it for eighteen years. Accordingly, messengers came to him from their new general *Jephthah*, to demand his reasons for persisting in his enmity against them, and threatning them with farther calamities. His answer to them was, that the remembrance of the injuries his fore-fathers had sustained, when the *Israelites* dispossessed them of their country, had excited him thereto; and therefore required them forthwith to restore that realm to him, as in justice they ought. In reply to this pretension, there came ambassadors to him again from *Jephthah*: and these made an historical remonstrance to him of his mistake, in saying *the Israelites* had driven out the *Ammonites*, and, stifly expatiating upon the truth of the story throughout the several circumstances, expected his answer: but he gave no ear to them, and was c bent at all hazards upon a war. And therefore as he lay near *Aroer*, he was attacked by *Jephthah*, who gave him a total overthrow; and being put to flight, he was pursued with great loss of blood, even into his own dominions, to *Minnith*, and from thence as far as *Abel of the vineyards*: so that not only his army was slaughtered, but good part of his country also was pillaged and wasted [y]. This was the event of the war, which put an end to the tyranny of *Ammon* over the *Israelites* on the other side *Jordan*, and which had lasted eighteen years.

Nahash *king.*

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called NAHASH. He flourished in the days of *Saul*, from whom he received the just reward of his great insolence and barbarity. For reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the *Israelites* d on the other side *Jordan*, he waged war with them, and in the beginning was attended with all the success imaginable. At length coming to the city of *Jabesh*, he besieged it. The terror of his arms was so great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themselves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This submission, which might have mollified the least generous heart, served only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition than their consenting every one to the loss of his right eye, that in them he might stigmatize the whole body of *Israel*. The inhabitants returned, That if he would allow them but seven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would submit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, e and, secure within himself, waited for the cruel satisfaction he proposed shortly to enjoy. But he was assaulted in three several parts of his camp by *Saul*, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected the inhabitants to march out to him, as they deceitfully told him they should the night before; and his army was put into such confusion, that the *Israelites* had little else to do but to put them to the sword. Instead of a battle it is termed a slaughter, which lasted till the heat of the day; at which time the surviving remnant of *Nahash*'s army was so perfectly dispersed, that there was no two of them to be seen together [z]. Thus ended this war. We are informed, that *Nahash* did some kindnesses to king *David*. *Josephus* differs from scripture in his account of this war (F)

HANUN

[w] Judg. x. 8. [x] JOSEPH. Antiq. liq. v. c. 9. [y] Judg. xi. [z] 1 Sam. xi.

(E) There is pretty considerable difference here between the scripture and *Josephus*. He says the *Ammonites* and the *Philistines* had only prepared to cross the river *Jordan*. The scripture says, the *Ammonites* did actually cross over to fight with *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim*; so that the *Israelites* were in great distress. We have therefore harmonized the one with the other; in which we know not but we may be mistaken. For, after all, this warfare is not very clearly related in scripture. If they crossed to this side of *Jordan*, what did they here? we are not told. How came it to pass that the inhabitants of those tribes did not cross over to *Gilead*, where the war was decided? we know not. In a word, this war seems by the scripture to have affected only the north-eastern *Israelites* who had been oppressed by the *Ammonites*, and shook off the yoke at last by their own struggles, without any other assistance.

(F) There seems to be something very unaccountable in *Josephus*'s history of this war: he says, that *Nahash* began it, and carried it on for some time with the violences usual in the like cases, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all those he took, that they might lose the use of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the use of that eye at all; and

Hanun *king.* HANUN ſucceeded his father *Nahaſh* (G.) in the kingdom; but whether this *Nahaſh* be the very ſame who was defeated by *Saul* at *Jabeſh*, we are not told. However this was, we are informed, that *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanun*, had lived in a very fair intelligence with *David*. Wherefore when this latter heard, that *Nahaſh* was dead, and that his ſon ſucceeded, he, for the father's ſake, ſent ambaſſadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loſs, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion, and to offer a continuance of the friendſhip which had been cheriſhed between the late king and him. *Hanun* ſeems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counſellors about him. Whence it came to paſs, that when he received theſe compliments from king *David* by the mouth of his ambaſſadors, he, inſtead of improving them to advantage, took a falſe ſtep which he never could recover. For inſtead of entertaining theſe ambaſſadors with the hoſpitality and decency which became him, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded, that they were no better than ſpies; and accordingly, forgetting the ſacredneſs of their character, he ſhaved off the half of their beards, cut away their garments by the buttocks, and in that ſhameful diſguiſe ſent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy and contempt of *David*, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hoſpitality, and gratitude, brought on a war [z], which ended very deſtructively upon him and his kingdom.

IT was ſoon told him how grievouſly *David* reſented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chaſtiſe him for it. *Hanun*, therefore, perceiving himſelf on the brink of a war, to which he ſingly was unequal, diſpatched ambaſſadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and ſolicit the aſſiſtance of troops from them, to enable him to withſtand the invaſion which threatned his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not clearly evident, inaſmuch as the ſcripture varies (H) concerning them. *Firſt*, we are told, that *Hanun* ſent to the *Syrians* of *Beth-reboh*, and to the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, from whom he had twenty thouſand footmen; to the king of *Maachah*, who furniſhed one thouſand men; and to the king of *Iſhtob*, who ſent twelve thouſand men [a]. With this *Joſephus* agrees pretty well in reſpect of number, retrenching only the one thouſand men ſupplied by the king of *Maachah*, and allowing him and the king of *Iſhtob* to have contributed twelve thouſand men between them [b]. Whence, inſtead of making the number of theſe mercenaries to have amounted to thirty three thouſand, as the ſcripture does, he gives them at thirty two thouſand. *Again*, we are told, that *Hanun* ſent a thouſand talents of ſilver, therewith to hire chariots and horſemen out of *Meſopotamia*, and out of *Syria Maachah*, and out of *Zobah*; and that he actually hired thirty two thouſand chariots beſides the king of *Maacha*'s men [c]. Between *Joſephus* and this paſſage of ſcripture there is a more material difference than before: He ſays, thoſe which came out of *Meſopotamia* were footmen [d]. Here alſo we ſee the ſcripture keeps to the number of thirty three thouſand. However, though the number be the ſame as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and event of this war.

HANUN having thus drawn a conſiderable force from the neighbouring countries, and raiſed an army of his own ſubjects, marched out of *Rabbah* to fight *Joab*, whom *David* had ſent at the head of his army. The *Ammonites* and their auxiliaries drew up in two diſtinct bodies; *(viz.)* the *Ammonites* under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at ſome diſtance on the plain. By this diſpoſition they thought to have charged *Joab*'s front, and at the ſame time to have fallen upon his rear; but this took not effect. For the *Ammonites* were attacked by *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, whilſt *Joab* himſelf

[z] 2 Sam. x. 1. Chron. xix. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 7. c. 6. [a] 2 Sam. ubi ſupra. [b] JOSEPH Antiq. ubi ſupra. [c] 1 Chron. ubi ſupra. [d] ubi ſupra.

and ſo reduce them to a ſlavery for life, ſeeing they would be unable to defend themſelves. But may it not be asked how it could come to paſs, that thoſe, who preſſed on ſo haſtily to relieve *Jabeſh*, could have ſuffered *Nahaſh* to have gone on in a courſe of this cruelty for even the ſhorteſt ſpace of time? this hiſtorian ſeems here to be quite wide of the ſenſe of the ſacred text.

(G) Notwithſtanding *Joſephus* informs us, that *Nahaſh* was killed upon the breaking up of the ſiege of *Jabeſh*, (85) we cannot forbear thinking that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this *Hanun*. His behaviour at *Jabeſh*, ſpeaks him to have been a raſh, hot-headed, young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived fifty or threeſcore years afterwards. We are ſeemingly ſupported in our opinion by the ſcripture itſelf.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any one, in a ſatisfactory manner. *Haderezer* is in ſcripture mentioned as the chief prince of the *Syrain* nations; *Joſephus* ſpeaks of one *Syrus* as chief, and calls him king of *Meſopotamia* (86)

(85) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 6. 6. (86) *Id. lib.* 7. b.

himſelf charged the *Syrians*. The *Ammonites* (E) ſuſtained *Abiſhai*'s charge with great conſtancy, and maintained the conflict with intrepidity, till, perceiving their *Syrian* friends to give ground, they thought it moſt adviſeable to retreat into their city, and they did ſo.

THE next year their *Syrian* allies, aſhamed of their laſt defeat, made head again, (F) but being utterly routed by *David* in perſon, the *Ammonites* were left to defend themſelves againſt the violent and juſt reſentment of their injured enemy[e].

IT came down heavily upon them. For the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by *Joab*, who haraſſed and waſted it far and wide; and at length beſieged *Hanun* in *Rabbah*, the capital of his kingdom. The place held out about two years; during which *Hanun* made one deſperate ſally, and cut off many of the beſiegers, and, among the reſt, *Uriah* the huſband of *Bathſheba*. At length the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremities of famine, and was ſtormed by *David* in perſon, who came to have the honour of compleating the work. In the aſſault *Hanun* was ſlain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (one hundred thirteen *pound* ten *ounces*, one *penny-weight* 10$\frac{5}{7}$ Gr. of our *Troy* weight*), and was adorned with precious ſtones, a ſardonyx, *Joſephus* ſays, was taken from off his head by *David*. What other ſpoil was found in this metropolis is no where ſpecified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary ſeverity, being led out, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite torments, harrowed, ſawn, and hack'd with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful uſage extended to the reſt of the cities of *Ammon* (G), which held out againſt the conqueror; all ſuch ſharing in the fate of the city of *Rabbah*, which was deſtroyed, and laid level with the ground[f]. And thus did the *Ammonites* ſuffer, ſeemingly too much, for the raſhneſs of a young king, and the fooliſh advice of empty counſellors.

AFTER this vengeful execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of *Ammon*, nor indeed of the nation itſelf, till the reign of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*. At this time we find them united with their brethren the *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, againſt the ſaid king of *Judah*. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the hiſtory of *Moab*[g].

AFTER this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, *Uzziah* king of *Judah*[h].

THE *Ammonites* bore this yoke as long as *Uzziah* lived, but in the reign of his ſon *Jotham* they had an anonymous king over them, who ſtirred them up to rebellion againſt him. The nation at this time muſt have been pretty well recovered, and having a martial prince at the head of them, they reſolved to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of their old enemies in *Judah*. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with *Jotham*, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat,

[e] Sam. ubi ſupra. JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra. * See ARBUTH. Tab. of an. coins, weights, and meaſures, Tab. XX. [f] See 2 Sam. xii. 1, 29, 31. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. [g] See before, p. 291. [h] 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 9. c. 11.

(E) In what concerns this battle we reject *Joſephus**, and chooſe to interpret the ſcripture according to reaſon and the nature of things. He ſays, the *Ammonites*, perceiving their allies to be routed, hurried into their city without ſtriking a ſtroke. Partiality for his fore-fathers might perhaps have tempted him to repreſent them ſo very formidable to their enemies. But can it be ſuppoſed, that when *Joab* divided his army between his brother and himſelf, that they did not advance with an equal pace each againſt his oppoſite? And eſpecially, as *Joſephus* allows, that the *Syrians* ſtood their ground till a conſiderable ſlaughter was made among them, which could not be the work of a minute; *Abiſhai* muſt have moved on very ſlowly, if before the *Syrians* were broke he did not charge the *Ammonites*. On the other ſide, the *Ammonites*, who were principals in this war, if they had perceived *Abiſhai* afraid to give them battle, or ſeemingly ſo, and at the ſame time beheld their auxiliaries in a furious and doubtful conflict with *Joab*, they muſt have had ſenſe and courage enough to march up to *Abiſhai*, and force him to battle, before the *Syrians* began to flee. If the whole ſtory be well conſidered, it is not to be imagined, that *Abiſhai* and the *Ammonites* kept looking at one another, or what is next of kin to it, made very ſlow advances towards each other.

(F) Thus it appears by ſcripture, which, turning the tables, makes the *Syrians* principals in this war, rather avenging their laſt overthrow, than eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Ammonites*. *Joſephus* ſtrays here again very unaccountably. He makes the *Ammonites* ſend to one *Balama*, a king of the *Syrians* beyond the *Euphrates*, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (87).

(G) The ſcripture ſays it extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we cannot forbear thinking, that this expreſſion means only all ſuch as held out obſtinately, and defied the king of *Iſrael*; and herein we are ſupported by *Joſephus*.

* *Antiq. lib. 7. c. 7.* (87) *Ubi ſupra.*

wheat, and as many of barley[i], in all about one hundred ſixty thouſand of our Buſhels; and this ſame tribute did they pay for three ſucceſſive years[k]. a

At length when the *Babylonians* grew mighty, and threatned all the kingdoms of this part of *Aſia* with ſubjection, it is likely they might have entertained thoughts of withſtanding the common enemy with their joint force. From hence, poſſibly, a good underſtanding between *Baalis*, the laſt king of *Ammon*, and *Zedekiah*, the laſt king of *Judah*[l], might ſeemingly ariſe. But when deſtruction came upon *Zedekiah* and *Jeruſalem*, the *Ammonites* ſhewed themſelves, and exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city[m], for which they were ſeverely threatned by the Prophet. It ſeems impoſſible that they ſhould have refrained from it, conſidering the ſteadfaſt enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the nations. However, *Baalis* received all the *Jews*, b that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and among thoſe one *Iſhmael*, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. And, to give him an inſtance of his readineſs to aſſiſt him, with his counſel at leaſt, adviſed him to go back again into his own country and aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, who, by the expreſs appointment of the *Babylonians*, was left ſet over the poor remnant of the *Jews*. By thus ſtirring up a pretender, he ſeems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure deſire of revenge, or with ſome view to his own advantage at the ſame time. His bloody counſel was taken, and the aſſaſſin did his work, and was obliged to fly back again to *Baalis*, who received him into his protection[n]. But *Baalis* lived not long unpuniſhed for having been ſo nearly acceſſary c to the murder of the innocent *Gedaliah*: for, a ſhort time afterwards, he was attacked by *Nebuzaradan* the *Babylonian* general, who put his country to fire and ſword, and deſtroyed his chief city *Rabbah*, and carried away *Baalis* and moſt of the nobles of *Ammon* into captivity, as had been propheſied by *Amos*: *I will kindle a fire in the wall of* Rabbah, *and it ſhall devour the Palaces thereof, and their king ſhall go into captivity, he and his* princes *together, ſaith the Lord*; and Ezekiel: *And I will deliver thee for a ſpoil*[o] *unto the men of the Eaſt, and will give them the* Ammonites *in poſſeſſion, that the* Ammonites *may not be remembred among the nations*[p].

This laſt prophecy was in due time compleated, their name being blotted out from the book of nations in the end. But in the mean time they are mentioned as d conjoined with the *Arabians*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, in giving all the diſturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; which they endeavoured to prevent as much as in them lay. One *Tobiah*, called the ſervant, is ſaid to have been at the head of them upon theſe occaſions[q].

Living in peace and quietneſs under the great monarchies, the *Ammonites* in proceſs of time grew to be more conſiderable, and in the days of *Judas Macabæus* were aſſembled together, in a very great army under their governor *Timotheus*, to fight againſt that heroic *Jew*. They came to a battle, wherein *Timotheus* and the *Ammonites* were worſted, and the ſame ill-fortune attended them in other ſubſequent conflicts, under the ſame leader, and againſt the ſame enemy. In the end their city *Jaſer* (it e was not anciently reckoned a city of theirs) and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the *Jews*, who ſmote the men, and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city of *Jaſer*; and thus ended this, as it ſeems, their laſt warfare with the deſcendants of *Iſrael*[r].

Nevertheless, towards the beginning of the ſecond century of the chriſtian *æra*, they were thought worthy of being called a numerous nation[s]; but towards the latter end of the ſame their name was vaniſhed, and they themſelves blended among the *Arabians*[t], as happened alſo to the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and others.

i Vid. Arbuth. ubi ſupra. k Idem ubi ſupra. l 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. m See Jerem. xxvii. 3. n See Ezekiel xxv. o See Jerem. chap. xl, xli. c. 1. 14, 15. p Idem xxv. 7—10. q See Nehem. ii, iv, vi, xiii. r See 1 Macc. v. 6—8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11, 12. Prideaux Connect. part 2. book 4. p. 212. s Vide Just. Mart. in dial. cum Tryph. p. 272. t Orig. lib. 1. in Job.

The End of the History of Ammon.

SECT.

a

SECT. III.

The History of MIDIAN, *or* MADIAN.

Their descent.

IT is generally agreed, that this people drew their origin from *Midian*, the fourth ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, from whom they were called *Midianites*. He received large gifts from his father, as did the reſt of his brethren, and was, as well as they, ſent eaſtward, *into the eaſt country*, to be at a proper diſtance from *Iſaac*[a]. The ſons of *Midian* were *Ephah*, and *Epher*, and *Henoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah*[b].

THE *Midianites* were, in their moſt early times, evidently confounded with the *Iſhmaelites*[c]; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the *Nabatæans* and *Kedarenes*, the poſterity of *Nabaioth* and *Kedar*, the ſons of *Iſhmael*[d]. Doubtleſs, remembring their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were pretty much blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been ſo incorpo-
b rated as it were with the *Moabites*, that *Moſes* almoſt conſidered them as but one nation[e]. Their religion was the ſame, and they acted in the ſtricteſt concert together againſt him and the *Iſraelites*. The ties of blood united theſe likewiſe, as on the one ſide they were deſcended from *Abraham*, and on the other from *Lot*. So, juſt as they happened to live in the northern or ſourthern parts of their country, they joined themſelves either to the *Moabites* or the *Iſhmaelites*. From hence we, in part, gather the extent of their territory, and that there was a pretty wide difference between the *Midianites* and *Madianites*.

The country poſſeſſed by the Midianites.

THE country of *Midian* was a part of *Arabia Petræa*. Its exact limits cannot be aſcertained. From what we find in ſcripture, it muſt have lain ſouth-eaſt-ward of
c the lake *Aſphaltites*, or the *Dead ſea*[f]. On the north, it was bounded by *Moab*, or rather mixed with it[g]. Its boundary on the eaſt is uncertain. On the ſouth, it was bounded by the *Red ſea*. On the weſt, by *Edom*, or *Idumæa*, and, partly, alſo on the north, as ſhould ſeem[h].

BEING a part of *Arabia Petræa*, it was moſtly rocky, mountainous, and ſandy. Theſe barren and difficult defects were pretty well amended by the numbers of camels and dromedaries it abounded with; creatures moſt admirably adapted for the uſe of ſuch whoſe lot it was to live upon ſo dry and rugged a ſoil. It was alſo well ſtored with other cattle, which in great herds were driven about to paſture, and to ſprings of water[i]. Though it is certain, that this country was not very well furniſhed with
d fixed habitations, ſuch as towns and cities, yet we read of their *cities* and *goodly caſtles*: but theſe we muſt underſtand to have ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Moab* only[k]. Two of its cities we have expreſs mention of, and both called *Midian*, or *Madian*; the one ſituated in the north, towards *Rabbah* of *Moab*, or *Areopolis*; the other in the ſouth, by the red ſea[l]; and was very probably the ſame which *Ptolomy* calls *Modiana*, and is perhaps the ſame with a ruined place which the *Arabs* call *Madyan*, to this day. Finally, we muſt not forget, that mount *Sanai* is placed within this territory[m].

Their Manners.

THE *Midianites* were a very numerous race, and may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, ſhepherds and merchants. The ſhepherds moved up and down in tents, and
e drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war[n]. The merchants alſo travelled from place to place in companies[o], or caravans, as the merchants of thoſe parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as ſeems by the ſtory of *Jethro*'s daughters (A). The ſhepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations,

[a] Gen. xx. 2. 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. [b] Ibid. ver. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. [c] See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24. [d] Iſa. lx. 6, 7. [e] See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. [f] See Exod. iii. 1. xviii. 5. Judg. vi. 3. vii. 12, 24, 25. [g] See Numb. xxii. 4. [h] See 1 Kings xi. 18. [i] See Judg. vi. 5. [k] Numb. xxi. 10. [l] HIERON. in Numb. xxxi. 8, 10. [m] Vide EUSEBIUS Onamaſt. in vocem Χωρήβ. [n] See Judg. vi. 5. [o] See Gen. xxxvii. 28.

(A) That ſtory ſeems to inform us, that the men in the ſouth part of *Midian* were not ſhepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. *Joſephus* expreſly tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women in this part (which he miſtakenly calls *Troglodytica*) to look over the cattle; though indeed in this he ſeemingly contradicts what he ſays but a line or two before, *viz.* that the ſhepherds of the country were continually at ſtrife, which ſhould get firſt ſerved with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon *Jethro*'s daughters (1). Thus ſeemingly inconſiſtent is this author with himſelf. But if this laſt cuſtom prevailed, *Jethro*'s ſon *Hobab* (for that he had ſuch a ſon we ſhall endeavour to make out hereafter) would have been much more equal to ſo troubleſome a taſk, than all the young women, his daughters.

(1) *Joſeph. Antiqui. lib.* 2. *c.* xi.

tations, except ſome ſtrong holds near their borders; the merchants probably had a few or none but marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds were thereby ſtored with precious ornaments[p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their exterior. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets*[q], *the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains, or collars round the necks of their camels*[r].

Their learning

It appears very plain from *Job*, that they had the uſe of writing very early in theſe parts[s] among the deſcendants of *Abraham*; and the *Midianites* being alſo of the number, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been ignorant therein (B). Sir *Iſaac Newton* gives them the honour of having inſtructed *Moſes* in writing[t]. The merchants muſt alſo have been verſed in arithmetick of ſome kind or other; and there being ſhips on the mediterranean ſo early as in the days of the patriarch *Jacob*[u]; and theſe being themſelves traders, and ſituated on the *Red ſea*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they could refrain from ſhip-building, and exploring the ſhores of their own ſea, and the coaſts thereunto contiguous. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their ſciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

Their religion

It is very apparent that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in the matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, to be ſure, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of *Moſes* they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites*[w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Iſrael* when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, and perſwaded them to bow down to *Peor*[x]; but we are indeed told, that *Peor* was worſhipped by the *Midianitiſh* women chiefly[y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the ſouth we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and is ſaid to have lived[z], and is by ſome thought to have preſided[a] over the *Midianites*, near the *Red ſea*. His behaviour[b] in the camp of *Iſrael* is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion (C)[c]. They offered up praiſes, and thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to God, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

We know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government, as in occupation and religion: excepting the caſe of *Jethro*, their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are ſtiled kings, and therefore we ſhall dignify them with the ſame title.

Their hiſtory.

The moſt ancient record we find concerning this nation, after what has already been ſaid, is, their war with *Hadad* the *Horite*, when *Midian* (D) was ſmitten by him in the field of *Moab*[d].

The

[p] See Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judg. viii. 24. [q] Numb. ubi ſupr. [r] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 26. [s] See Job. xix. 23, 24. [t] Chron. of ancient kingd. amended, p. 210. [u] See Gen. xlix. 13. [w] See before, p. 285. [x] See Numb. xxv. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. vi. [y] Hieron. in Numb. Hom. xx. [z] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 2. c. xi. [a] Vide Tremellii Bibl. Lat. Exod. iii. [b] Exod. xviii. 10——12. [c] See ibid. iv. 25, 26. [d] Gen. xxxvi. 35.

(B) It is almoſt plain that *Jethro* himſelf had the art of writing, and, though we dare not poſitively aſſert it, ſent a letter to prepare *Moſes* for his reception, when he was on his way to the *Iſraelites* with his daughter *Zipporah* and her two ſons. This is very naturally inferred from *Jethro*'s form of addreſſing himſelf to *Moſes*, and what is ſaid to have happened thereupon: *I, thy Father-in-law*, Jethro, *am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two ſons with her.* What was the conſequence of this? Moſes *went out to meet his father-in-law.* Had theſe words been uttered face to face, *Moſes* could, with no manner of propriety, be ſaid to have gone out to meet his father-in-law. Nor could this notice have been delivered by a meſſenger, who could not, without the moſt ridiculous abſurdity, have ſaid, *I* Jethro, *am come unto thee*, and ſo on (9). As to the manner of writing in theſe days, and in theſe parts, there is mention made of graving with an iron pen or ſtyle upon lead, in the book of *Job* (3).

(C) This we think we have authority to ſay; but it is a controverted point. The text, to our apprehenſion, ſuggeſts at leaſt as much for it as againſt it. We ſhall briefly conſider this hereafter.

(D) Doctor *Cumberland* is inclined to think, that *Moſes* recorded this, as it was a calamity, to *Jethro* his father-in-law; and that it was *Midian* himſelf that was ſmitten, ſomewhat before he was an hundred and nine years old (4).

(2) *Vide Lightfoot Spicilegia in Exod.* § xxiii. (3) *Chap.* xix. 24. (4) *Origin Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 14, 15.

a THE next is their purchaſing of *Joſeph* from his brethren for twenty pieces of ſilver, and carrying him away with them into *Egypt*, where they ſold him to *Potiphar*, one of *Pharaoh*'s chief officers e.

MANY years after this there lived a prieſt, or prince, (E) of the ſouthern *Midianites*, called *Reuel*, or *Jethro* (F), or the *Kenite* the father of *Moſes* f. This perſon reſided *Jethro.* in the city of *Madian* by the *Red Sea* g. It happened that his daughters, who were ſeven in number, met with ſome diſturbance one day from certain rude ſhepherds, in watering their father's flock. Juſt before this, *Moſes* had ſet himſelf down to reſt in the ſame place, being then upon his flight from *Pharaoh*; and perceiving the outrage of the ſhepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had b been at the pains of drawing (G), he roſe up, and withſtood them, and aſſiſted the young women in compleating their work. When they went home to their father, he wondered to ſee them come back ſooner than uſual; and enquiring into the cauſe of their diſpatch, they gave him an account of the inſult they had received at the well; and how an *Egyptian* (ſo they called *Moſes*) had protected and aſſiſted them. The good man enquired where this worthy ſtranger was, and reproved his daughters for being ſo unkind as not to bring him home with them; and ſtraitway ſent them to invite their friend and protector to refreſh himſelf. They obeyed, and brought *Moſes* to their father *Jethro*; who, taking a fancy to the man, retained him in his family, committed the care of his flocks to him, and in proceſs of time gave him his daughter c *Zipporah* to wife; and *Jethro* had *Moſes* with him forty years. At length, underſtanding that his ſon-in-law was commiſſioned by GOD to lead out the children of *Iſrael* from bondage, he conſented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grandchildren, who ſet out for *Egypt*: but a diſpute ariſing between *Moſes* and his wife about circumciſing a child upon the road h, ſhe came, or was ſent back again (H) by her husband, and he went on without her i.

WHEN *Jethro* heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through *Moſes*, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of *Egypt* he took his daughter *Zipporah*, and her two ſons, and his own ſon *Hobab*, and ſet out with them towards his ſon-in-law *Moſes*, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter d *Zipporah*. They were all received very affectionately by *Moſes*, and *Jethro* hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for *Iſrael*, he bleſſed GOD for the ſame, acknowledged him to be far ſuperior to all other gods, and took a burnt-offering and ſacrifices for GOD: and *Aaron* and all the elders of *Iſrael* came to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo venerable a perſon.

THE next day *Jethro* had an opportunity of diſplaying his great wiſdom and ſkill in thedue regulation of government. He obſerved, that the people crouded about *Moſes* all day long; and aſking him the meaning of it, *Moſes* anſwered him that he had been ſitting in judgment. Upon this *Jethro* told him, he was quite wrong to charge

e Ibid. xxxvii. 28, 36. f Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16. g JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. h Exod. ii, iii, iv. i Ibid xviii. 2.

(E) The *Hebrew* word is כֹּהֵן *choben*, which ſignifies a prince, or a prieſt, and is promiſcuouſly rendered by both the one and the other. But let this condition of life have been great or mean, we may be excuſed for inſerting what we find concerning him and his family, inaſmuch as it is the only fragment we have left in hiſtory concerning the ancient *Midianites* in the ſouth.

(F) This is by ſome held to have been the ſirname of the family (5). The *ſeventy* call him Ραγουήλ, *Raguel*, and ſo does the *vulgate*, and even our own verſion in another place: however, this name is by ſome thought to have been the name of *Jethro*'s father (6): but with what foundation may be carſorily conſidered hereafter.

(G) This inſult has given birth to a ſuſpicion, that their father was ſo far from being chief, either as prince, or prieſt, that he was only an inferior in the ſacred order, and then no wonder they were abuſed, ſays our commentator. Indeed, if we do not ſuppoſe theſe ſhepherds to have been ſtrangers in this part, it muſt be acknowledged, that it does not look as if *Jethro* was a man in any great repute or authority.

(H) In caſes of doubt like this, we can only take what ſeems to us the moſt rational ſide of the queſtion. Divines have explained this matter many ways (7), and ſome ſeem unwilling to allow there was any jar between *Moſes* and his wife, apprehending perhaps, that it cannot ſuit with the dignity of that law-giver's character. But for our parts we do not perceive how it can reflect any diſhonour upon him, eſpecially, when the ſubject of the diſpute was ſo very important. Farthermore, if the cuſtom had been that *Jethro*'s family was circumciſed, *Zipporah* his daughter would certainly have made no words about the execution of a practice, which ſhe muſt have thought to have been eſſential. That there was ſome ſort of miſunderſtanding in this matter muſt be allowed; and therefore we have urged it as an inſtance to prove, that theſe *Midianites* did not uſe circumſion; and have alſo made it the cauſe of *Zipporah*'s returning back to her father.

(5) *Vide Cleric. in Exod. ii.* (6) *Vide eund. ibid.* (7) *Vide Lightfoot, ubi ſupr.* § 8, 9. *Cleric. in Exod. iv.*

charge himſelf with ſo grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon the ſublimer concerns only, to conſult with God, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to inſtruct the people in the right way, and the like; and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a ſelect number of the moſt righteous men among the multitude, who ſhould, according to their abilities, be appointed over thouſands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; abſtaining from every buſineſs himſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. *Jethro* gave not this counſel in vain, and thereby adminiſtred great eaſe to his ſon-in-law *Moſes* [k] (I).

Any thing farther concerning *Jethro* we know not, except that *Moſes* diſmiſſed him; that he ſeems to have left his ſon *Hobab* (K) behind him, with a friendly intent, that he ſhould ſerve as a guide through the wilderneſs; but it was with reluctance he went through with them; nor was he prevailed on to do it without very large promiſes [l]. We read farther concerning the deſcendants of *Jethro*, that they were called *Kenites*, and that they joined the children of *Judah*, and marched with them from the city of *palm trees* [*Jericho* [m]] into the wilderneſs of *Judah* [n]. That upon the taking of *Hebron* they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in conſideration of their having forſaken their native place, and ſuffered with the *Iſraelites* all the toils of their wars, and all the diſtreſſes in the wilderneſs [o]. That *Heber* the husband of *Jael*, who killed *Siſera*, was particularly of this family [p]. That on the aforeſaid conſideration alſo, the *Kenites* were many years afterwards warned by *Saul* to move off from the *Amalekites*, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preſerved, and fixing their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtrong hold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous, and were carried away into captivity by the *Aſſyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before: *And he* [Balaam] *looked on the* Kenites . . . *and ſaid, ſtrong is thy dwelling-place, and thou putteſt thy neſt on a rock. Nevertheleſs the* Kenite *ſhall be waſted, until* Aſſhur *ſhall carry thee away captive* [q]. And thus have we traced down the poſterity of *Jethro* to their exit.

The *Kenites.*

The

[k] Ibid. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & ſeqq. [l] Numb. x. 29—32. [m] See before in the Notes p. 289. [n] Judg. i. 16. [o] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 2. [p] Judg. iv. 11. [q] Numb. xxiv. 21, 22.

(I) A very eminent divine contends, that this whole ſtory is miſplaced, and ought to ſtand between the tenth and eleventh verſes of the tenth chapter of *Numbers* (8): *Firſt*, becauſe *Jethro* is ſaid to have *taken burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for God. Secondly*, becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid to have ſitten *to judge the people*, and to have *made known to them the ſtatutes of God and his laws.* As this ſtory now ſtands, it refers to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; *Moſes* had not yet received any laws from God; nor had they reached mount *Sinai*, ſays our author. But it is nevertheleſs poſſible, that *Jethro* might have offered a ſacrifice in his way, particularly as he was a prieſt; nor is it unlikely that *Moſes* acted as judge and arbitrator before he received any particular ſyſtem of laws from God. But *Thirdly*, becauſe *Moſes* puts off the inſtitution of the judges and elders over the people, which he was adviſed to by *Jethro*, till after they moved from mount *Sinai*. This third proof ſeems to be more valid than the two former, but yet, not quite ſo plain and deciſive as might be wiſhed. The putting of *Jethro*'s advice in execution effectually and orderly, muſt have been certainly the work of time. But were we to enlarge upon theſe obſcurities ſo far as we might, there would be no end to our work.

(K) It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who know not how to think that *Raguel* and *Jethro* were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that *Hobab* and *Jethro* mean one and the ſame perſon. And, contrary to the apparent reaſon of things, that it was *Jethro* himſelf under the name of *Hobab*, who is here intreated to ſerve as a guide to the *Iſraelites* (9). *Joſephus* frequently calls him by the name of *Raguel*, and ſays he was *Moſes*'s father; ſo ſays the ſcripure, under the name of *Raguel*, in the place where *Hobab* is mentioned. In ſcripture he is conſtantly called *Reuel* or *Jethro*, till he departed from the camp. Shall we ſuppoſe that he came back again, and was from thenceforward called *Hobab?* That *Jethro*, returned to his own country, is expreſly ſaid (10). That *Hobab* did ſerve the *Iſraelites* as a guide, is plainly enough inſinuated (11). What ſettlement could *Jethro* want? how, as father of a family, could he deſert them? how, as he was a prieſt or a magiſtrate, could he be abſent from his charge? On the other ſide, how can it be ſuppoſed, that a man who expreſſed ſo much good will towards the children of *Iſrael*, who was ſo thankful to God for their deliverance, who owned his conviction that they were under the protection and care of the Lord God; how can it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a perſon would have made the leaſt ſcruple of doing any thing that could have been requeſted by *Moſes*, whom he looked on as the immediate miniſter of the Almighty? It is more rational to ſuppoſe, that it was a ſon of his called *Hobab*, who is here ſpoken of, who was left behind by his father, as one well acquainted with the deſart, and ſo might be of good uſe to *Moſes*; but who, not having the ſame faith and aſſurance in God which his father had, ſaw no great proſpect of good things to come, and therefore wanted to return home again; but that he was tempted to ſtay, and go through with them, is clearly enough ſaid. If *Moſes*'s father-in-law is afterwards called *Hobab*, as he is (12), that is not the only little diſſonance of the hiſtorical kind we find in ſcripture.

(8) *Lightfoot ubi ſupr.* § xxiii. (9) *Vide Cleric. in Exod.* xi. & *Numb. x.* (10) *Exod.* xviii. *Judg.* i. 16. (11) *Joſeph Antiq. lib.* v. c. 2. (12) *Judg.* iv. 11.

a THE *Midianites* we ſhall have now occaſion to mention as at enmity with *Iſrael*, we apprehend to have been chiefly thoſe who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with, the *Moabites*. EVI, REKEM, (L) HUR, ZUR, and REBAH, were all five of them kings, or dukes of *Midian* (M), when *Moſes* overcame *Sihon* the *Amorite*, and greatly fearing for themſelves, they entered into counſels with *Baalak* king of *Moab*, to conſider upon what methods they could take to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We ſhall not repeat here what we have already ſaid concerning this abſurd and iniquitous matter in the hiſtory of *Moab*[r]. Only it will be neceſſary for us to remark here once more, that the *Midianites* ſeem to have ſignalized themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner in their endeavours to turn the children of b *Iſrael* from GOD. For it muſt be remembered, that *Balaam* had ſent them word either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven by any other means than enticing them to ſin, the ſole means whereby GOD could be brought to forſake them: that upon this occaſion it would be proper for them to take the moſt beautiful of their young women, and deck them out in the moſt gorgeous manner, and ſend them to the *Iſraelites*, with ſuch inſtructions for their behaviour, as that, after having enſnared their hearts, might beſt corrupt their minds alſo[s]. This counſel they ſwallowed down very greedily, and were ſo ſanguine upon the matter, that we find *Zur*, one of their kings, made no ſcruple to ſend his daughter *Cozbi* among the reſt; but it was a tragical buſineſs for her; c ſhe was killed by a wound in the belly, given with the ſame weapon, and with the ſame ſtroke, as made an end of her huſband or friend *Zimri*. For the reſt, theſe fair idolatreſſes played their part ſo well as to captivate many of the *Iſraelites*, and ſo abſolutely to prevail over them, as to bring them to bow down before *Baal-peor*, from whence great trouble and deſtruction came upon the whole body of them (N)[t].

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and Rebah.

THE *Midianites* herein enjoyed but a ſhort-lived ſatisfaction; their forwardneſs upon this occaſion, and ſubdolus practices, kindled the wrath of GOD againſt them, and *Moſes* had poſitive orders to ſmite them particularly. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed upon them by twelve thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Phinehas*, they made the d beſt preparations they could to withſtand the invaſion, by arming their caſtles, and muſtering their ſtrength. But their caſtles availed them but little, nor the ſtrength they muſtered. They were defeated, and every man of them put to the ſword, and among the reſt *Balaam*[u] (O), and all their cities and goodly caſtles were laid in aſhes. Not one male of any age or degree was ſpared, they were all put to the ſword, as were all the females likewiſe that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waſte, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of ſix hundred ſeventy five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy two thouſand beeves, and ſixty one thouſand aſſes. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty two thouſand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold, and ſilver, and iron, and other metals, e which were carried off in this general devaſtation[w]. Thus were they puniſhed for their folly and wickedneſs, and their country made quite deſolate.

THUS was a branch of the *Midianites* utterly cut off; but in proceſs of time this loſs was ſupplied, and it pleaſed GOD, for the puniſhment of *Iſrael*, that they roſe up in war againſt that ſinful nation, and in their turn were very near deſtroying the whole generation of them by fire, and ſword, and famine, for ſeven ſucceſſive

[r] See before, p. 287, 288, 289. [s] p. 289. [t] Numb. xxv. 15—18. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 6. See before, p. 289. [u] Numb. xxxi. 1—8. [w] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 11. & ſeqq. JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. c. 7.

(L) *Joſephus* calls theſe five kings *Oeus*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Ures*, and *Recem*, and ſays, that this laſt built, and gave name to, the city of *Rekem*, the capital of *Arabia*, by the *Greeks*, called *Petra* (13).

(M) They are alſo ſtiled princes of *Midian*, and dukes under *Sihon* king of the *Ammorites* (14). Perhaps they might have paid ſome homage or tribute to *Sihon*, or ſome other way might have been deemed as feudatory under him.

(N) *Joſephus* ſpeaks of a plague upon this occaſion which carried off fourteen thouſand Souls. (15.)

(O) *Balaam* is poſitively ſaid to have gone to his place (16), to have returned home; but whether he came back again in compliance with a ſecond meſſage, or whether of his own accord, to ſee the iſſue of his wicked counſel, or to forward it, is not ſaid.

(13) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 4. *c.* 7. (14) *Joſh.* xiii. 21. (15) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.* (16) *Numb.* xxiv. 25.

ceſſive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this ſlaughter of the *Midianites*, there appeared two kings at the head of them, and the *Amalekites*, and *Arabians*.

Zebah and *Zalmunna.*

These two kings are called Zebah and Zalmunna, and waged ſo cruel a war againſt the *Iſraelites*, that, not daring to ſtay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there, where nature had been defective, they made themſelves caves and fortreſſes to ſhelter them. The *Midianites* having therefore no enemy that withſtood them, they waſted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This deſtruction they continued for ſeven years together, marching every ſummer ſeaſon in vaſt multitudes, with numberleſs camels, and herds of cattle, about the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themſelves; ſo that between them, and their infinite flocks, there was ſcarce any ſuſtenance left for the *Iſraelites*, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach [x].

But God at length put a ſtop to theſe mercileſs incurſions of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, who meant nothing leſs than to ſtarve the inhabitants, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land [y]. *Gideon* was choſen by heaven for the delivery of his country upon this calamitous occaſion, and he did it ſo effectually, that the *Midianites* never dared afterwards to contend with *Iſrael*, as will immediately be ſeen. *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* and their confederates marching into the country, according to their annual cuſtom, pitched their tents in the valley of *Jezreel*, on this ſide *Jordan*. Here, as they lay covering a vaſt tract of ground, their camp was explored by *Gideon* one night, who overhearing one of the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of *Gideon*, he was more than ever encouraged to put in agitation a ſtratagem which had been formed for their deſtruction, with only three hundred men, armed with no other weapons than a rams horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly about midnight the *Midianites* were alarmed in three ſeveral quarters of their camp, by the ſound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and ſtarting from their ſleep, perceived alſo as many lights breaking in upon them on three ſeveral ſides. The ſound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud ſhouts they heard, ſtruck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their firſt conſternation, they fell into unſpeakable confuſion; and, being of different languages, ſtruck at one another, not knowing friend from foe; ſo that a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, which was chiefly owing to their own weapons. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, however, found means to extricate themſelves, and fled off with a body of about fifteen thouſand men: *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two princes of *Midian* (P), alſo found means to eſcape for the preſent; but they immediately fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death; and by the ſlaughter which happened upon this occaſion, and what before happened in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* (Q), with their party, got over the river, and held on their flight to *Karkor*, and there thought themſelves ſafe; but being hotly purſued by *Gideon*, they were unexpectedly ſurprized, and put to farther flight, and being overtaken again, their fifteen thouſand men were beaten and diſperſed [z], and they themſelves taken priſoners, and carried back again by *Gideon* [a]. When he had brought *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* home with him, he aſked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly ſlain at *Tabar*; they anſwered they were juſt ſuch as himſelf, of majeſtic deportment; to this he replied, they were his own brethren, and therefore he could not ſpare their lives: wherefore he ordered his ſon to ſtand up and kill them; but they, perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requeſted of *Gideon*, as a favour, that he would diſpatch them himſelf,

[x] Judg. vi. 1—6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 7. [y] Pſalm lxxxiii. 11, 12. [z] Judges ubi ſupra. 10, 12. 13. & ſeqq. vii, viii. 1—18. [a] Vide Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. viii.

(P) According to *Joſephus*, *Oreb* and *Zeb* were kings of *Midian* (17).

(Q) *Joſephus* ſays, they were brethren, and calls them *Zebin* and *Hezarben* (18). He ſays alſo, that theſe fifteen thouſand men were all ſlain (19) to a man; the ſcripture only ſays they were diſcomfited or terrified, which is by much the more likely to have happened.

(17) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 5. *c.* 8. (18) *Idem ubi ſupra.* (19) *Idem ubi ſupra.*

himſelf, and he did ſo, and they were no ſooner diſpatched than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the *Midianites* ſlaughtered a ſecond time, and plundered of immenſe wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire, and the like. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 ſhekels[b]. This downfal is, by the prophet, termed, *the day of* Midian[c], *and the ſlaughter of* Midian *at the rock of Oreb*[d]. From henceforward they gave over the trade of war[e].

THEY were, however, a famous nation many ages afterward, and are mentioned for their induſtry, and riches[f], and the magnificence of their tents[g]: but in the firſt century their name was diſuſed, being by that time ſwallowed up by the more famous of *Arabia*. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the ancient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to ſhew the place where *Moſes* watered his father-in-law's cattle.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Edom.

ESAU, called alſo *Edom*, was the progenitor of this people. He was the ſon of *Iſaac*, the ſon of *Abraham*, by *Rebekah*, and born at a birth with *Jacob*, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two (A). Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preſage of the ſtrife which was to take birth between them, and revive between their deſcendants, as GOD himſelf explained it to their mother. *Eſau* was born with red hair all over him (B); and as he grew up he proved to be a very ſtrong and active perſon, and delighting in the chaſe, became a *man of the field*; by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very maſculine turn of mind, and much abſent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother *Rebekah*, who prided herſelf wholly in *Jacob*, who was a gentle ſpirited man, and more frequently in her eye. On a day it happened, that *Eſau* came home quite ſpent with faſting and exerciſe, and perceiving that his brother *Jacob* had cooked ſome pottage, begged he might have ſome of it, being quite empty and ready to die. *Jacob*, taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, tells him, if he would make over his birth-right to him, he ſhould have ſome: whereupon *Eſau*, thinking himſelf at the point of death, and that his birth-right was of no value to himſelf, conſented to *Jacob*'s ungenerous motion, and ſware away his birth-right to him, and accepted of a meſs of pottage in conſideration thereof; and thus is he ſaid to have *deſpiſed his birth-right*. Upon this occaſion he was called *Edom*, which ſignifies red, the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* ſo dearly ſold

[b] Judg. viii. 18, 26. [c] Iſa. ix. 4. [d] Iſa. x. 26. [e] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 28. [f] Iſa. lx. 6. [g] Habak. iii. 7.

(R) *Abulfeda*, from whom we have authority to ſay this, calls it مدين *Madyan*, and *Moſes*'s father in-law, شعيب *Shoaib* (20); and the place is ſtill one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, under the name of *Shoaib*'s *Cave*. (21)

(A) It is remarkable, that as he came into the world his brother *Jacob* had him faſt hold by the heel, as if he would ſupplant him, as he afterwards did, ſays a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is ſaid concerning this extraordinary hairyneſs of the new-born *Eſau*: but not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a ſubject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head, but all over his body; and that this hair was as ſtrong as briſtles; in ſhort, that he was as rough and ſhaggy as a Satyr (2): and this indeed ſeems to be the meaning of the text, which ſays he was *red all over, like an hairy garment*. This expreſſion has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair-garments they wore in thoſe days, were of a reddiſh colour, like the hair of *Eſau* (3): Inſtead of *garment* the LXX render it δορὰ δασύς, a briſtly, ſhaggy ſkin, and the Vulgate has the ſame interpretation. It is thought, that each interpretation has an eye to the faſhion among the *Arabs* of wearing ſkins (4), as ſome of them do at this day, but they are ſheep-ſkins, warm and ſoft, ſown together, the wool being worn innermoſt (5).

(20) *Deſcrip. Arab. p.* 42. *inter Geo. Vet. Script. Græc. Min.* (21) *See Ray's Collect. of curious Travels and Voyages, Tome* 2. *p.* 158. (1) *Patrick's Comment. upon Gen.* xxv. 26. (2) *Idem. ubi ſupr. ver.* 25. (3) *Cleric. in Gen. Loc. ſupra cit.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Thevenot, Part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *chap.* 32.

sold him (C). [a] At the age of forty years, he gave great trouble and sorrow to his [a] parents by marrying among the daughters of *Heth*; he took two of them, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon*[b]; but this wore off in time, and he was received into favour with his father again. *Isaac* now grown old and very dim-sighted called *Esau* to him, and told him, that he knew not how few the remainder of his days were to be, and therefore should be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out and get him venison, and dress it for him in a savoury manner as he knew how, that *his soul might bless him before he died* (D). *Esau* obeyed, but while he was absent, his mother, who heard the words which passed between his father and him, dressed her son *Jacob* in *Esau*'s cloaths (E), and, preparing a dish of savoury meat, sent him in with it to his father, who pronounced [b] the irrevocable blessing over *Jacob*. Thus was *Isaac* deceived, and *Esau* supplanted, who

[a] Gen. xxv. 24—34 [b] xxvi. 34, 35.

(C) We are well apprized of all that has been said by commentators and others upon this great transaction between these brethren; but it will hardly be expected we should run the same lengths they have, nor enter into their infinite representations of this matter; and therefore we shall briefly touch upon some general points only. The *pottage* it seems was red, or yellowish, and made of lentils (6) from *Egypt* (7); of which there were two sorts, one darker than the other (8), and both highly prized by the antients, both of the east and west. *Pliny* relates from others, that equanimity is the usual effect of feeding upon lentils: and another writer says they inspire with joy (9). It is unlucky they should have kindled such a strife between *Esau* and *Jacob*. To this some answer, that *Esau* had never seen any afore (10); and this is pretended from *Esau*'s saying only, *give me some of that red, red*, as it is in the original: but this is at first sight very unlikely to be true; for doubtless these lentiles must have been a food he and the rest of the family were well acquainted with; so that what the ancients held concerning the harmonious effects lentils have upon the mind, must fall to the ground. But to leave this subject, let us take a view of the birthright which was exchanged for these lentils. The chief privilege of the *Birth-right*, say some, was the inheriting a double portion of the father's estate (11): others annex the priesthood thereto, and suppose, that *Esau*'s cloaths, with which *Rebekah* clad *Jacob*, were his sacerdotal vestments (12); but this notion is strongly repugned by what stands on record concerning *Cain* and *Abel* (13). Thirdly, a superiority over the rest of the children is thought to have been the principal prerogative of the *Birth-right*. Again, the chief privilege of the *Birth-right* might have been to challenge the particular blessing of the dying parent. To conclude upon this head, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the person of the son, on whom the blessing was conferred, so as to die with him, but descended to his posterity. So the promises made to *Jacob* in his blessing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the *Pottage*, and such the *Birth-right*, which were set in opposition to each other. The *Hebrew* word חלציטני *halbiteni*, which *Esau* uses in addressing *Jacob*, occurs no where but in this place, and therefore there is some doubt about the true interpretation of it. The LXX render it γεῦσόν με, *fac me gustare*, which is not thought earnest enough for a hungry man. Some, *feed me with it*, as if he was so thoroughly tired that he could not lift his own hand to his head. Others, *give me a good deal of it*, which a very hungry man might say very naturally; and this is defended by the *Samaritan* reading, and from the affinity of an *Arabic* word, which has some relation to it in sound and signification. From the same also it may be supposed, that he asked for the thickest of the *Pottage*. Considering the whole transaction between *Jacob* and *Esau* upon this occasion as meerly human, the former was guilty of a great breach of hospitality and brotherly affection at least, and cannot be excused, as most, even divines, apprehend (14).

(D) It is thought that *Isaac* only sent out *Esau* by way of probation; that is, to try whether he had good success, or not, thereby to satisfy himself in a scruple he had whether he should bless him or no. For, as by his former ill success he was reduced to the necessity of making away his birth-right; so now, if the same ill luck attended him, he should take it for a sign that the blessing was to depart from him: And though he had pronounced the great blessing over *Jacob*, yet when he perceived that *Esau* had brought home the venison he sent him for, he deemed it a tacit expression of the will of God, that *Esau* should have his blessing also, and he blessed him accordingly (15).

(E) Concerning these cloaths, it is said they had been worn by *Adam* in his ministry, and that they retained the ineffable fragrancy of paradise (16). Others only suppose, that they were laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preserve them from moths; and to refresh the brain, when put on; and that it is groundless in the *Jews* to imagine they descended from *Adam* to *Noah*, and so downwards to *Abraham*'s family (17). Besides, it may be asked how it came to pass, that *Isaac* could part with so precious a relique to his son, during his own life-time? Perhaps this is too early to suppose there was any such delicacy in apparel; but this is obviated by the near neighbourhood of *Arabia* (18). By the *smell of the field* some may understand a scent more manly than the steams of a perfume, especially as *Esau* was so great a hunter, and perpetually in the field; but that expression is supposed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquisitely scented; and this seems to be confirmed from the *Samaritan* reading, which after the word שדה *Shadeh* a field, has מלא full; and so the LXX have rendered it ὀσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρους, and so the Vulgate has it, *Sicut odor agri pleni*; as the smell of a full field, or as it is supplied, *as the smell of a field full of sweet herbs and flowers*.

(6) *Gen. ubi supra, ver.* 30, 34. (7) *St. August. in Psal* xlvi. (8) *Plin. Histor. Nat. l.* 18. *c.* 31. (9) *Auctor Geopon. lib.* 2. *c.* 35. *p.* 71. (10) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi supr. ver.* 30. (11) *ver.* 31. (12) *Lightfoot Observationes in Genesin. c.* xxvii. (13) *Gen.* iv. (14) *Vide Cleric. in Genes. ubi supr.* (15) *Vide Lightfoot Observat. in Genes. cap.* xxvii. (16) *Vide Braun. de Vestib. Hebr. sacerd. c.* 4 (17) *See Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. c.* xxvii. 15 (18) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. c.* xxvii. 27.

a who coming in with his veniſon juſt after *Jacob* was gone, *Iſaac* in a great agony told him he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the bleſſing. When *Eſau* heard this he wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with his unnatural and ſubdolous dealing, firſt, in extorting his birth-right from him, and now in robbing him of his bleſſing. However, *Eſau* did ſo far prevail with his tears, and his ſorrowful preſſing intreaties, that his father bleſſed him alſo to this effect; that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (F), *that he ſhould live by the ſword and ſerve his brother, but that he ſhould ſhake off the yoke at laſt.* It was with a heavy diſcontented mind that
b he heard his lot, and his reſentment wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that at firſt he determined to kill *Jacob* as ſoon as their father ſhould die; which coming to the knowledge of *Rebekah*, ſhe ſent *Jacob* away to *Padan-Aram*, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred c. But *Eſau* cooled again, and generouſly forgot all that had paſt, and finding that *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* had a great averſion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Iſhmael*, and took his daughter, *Mahalath* the ſiſter of *Nebaioth* (G), adding her to the wives he had already taken d; and removed with his family to mount *Seir*, not ſo much with a deſign to ſettle there perhaps, as to ſerve a preſent conveniency. The ſpot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of *Edom* e, and in a few years he
c became a very conſiderable perſon.

For, when news came to him hither, that his brother *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan-Aram*, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers, with which he meant to honour and aſſiſt his brother, and not inject fear into him as he did. The interview was very tender on both ſides, but eſpecially *Eſau*, unmindful of what moſt men would ever have retained, accoſted *Jacob* with tears of joy and the moſt melting affection: he nobly refuſed the preſents wherewith his brother would needleſly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and preſſed him to hold on his way to mount *Seir*, that they might be neighbours and live together; and when *Jacob* artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of the tedioufneſs of his marches for the ſake of the children and cattle, and ſeemed to ſay he would follow him; *Eſau* deſired he would let him at leaſt leave ſome of his fol-
d lowers behind to aſſiſt him and conduct him on his way; but this being rejected, he with reluctance left *Jacob* behind him, and took the preſents away which had been utterly forced upon him by his timorous brother (H); who, inſtead of following him, deceived him once more, and went another way f. *Eſau* remained in *Seir* till he heard that his father *Iſaac* was either dead, or upon the point to die, and

c Gen, xxii. d Gen. xxvii. 6—9. e Gen. xxxiii. 3. in the Margin. f Ibid. & xxxiii.

(F) Some give this part of *Eſau*'s bleſſing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living ſhould be by rapine and violence; and accordingly, that *Edom* was an ungrateful ſoil, nor refreſhed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a trifling variation of ἀπὸ, by making it either a prepoſition or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is obſerved, that if we follow our own tranſlation, which is directly in the ſenſe of the Vulgate, and in the ſenſe St. *Hierom* took it, there will be ſtill a wide difference between *Jacob*'s bleſſing and *Eſau*'s; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no ſuch dominion promiſed as in *Jacob*'s; and that laſtly, whatſoever fatneſs was in the ſoil of his country, it did not laſt long (20). Nevertheleſs, *Moſes* ſeems to tell us, that the land of *Edom* was not ſo deſtitute as ſome may imagine; when he promiſes the king of *Edom*, that if he would permit the children of *Iſrael* to paſs through his country, they ſhould hurt neither the fields nor the vineyards (21): the fields may perhaps have been rather corn fields than paſture; and if this be true, the *Edomites* had their corn and wine too. As to what *Malachi* ſays of the infertility and deſolation of the kingdom of *Edom* (22), that muſt, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the uſual product of the ſoil.

(G) It is obſerved from hence, that *Eſau* paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the deſcendant of a bond-woman [*Hagar*], who could not inherit the promiſes made to *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (23).

(H) It appears very plain from what now paſſed between *Eſau* and *Jacob* at this meeting, that the former was not ſo great a reprobate, or naturally ſo bad a man, as ſome have unreaſonrbly repreſented him. We had reſolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of *Eſau*; but finding it generouſly done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we ſhall content ourſelves with the ſubſtance of what he ſays: *Eſau* was a plain, generous, and honeſt Man; nor does he ſeem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his ſpeedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and ſlights he received from him: and though St. *Paul* calls him the prophane *Eſau*, and ſays he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God puniſhed him for an immoral life. 1. This ſentence could

(19) *Idem ubi ſupr. ver.* 39. (20) *Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. ver.* 39. (21) *Numb.* xx. 17—20. (22) *Malach.* i. 3. (23) *See Patrick upon Gen.* xxviii. 9.

and went to *Mamre*, where he aſſiſted *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceaſed parent, a and took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; for his birth-right was a ſpiritual prerogative, and no ways related to his father's temporal eſtate, by this addition to his former ſtore; and *Jacob* being alſo very rich, and maſter of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impoſſible to enjoy ſuch large poſſeſſions together in a country where they were both ſtrangers; and therefore, as *Abraham* and *Lot* had done before, they parted. *Eſau* returning to the country of *Seir*, being an hundred and twenty years old, married *Aholibamah* a daughter of the country, but originally of *Canaan* [g]; and from henceforward took ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the good and peaceable ſettlement of his deſcendants in this country.

Their country. Now though *Eſau* might have no poſitive knowledge of it, yet God deſigned b this land for an inheritance to his line [h], as he did that of *Canaan* for the line of *Jacob*: and this naturally leads us to give the beſt deſcription we can of the realm ſo ordained for them; which we ſhall here do once for all. This country was originally, ſo far as we know, inhabited by a people called *Horites*, or *Horim*, whether ſo named from one *Hor*, or *Hori* [i], which was a name amongſt them, is what we know no more, than whether mount *Hor* was ſo denominated from him, as ſome think [k]. It was called the mount or land of *Seir* from one *Seir* an *Horite*, and not from the hairyneſs of *Eſau*, who came there long after, as *Joſephus* dreamed [l]. In the *Samaritan Verſion* it is called *Gablah*; by *Jonathan*'s *Targum Gobal*; and by *Joſephus Gobolitis*; which ſeveral appellations are derived from *Geboul*, ſignifying a c border; for it did border upon the land of *Canaan* on the ſouth; but the extent of the ancient country of *Seir* we take not upon us to ſay; and therefore can mention no other boundary. When the children of *Edom* ſeized on this country, it grew to be univerſally known under the name of *Edom*; but we cannot gather, that they extended their limits till the time they erected their monarchy, when they built *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, as is likely, on the eaſtern ſhore of the *Arabian* gulf; but in the days of *Moſes* no part of their dominion abutted upon that gulf [m]. When the ancient kingdom of *Edom* was in its meridian, it was, as we think, bounded on the north by the land of *Canaan* and the ſalt ſea, or lake *Aſphaltites*, on the eaſt by *Midian*, on the ſouth by the *Arabian* gulf, or the red ſea, ſo called from the juriſ- d diction this people exerciſed over it, as is moſt likely (I); on the weſt it was bounded by *Amalek*.

This

g Ubi ſupr. xxxv, xxxvi. h Deut. ii. 5. Joſh. xxiv. 4. i Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30. k See Wells's Hiſtoric. Geogr. of the Old Teſt. vol. 1. p. 533. l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 20. m See Numb. xx. 17—21. Deut. ii. 1. & ſeq.

could not extend to his poſterity, and is not ſaid to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of *Eſau* was not a hatred which induced him to puniſh him with an evil; for he was as happy in the bleſſings of this life as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more. His children became maſters of the land of their poſſeſſion much ſooner than the *Iſraelites*; and God was pleaſed to command the *Iſraelites* not to diſturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was ſuch, why ſhould we deſpair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the bleſſing, ſo was *Lot* and *Job*, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. *Paul* means no more than to ſhew the *Jews*, that God had all along beſtowed the favours which led to the Meſſiah on whom he pleaſed; to *Abraham* not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Eſau*; to the *Gentiles*, not to the *Jews*. 5. Though *Eſau* be called βέβηλος, or prophane, he is never called ἀσεβής, or ἁμαρτωλὸς, wicked, or immoral. So that the only defect in his character is, that he does not ſeem to have been ſo mindful of the promiſes made to his family as *Jacob* was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears, that he was not quite ſo fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (24).

(I) The *Red Sea*, as we commonly call it, is more properly termed the *Arabian* gulf. By the *Hebrews* it was called *Yam Suf*, the weedy, or flaggy ſea; by the *Arabians Bahr Alkolzum*, or the ſea of *Kolzum*, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it. But by the ancient inhabitants of the adjacent countries it was called the ſea of *Edom*, becauſe it waſhed the ſouthern ſkirts of the land of *Edom*. The *Greeks*, finding that the *Phœnicians* called it *Yam Edom*, miſtook the word *Edom* to ſignify an appellative inſtead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσα, *Mare Rubrum*, and thence we have the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea* (25). Others (26), however, derive the name from a certain king of the eaſt, in, or towards *Perſia*, called *Erythras*; but by the *Red Sea* they manifeſtly underſtand what we call the *Indian* ocean; and therefore we cannot think with Sir *Iſaac Newton* (27), that this ſame *Erythras* is the *Edom* or *Eſau* of Scripture (28), and that he was actually the firſt that invented the veſſels, *rates*, in which they navigated that ſea. *Agatharcides* expatiates on this, and will have it, that the *Indian* ocean was called the *Red Sea*; not becauſe the *Arabian* gulf belonging to it, had hills on the weſt of it, which when the ſun ſhone intenſely upon them, looked ſomewhat like burning coals. On the eaſt he ſays indeed there were ſome red hills, and the ſame there are at this day; but this, he ſays, was not

(24) *Shuckford's Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hiſtory of the World, vol. 2. p. 198 & ſeq.* (25) *See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. Book 1. p. 10.* (26) *Plin. l. 6. c. 28. Strab. lib. 16. p. 766. Pompon. Mel. lib. 3. cap. 8.* (27) *Chronol. of ancient Kingdoms amend. p. 211.* (28) *Apud Phot. in Biblioth. p. 1, 322.*

a THIS tract is very hilly and mountainous, and great part of it defart. It has few or no open ſtreams, but latent ſprings of water ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants, who know where to find them [n]. Corn and wine, nevertheleſs, it ſeems to have anciently abounded with in ſome degree [o]; ſo that *Eſau* may have enjoyed the fat of the land (K); and beſides, his poſterity, by their ſituation, were able to ſupply and enrich themſelves with the produce of ſome of the fineſt and moſt fruitful ſoils on earth, by means of their commerce with foreigners by the red-ſea, in thoſe days the greateſt and moſt conſiderable trading water in the world. *Amalekitis* is by ſome reckoned to have been a part or province of *Edom* [p] (L), but however it was conſidered in later days, it certainly was not ſo when the kingdom of *Amalek* flouriſhed; and therefore we ſhall treat thereof ſeparately, in the next
b ſection. We are poſitively told, that *Job*'s country, the land of *Uz*, lies within the limits of the ancient *Edom* [q]; but ſome very noted geographers [r] are unwilling to grant it, for reaſons which are not altogether ſo valid as might be wiſhed; but they are too obſcure and uncertain to be diſcuſſed here.

Now the cities and remarkable places of *Edom* were *Teman*, which being mentioned for the wiſdom and counſel of its inhabitants [s] was, perhaps, the royal ſeat: The country around it was called *Temani*; of this part was *Eliphaz*, one of *Job*'s friends [t]. *Dedan*, a city of great dealings with *Tyre*; ſome of the commodities are mentioned, ebony, ivory, and fine cloaths [u]; it ſeems to have been ſituated in an extremity of the country oppoſite to *Teman* [w]. *Bozrah* [x], *Boſor*, *Bazrah* and the like,
c are names of another city of *Edom*; its name implies a fortreſs, which has made ſome imagine, that it was the capital of the kingdom [y]. By the manner of the phrophet's introducing it, it may be gueſſed to have been a conſiderable place in his days. *Selah* or *Petra* being words of the ſame ſignification, the one in greek the other in hebrew, it is thought, the one is a tranſlation of the other, and that they both intend one and the ſame city [z]. If this be right, it ſtood on a level ſpot of ground, encompaſſed all round by ſteep rocks and craggy precipices, and within this incloſure were many gardens and rich ſprings; but beyond it the country was a deſart [a]. That it was thus naturally fortified, appears by ſeveral authors [b]. By one it is called the chief place of the *Nabatæans* [c], whom in another place he calls
d *Idumeans* [d], that is, *Edomites*; and ſays, that it was three or four days journey diſtant from *Jericho*. A ſecond author alſo calls it a city of the *Nabatæans* [e]. A third places it near mount *Hor* [f], and calls it the capital of *Arabia* [g]. A fourth ſeats it ten miles weſtward of *Elath* [h], a ſea-port on the red ſea belonging to the *Edomites*. Morever, this kingdom had two very eminent ſea-ports, *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, on the

[n] THEVENOT's Travels, Part. 1. c. 32. SANDYS, Book 2. p. 107. [o] See Numb. ubi ſupra. [p] Vide Hiſtor. Jul. in *Edom*. JOSEPH Antiq. l. 11. c. 1. [q] AUGUST. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 47 See alſo Lament. iv. 21. [r] Vide CELLARIJ Notit. Orb. Ant. & RELANDI Palæſt. Illuſtr. [s] Jerem. xlix. [t] Job ii. 11. [u] Jerem. ubi ſupr. ver. 8. Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20. [w] Idem xxv. 13. in the Margin. [x] Iſa. lxiii. 1. [y] See FULLER's Piſgah ſight, lib. 4. c. 2. [z] See PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. Book viii. p. 544. FULLER ubi ſupr. [a] STRABO, lib. 16. p. 779. [b] JOSEPH. Ant. lib. 14. c. 9. DIOD. SIC. lib. 19. p. 722. [c] STRABO, ubi ſupr. [d] Idem ibid. p. 760. [e] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [f] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 4. [g] Lib. xiv. c. 25. [h] EUSEB. Onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad vocem Πέτρα.

not the reaſon why the ocean was called *Red*: nor was it becauſe the ſun in thoſe parts, inſtead of darting forth bright and clear rays, ſhone out only with a ſanguine light, which gave a bloody hue to the ſurface of the ſea; but he will have it derived from one *Erythras*, an obſcure and fabulous prince, concerning whom he tells a very abſurd and puerile ſtory, with a very grave air. From this it appears, that the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea* of the ancients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, and that what we call the *Red Sea* was conſidered as a branch of it.

(K) By modern travellers we are told, that this country at preſent is nothing leſs than a fertile ſpot (29). But it muſt bear a widely different face now that it is only frequented by the *Bedouins*, or wandring *Arabs*, from what it did, when occupied by a ſettled nation, who doubtleſs muſt with great pains and induſtry have prepared the ſoil for propagation: but we have ſpoken of this already (30).

(L) *Joſephus* divides *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (31); but this is a diviſion which cannot be accurately ſpoken of, while the *Edomites* and *Amalekites* were independant ſtates. The habitation of the *Edomites* is alſo frequently called *Gebalene* (32); and eſpecially by *Euſebius*, who uſes the appellations *Gibalene* and *Idumea* indifferently to denote the ſame place (33). Some later writers have torn the country aſunder by a very violent and needleſs rent, placeing one *Edom* in the land of *Seir* on the other ſide of *Jordan* to the north, and leaving the other in the place where the only land of *Seir* certainly ſtood; but this is a notion very ſolidly confuted by the beſt approved of the lateſt geographers.

(29) *Sandys, Book 2. p. 107.* (30) *See before in the Notes, p. 307.* (31) *Joſeph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.* (32) *Stephan. ad voces,* Γάβαλα. & Γεβάλα. (33) *In Onomaſt urbium & locorum ad voces* Γάθερ, Σηιρ, Ἰάθηρ.

the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulf, or red ſea [i]. *Eſiongeber* proved an unfortunate harbour, being rocky and very difficult, deriving its name from a ridge of rocks it had, which was thought to reſemble the back-bone of a man [k], and growing at length infamous for the many wrecks which befel the ſhipping that frequented it, it was deſerted very early; and therefore its ſituation is not exactly known, any further than that it ſtood very near to *Elath*. This [meaning *Elath*] was a fairer and more commodious haven, and for a long time was a ſtation for the ſhipping, which was ſent from theſe parts into the *Indies*. It is alſo called *Eloth*, *Aela*, *Ailat*, *Elat*, *Elana*, from whence you have the *Elanitic* gulf wherein it ſtood; and by the *Arabians Ailah* to this day (M). Upon the decay of *Eſiongeber*, it grew into great credit and reſort, and was thought worthy of being contended for; and anciently changed its maſters ſeveral times: it was wreſted from the *Edomites* by *David* [l], it was afterwards forced from the houſe of *David* by the *Edomites* when they rebelled againſt *Jehoram* [m]; *Azariah* got it from them again [n]; but his grandſon loſt it to the king of *Syria* [o]; the *Syrians* held it a long time, and after ſome revolutions and changes under the *Seleucidæ* and the *Ptolemies*, it fell to the ſhare of the *Romans*. Remarkable places in this country were farther, mount *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and the valley of *Salt*, a ſpot on which the *Edomites* were twice defeated with a great ſlaughter; and had its name, probably, from its ſalt ſprings, or the ſalt found there [p].

Now though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered *Idumæa*, and *Idumea*, as in our verſion of the bible; yet when that name occurs in the prophane and the more modern writers, it muſt not be underſtood of the ancient *Edom*, which, loſing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of *Arabia Petræa*, and the third *Paleſtine*. The ſouthern part of *Canaan* came to be called *Idumæa*, and the whole nation of the *Jews Idumæans* ſometimes. Whence this aroſe will in part be ſeen in the cloſe of this ſection, and more amply in the hiſtory of the *Jews*.

Forms of Government.

To return to the ancient *Edom*. How it was in its more early times governed is a matter of doubt, and being ſo, we can only embrace the moſt likely opinion. The *Horites* were at firſt ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families, and after that by kings which were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was ſome how or other interrupted and diſſolved, and the ancient form took place again, the governors being ſtiled dukes, who ſeem to have ſucceeded in right of birth. Perceiving the imperfections of this kind of adminiſtration, they coaleſced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withſtand an invaſion from the *Iſraelites* when they came out of *Egypt*. It was governed afterwards by *Edomitiſh* kings quite down to the days of *David*, who ſubdued the kingdom; and this ſecond monarchy ſeems to have been hereditary. Theſe are the various forms of government, which ſeemed to have been exerciſed in the land of *Seir* and *Edom*, by the *Horites*, and the *Edomites*, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this ſection.

Their Character.

THE character we have of the *Edomites* is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others in the ſoftning pleaſures

[i] 1 Kings ix. 26. [k] See PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the old and New Teſt. part 1. book 1. p. 7. and PATRICK's Comment, upon the above-cited paſſage of Kings. [l] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [m] 2 Kings viii. 20. [n] Ibid. xxiv. 22. [o] Ibid. xvi. 6. [p] Vide SALMAS. Exercit. Plinian. Cap. 35. p. 613, 614.

(M) *Ailah*, or *Elath* is near the road the *Egyptian* pilgrims take, when they go to *Mecca*. In the fourteenth Century there were conſiderable remains of it ſtanding. At that time an *Egyptian* governour reſided in a tower there: there were no no fields about it. There was formerly a caſtle which ſtood out in the ſea, but that is deſtroyed. Our author calls it a ſmall city, and adds, that it had belonged to thoſe *Jews* who were turned into apes and ſwine (34). *Elath* and *Eſiongeber* grew at laſt to be *ambigui juris*, according to Sir *John Marſham* (35). But not to anticipate what we may have to ſay upon this matter, let it for the preſent ſuffice that we obſerve the *Edomites* to have been ſo well able to defend the right they claimed of the empire of the *Red-Sea*, that the *Egyptians* were anciently unable to diſpute it with them, and were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the *Edomites* were pleaſed to allow them, which are ſaid to have been hard enough; for they were allowed but one veſſel of burthen wherewith to ſail to the *Indies*, and not ſo much as one galley (36). *Elath* was particularly ſo conſiderable a place, as to give name to the eaſtermoſt of the gulfs which terminate the *Red-Sea*, and had the famous metropolis of *Petra*, ten miles to the weſtward of it (37), as is ſaid from very good authority, which has been followed by ſome geographers of firſt note.

(34) *Abulfeda in Deſcrip. Arab.* (35) *Canon. Chron. ſecul. xiv. p.* 367. (36) *See before, p.* 226. *Hiſt. de Huet, du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. c.* 5. (37) *Euſeb. Onon Urbium & Locorum ad vocem.* Αιλα.

a pleaſures of luxury [q]. But this, we muſt tell you, is peculiarly the character of the latter *Edomites*, who migrated into *Judæa*; nor ſhould we have inſerted it here, but that it ſeems to be of a piece with the genius of the people, as their great anceſtor *Iſaac*, foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteriſtics, and perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no neceſſity to believe it to have been of ſo brutal a ſort as *Joſephus* repreſents above: for as they were, doubtleſs, a trading nation, it is incompatible to ſuppoſe they were a neſt of robbers and incendiaries, fewer ſuch being for ever found among thoſe that are addicted to commerce, and conſequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and ſlothful nations, and ſuch as condemn induſtry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For theſe laſt
b are ſure to be mean, and beggarly, rude, ignorant, and baſe; the former quite the reverſe, flouriſh in plenty and eaſe, are learned, ingenious, and brave. What therefore their anceſtor foretold of them, that they ſhould live by the ſword, perhaps, imports no more, than that they ſhould maintain their rights, whether natural or uſurped, with a high hand and a jealous eye; as all thoſe who have claimed the empire of the ſea, as they did, have for ever done. Thus for want of due authority, have we attempted the character of the *Edomites*, by drawing a parellel between them and others of latter, and our own times. And, abating the difference of climates whieh works a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading ſtates, that flouriſh within our knowledge, who are far from living upon
c plunder and rapine; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour towards *Moſes*; when though they refuſed him admittance into their territories, yet they were ready to traffic with him, and ſupply him with neceſſaries, as we ſhall ſee anon. The *Edomites*, whoſe character *Joſephus* draws above, were a degenerate race, quite aliens to the liberties and noble ſpirit of their forefathers, as we may not unjuſtly ſuppoſe.

THEIR arts and ſciences were doubtleſs great, conſidering the time; many, and well perfected; and though perhaps there may be no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, as the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton* has done, that they were the parents of thoſe amiable ſiſters; yet may we ſafely pronounce, that they were not much, if any thing at all behind hand
d with the moſt ancient learned nations. The invention and uſe of conſtellations appear, by the Book of *Job* [r], to have been known among the *Edomites*, among whom he dwelt [s], a rare inſtance of the early progreſs of aſtronomy, if we ſuppoſe *Job* to have ever exiſted, or the book it ſelf to be of ſuch ancient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned [t] alſo, and ſhips [u], and many hints given ſufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the ſecrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much ſublime and truly-uſeful knowledge was cultivated among them. Nor is there wanting very ample evidence from prophane authors to make this out, as we ſhall take proper opportunities of ſhewing: and indeed it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account. *Arts and ſciences.*

e CONCERNING their religion we are much in the dark. They at firſt were right in their belief and practice, as they were deſcended from *Iſaac*, and uſed circumciſion; but they by degrees forgot all, erred into idolatry (for idols it ſeems they had*), and diſuſed circumſion; but in the end coaleſced with the *Jews*, and were ever after conſidered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be ſeen at the decay of their ſtate. *Religion.*

WE now reſume the hiſtory of *Eſau* the father of this people. The number of his family and domeſtics when he fixed his dwelling here is uncertain, though probably very numerous. According to the hypotheſis [w], which in this very obſcure caſe we think ourſelves obliged to adopt, he ſettled here under one of the *Horite* kings;
f and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never conſidered any more than as the chief of his own houſe; and thence is dignified with no particular title by *Moſes*. Concerning this matter, we cannot but think with biſhop *Cumberland*, that the *Horites* were at firſt ruled by ſeveral independant chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by *Chederloamer* king of *Elam*, who ſwept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To ſecure themſelves therefore from ſo great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more ſtable and perfect kind of government, and formed themſelves into an elective kingdom, and their kings were, *Hiſtory.*

BELA,

[q] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13. [r] Chap. ix. 38. [s] St. AUGUST. de civitat. Dei ubi ſupr. Lamenta. ubi ſupr. [t] See before, in the Notes, p. 300. [u] Job c. ix. * See 2 Chron. xxv. in the Argument. [w] See Biſhop CUMBERLAND's Orig. Gent. Antiq.

Bela, the ſon of *Beor*: the name of his city was *Dinhabah*.

Jobab, the ſon of *Zerah* of *Bozrah*. From a ſimilitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient *Job*, whoſe hiſtory we might enlarge on, were it not too well known, or too uncertain for us to inſert here, which, for ought we are ſure of, is as proper a place as any other. But though we are well furniſhed with help towards this obſcure taſk, and might, to ſhew that we have read almoſt every thing neceſſary to qualify us for the undertaking, introduce a cloud of commentators and interpreters; yet we ſhall forbear, becauſe it will naturally lead us into a very dry diſcourſe, and be perhaps very diſſatisfactory to ſome, and very diſguſtful to others. Wherefore we will only ſay, that, according to ſome, *Job* was a real, according to others, an imaginary perſon. Some ſay the book was written by himſelf in *Arabic*, b and tranſlated by *Moſes* into *Hebrew*; others, that *Moſes* compoſed it originally while he was in *Midian*; others again, that it was originally written by *Ezekiel*: Some hold it to be a genuine and ſincere hiſtory: others, that it is a dramatic entertainment, or a pious fable for the inſtruction of men in the great duty of reſignation to God. Some place his abode in, or upon the Skirts of, the ancient kingdom of *Edom*; others, upon the banks of the *Euphrates* (N). Some reckon him among the moſt early of *Eſau*'s deſcendants, others bring him down to the days of *Joſiah*. Having thus given a tranſitory view of the great miſt which hangs over the ſtory of *Job*, we proceed.

Husham of the land of *Temani*. c

Hadad, the ſon of *Bedad*, he ſmote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*, and the name of this city was *Avith*.

Samlah of *Marcskah*; in his reign, or in that of his ſucceſſor, came *Eſau*, as we think, into this country.

Saul of *Rehoboth*.

Baal-Hanan, the ſon of *Achbor*. e

Hadar; the name of his city was *Pau*, and his wife's name was *Mehetabel*.

Under the three laſt, or four laſt of theſe kings, did *Eſau* and his family live as ſojourners in a ſtrange land, as *Abraham* and *Iſaac* their forefathers had done before them in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came ſome how d or other to be interrupted, and broken into ſeveral petty and independant principalities or dukedoms; and, ſeeing that the poſterity of *Eſau* exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that they had the largeſt ſhare in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately obſerved by a late and learned writer, that the firſt dukes of the *Edomites* are not ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, but dukes *in the land of Edom* x. From whence we gather, that the grand-children of *Eſau*, grown ſtrong and potent, could no longer brook ſubjection to a ſtrange line, and would govern themſelves; ſo that now the whole country became divided into ſeveral diſtinct juriſdictions, and under ſeveral petty princes, called dukes, both of the poſterity of *Eſau*, and of that of *Seir*, who are all collateral. The dukes ſ in the land of *Edom* were, 1. Duke *Teman*; 2. duke *Omar*; 3. duke *Zepho*; 4. duke *Kenaz*; 5. duke *Korah*; 6. duke *Gatam*; 7. duke *Amelek*. Theſe ſeven were the ſons of *Eliphaz* the firſt-born of *Eſau*. 8. Duke *Nahath*; 9. duke *Zerah*; 10. duke *Hammah*; 11. duke *Mizzah*: theſe four were the ſons of *Reuel*, the ſecond ſon of *Eſau*; 12. Duke *Ieuſh*; 13. duke *Jaalam*; 14. duke *Korah*: theſe three were the ſons of *Eſau* himſelf, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on *Aholibamah* his laſt wife. All theſe were the dukes in the land of *Edom*; that is, in that part poſſeſſed by the *Edomites*, and thence called after them. At the ſame time were ſeven dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of *Seir*. f 1. Duke *Lotam*; 2. duke *Shobal*; 3. duke *Zibeon*; 4. duke *Anah*; he found mules

x Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacred and prophane Hiſt. Book 8. p. 192.

(N) Some have not ſcrupled to ſay, that *Job*'s diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe; for indeed he might have been ſmitten with that as well as with any other; ſo that in this caſe there is no reaſon to believe that he drew it on himſelf. He is the patron of all thoſe that labour under that filthy affliction within the pale of the *Roman* church; but ſhe revered him before the ſaid diſeaſe was known in *Europe*. As to that miſtake about the ſepulchre without the walls of *Conſtantinople*, and that other, that the *Turks* take him to have been the chief judge of *Solomon*'s court; they have been fully detected (38).

(38) *Bayle Art. Job.*

a mules (O) in the wilderneſs, as he fed the aſſes of *Zibeon* his father; 5. duke *Diſhon*; 6. duke *Ezer*; 7. duke *Diſhan*[x]. Now ſeeing that the dukes of *Eſau*'s line in the land of *Edom*, being more in number, may have been greater in might than thoſe of the *Horites* in the land of *Seir*, it ſeems not unnatural to ſuppoſe, that theſe laſt were now expelled by the former, who ſeized on the land by the preordained diſtribution of GOD[y]. At the ſame time *Amelek* or his ſpurious offspring may have been driven out alſo.

ACCORDINGLY the next generation of theſe princes are ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we ſuppoſe to have been all called *Edom*. The dukes of this ſecond race were;
b 1. Duke *Timnah*; 2. duke *Alvah*; 3. duke *Jetheth*; 4. duke *Aholibamah*; 5. duke *Elah*; 6. duke *Pinon*; 7. duke *Kenaz*; 8. duke *Teman*; 9. duke *Mibzar*; 10. duke *Magdiel*; 11. duke *Iram*[z] (P). Theſe eleven were dukes of *Edom* when the children of *Iſrael* were come out into the wilderneſs; and, being diſmayed at the approach of ſo formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a ſeat, dreaded for their own country, not knowing, that the *Iſraelites* were under a ſtrict injunction by no means to moleſt them. Wherefore perceiving the imperfection and weakneſs of the regulation they were under, they united under one head or king, and prepared to maintain their ground againſt any invaſion.

To this nameleſs king, or perhaps, his ſucceſſor, came meſſengers from *Moſes*,
c then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a paſſage through his country for him

x Gen. xxxvi. y Deut. ii. 12. z Gen. ubi. ſupr.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is ſome variety of judgment and interpretation. The *Hebrew* word is הַיְמִים *hayyemim*, which the LXX, not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have ἰαμείν, and ſo have *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*. From St. *Jerom* we have ſeveral traditions of the *Jews* concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word muſt be underſtood ſeas, or large waters; for the ſame letters are uſed for the word which bears that import; and will have it, that, while he fed his father's aſſes in the wilderneſs, he found a collection of waters, or ſeas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, an uncommon diſcovery in a deſart, and therefore worthy of notice. Some would have it to mean *hot waters* in the *Phœnician* tongue. Some again, that he ſuffered wild aſſes to cover his tame ones, and that the ſwifteſt breed of thoſe creatures, called *Yamim*, ſprang from thence: And moſt of the *Rabbins* teach that he, firſt of all men, ſuffered aſſes to cover the mares in the wilderneſs; whence the unnatural breed of mules were ſhewn to the world. Now theſe interpretations, or ſuppoſitions, are thus combated. 1. To make the *Hebrew* word mean *ſeas*, it muſt be altered in the reading contrary to all authority and likelihood: and beſides, as the *Hebrews* call great ponds or lakes ſeas, it is no wonder, that he found out ſuch congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind that can be conſidered in thoſe parts, except the lake *Aſphaltites*, which was made afterwards. 2. Thoſe who render the word *hot-baths*, as the Vulgate, according to the *Phœnician* ſignification, ſeem to have read חִמִּים *hhemim*, and to have believed, that it is ſynonymous with חַמִּים *hhammim*, which ſignifies *hot baths*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Thoſe who will have him to have firſt found out the breed of mules, are confuted by *Bochart*, with the following arguments; 1. Becauſe mules were never called by that name; 2. Becauſe the word מָצָא *matza*, which *Moſes* uſes, imports the finding what exiſts already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Becauſe they were aſſes which *Ana* fed, and not horſes; 4. Becauſe in ſcripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of *David*. In the concluſion, it is the proper name of a people, the אֵימִים *Emim* for example; which is perfectly made out from the *Samaritan* reading; whom he found ſuddenly, that is, fell on them by ſurprize, and diſcomfited them; and this is the moſt likely meaning of the *Hebrew* text in this place, it having the very ſame ſignification in ſeveral other places (40). However, the word is alſo thought to have been the name of ſome uſeful plant, or herb (41), which *Anah* firſt diſcovered.

(P) In ſcripture the names of theſe kings and dukes run in a ſeemingly-confuſed order; and ſome are unwilling to think that they ſucceeded in the manner we have, from biſhop *Cumberland*, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from theſe words of the text prefixed to the liſt of the kings; *and theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of* Iſrael (43). This is ſuppoſed to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the liſt to have been elder than *Moſes*, we muſt ſuppoſe the whole to be interpolated too; and accordingly ſome take *Moſes* to have been the firſt king of *Iſrael*, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved that any of the ſaid kings were of the line of *Eſau*: and this firſt monarchy ſet up by the *Horites* was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy erected by the children of *Eſau* was, by the very little or nothing we know of it, at leaſt ſeemingly, hereditary; for *Hadad* was a minor when *David* conquered *Edom*. But we are afraid of treſpaſſing too much on our readers patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate, and ſhall only ſay, that we have embraced that opinion, which upon mature deliberation ſeems to us to be the beſt founded.

(40) *Vide Cleric. Comm. in Gen. cap.* xxxvi. *ver.* 24. (41) *Vide Wagen Annot. in Tit. Talm. Sot.* (42) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and prof. Hiſt. Book* 7. *p.* 192, *& ſeqq.* (43) *See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part* 1. *Book* 5. *p.* 492, 493.

him and his people. And though it was remonſtrated to him, that the *Iſraelites* were a his brethren; and as he could not but know, how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppreſſed in *Egypt*; how God had now led them out from under their bondage, and that they had reached his borders, being in, and near, the town of *Kadeſh*; it was to be hoped he would let them paſs freely through his country, in their way to the land of *Canaan*; that if he was willing to befriend them in this matter, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite croſſed his territories. To this the jealous king of *Edom* anſwered, that he would by no means grant it, and adviſed them not to make the leaſt attempt towards it; that if b they did, they might expect to be interrupted by the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. And when theſe embaſſadors, or perhaps, thoſe of a ſecond embaſſy, urged him ſtill farther upon this important buſineſs, and made a renewal of promiſes and aſſurances of the moſt peaceable behaviour, if they might have the paſſage they ſolicited, proteſting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occaſion for on the way, and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he grew downright exaſperated at their reiterated inſtances, and fearing, that the *Iſraelites* might make ſome deſperate attempt to force the paſſage he denied them, he took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them, and ſhew them that he was not to be prevailed on[a]. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of c diſtreſſing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himſelf, and, perhaps, that they might not grow deſperate, he furniſhed them with what his country afforded for their ſuſtenance, or convenience, for their money[a].

After this, there is ſcarce any hiſtory ſo obſcure and interrupted as this of *Edom*; and particularly, we find no words concerning them, from theſe days to thoſe of king *David*: however, we will ſupply this chaſm in part, by obſerving, that in the mean time the *Edomites* extended their dominion, and applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the ſea; we mean of the *Arabian* gulf at leaſt, and the trade thereof: they dealt in very rich commodities as it ſeems; pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Ethiopia*, coral, pearls, and the like[b], and be- d came a very conſiderable kingdom, as the moſt common opinion is.

But in the very meridian, as we think, of their glory, they were humbled by conqueſt, and the chiefs of them driven from their homes by the cruelties of a foreign invaſion; which how they drew it upon them we have ſcarce any room to gueſs (Q). But ſo it was, that they became involved in a war with king *David*, in which they were defeated in the valley of ſalt[c], with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men; and though this battle ſeems to have decided the fate of the kingdom, yet the *Edomites* were not ſuffered to live, but were maſſacred, wherever they could be found, for ſix months together by *Joab*, who ſlew all the males that came into his hands; ſo that happy were they who could eſcape into ſtrange countries (R). So *Edom* was awed by the con- e queror's garriſons, waſted, and depopulated, while its ancient inhabitants were diſperſed into ſeveral parts. *Hadad* their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of *Midian* (S), thinking, perhaps, to croſs the *Red-ſea*, and there underſtanding, that they and their young king would be favourably received by *Pharaoh*, they carried him thither, and *Hadad* was accordingly received, and ſupported by *Pharaoh* with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to compleat all the favours and kindneſſes which were unſparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [*Taphenes*'s] ſiſter given to him in marriage[d]. But at the ſame time that *Hadad* made his way towards *Egypt*, others took

[a] Numb. xx. 14, 21. [a] Deut. ii. 28, 29. [b] Job. xxviii. [c] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12. [d] 1 Kings xi. 15, 20.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to gueſs at what might poſitively be the cauſe of this ruin executed upon the *Edomites*; but probably, *David* treating with them for ſome of the advantages of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, they refuſed to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreſt thoſe important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

(R) Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this diſperſion to have been of very beneficial conſequence to the ſeveral nations they went to, ſuppoſing they carried their arts, ſciences, and induſtry with them wherever they went (44); and herein he is in part ſupported by very ample authority, as we ſhall immediately obſerve.

(S) From hence we have, after *Reland*, ſuppoſed, that *Midian* was partly bounded on the north by *Edom* (45); as if they were obliged to fly through *Midian* to go to *Egypt*: but it is more likely that they ſtruck into *Midian*, as the ſhorteſt cut to get away from the enemy, with deſign to embark for *Egypt*, at *Madian*, or ſome other ſea-port of that country, as the ſafeſt way to go into *Egypt*.

(44) *Chron. of anc. kingd. amended, p.* 209. (45) *See before, p.* 299.

a took different routs; ſome, flying to the *Philiſtines*, fortified *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, for them (T), and proved a conſiderable acceſſion of power, and of very ſingular benefit to that people (U): and others, that dealt in ſhipping, took the longeſt way they could to eſcape the rage of the conqueror, and went towards, or into, the *Perſian* gulf[d]: in a word, they were diſperſed into all parts, there being no ſafety for them in their native place.

HADAD, though he lived in great eaſe and ſplendor in the *Egyptian* court, yet being conſcious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependance, thirſting after his kingdom, and bitterly remembring the ſeverity of the conqueror, meditated revenge, but more eſpecially when it was told him, that *David* and the terrible *Joab* were b both dead. At length the time came, when *Solomon* wallowed in all kinds of impurity, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take his revenge, he diſcloſed his mind to his brother-in-law *Pharaoh*, entreating that he would diſmiſs him. The wiſe king of *Egypt*, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he muſt be expoſed to in executing his deſign, would have prevailed on him to lay aſide all thoughts of ſo tumultuous an undertaking; but *Hadad*, upon urging the matter, obtained a diſmiſſion, and proved a very troubleſome enemy to *Solomon*, and ſhewed the way to others, as is thought, to be the ſame; but he did not recover his kingdom again. He had a ſon by his *Egyptian* wife, and his name was *Genubath*: he had a princely education in the palace of *Pharaoh*; but *Hadad* failing in his view upon his own c kingdom, he, it is likely, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*.

IN the mean time the kingdom of *Edom* continued under the houſe of *David* till the days of *Jehoſhaphat*, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of *Judah*. And, though we have, in the hiſtory of *Moab*, made mention of a king of *Edom*, who aſſiſted *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael* and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, in the reduction of *Meſha* king of *Moab*, we there ſpeak only in the freedom of ſcripture-phraſe; for that king, as he is called, attended upon *Jehoſhaphat* as a vaſſal, and not as an auxiliary[e]. However, though the hiſtory of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of *Jehoſhaphat* and *Jehoram*, kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, who were d the principals in it, yet we have here occaſion to repeat, that this chief of *Edom*'s ſon is thought to have been ſacrificed by *Meſha* the king of *Moab*, upon the walls of the city where he was blocked up, though, on the other hand, it is alſo thought to have been the *Moabite*'s own ſon[f].

WE have now ſeen the time wherein *Eſau* was to be a ſervant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he was to ſhake off his yoke, and be ſubject to him no more. For finding a fair opportunity to recover their ancient liberty, the *Edo-*

[d] See Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 104, 105. [e] See 1 Kings xxii. 47. [f] See before, p. 291.

(T) According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, *Hadad* and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of *Egypt*, as he foreſaw the advantage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their ſkill in letters, aſtronomy, navigation, and the like, in which the *Egyptians* were till then ignorant.

(U) The aforeſaid chronologer holds, among other things, that ſome of them flying to the *Philiſtines* and the ſea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and indeed it is more than once ſaid, that the *Phœnicians* came from the *Red-Sea*. *Herodotus* (47) tells us ſo; and *Stephanus* (48) relates, that *Azotus* was built by the fugitives which fled from the *Red-Sea*. "The *Phœnicians* therefore came from the "*Red-Sea*, in the days of *Jo* and her brother *Pho-*"*roneus*, king of *Argos*; and by conſequence at "that time, when *David* conquered the *Edomites*, "and made them fly every way from the *Red-*"*Sea* ... And this flight gave occaſion to the *Phi-*"*liſtines* to call many places *Erythra*, in memory "of their being *Erythreans*, or *Edomites*, and of "their coming from the *Erythrean* ſea; for *Erythra* "was the name of a city in *Ionia*; of another in "*Libya*; of another in *Locris*; of another in *Bœo-*"*tia*; of another in *Cyprus*; of another in *Æto-*"*lia*; of another in *Aſia*, near *Chius*; and *Ery-*"*thya Acra* was a promontory in *Lybia*, and *Ery-*"*thræum* a promontory in *Crete*, and *Erythros* a "place near *Tybur*, and *Erithini* a city or country "in *Paphlagonia*; and the name *Erythea*, or *Ery-*"*thræ*, was given to the iſland of *Gades*, peopled "by *Phœnicians*. .... *Edom*, *Erythra*, and *Phœni-*"*cia*, are names of the ſame ſignification, the "words denoting a red colour; which makes it "probable, that the *Erythreans* who fled from "*David* ſettled in great numbers in *Phœnicia*; "that is, in all the ſea-coaſts of *Syria*, from *Egypt* "to *Zidon*; and by calling themſelves *Phœnicians* "in the language of *Syria*, inſtead of *Erythreans*, "gave the name of *Phœnicia* to all that ſea-coaſt, "and to that only" (49).

The ſame chronologer holds, that the *Oes* of *Helladius*, the *Oannes* of *Beroſus* (50), and the *Euhadnes* of *Higynus* (51), are ſeveral names given to an *Edomite* commander, who now fled to the *Perſian* gulf, and firſt introduced the uſeful arts into *Chaldea*; but this, we apprehend, is allowing a little too much.

(47) *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *l.* 7. *c.* 89. (48) *In vocem* Ἄζωτ. (49) *See his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended*, p 108, 109 (50) *See before*, *p.* 90. (51) *Fab.* 274.

Edomites embraced it, and ſucceeded. They had already ſhewn how ill they were a diſpoſed, even towards *Jehoſhaphat*, when a part of them joined the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, in an attempt to ſurprize him, when he was unprepared for the aſſault; but fell into unaccountable confuſion, wherein the *Edomites* were all cut off by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who afterwards butchered each other[g]. But in the days of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, the whole nation of *Edom* aroſe, and, aſſaſſinating or expelling their vice-roy, made themſelves a king after their own liking; and upon advice that *Jehoram* was coming with a formidable power to reduce them, they marched towards him, and managed ſo as to hem him all round in the night-time; but this project was diſconcerted with a great ſlaughter, and they were forced to their retrenchments. This was but an indifferent beginning; but ſo it happened, that b the *Edomites* could not be annexed again to the houſe of *David**.

Thus was the long-wiſh'd for revolution brought about, after one hundred and fifty years of oppreſſion; but who was their chief upon this occaſion, or what he did farther, or who ſucceeded him, we are wholly at a loſs for.

After this they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of *Judah* for upwards of ſixty years; in which time they muſt have had time to recover themſelves very well, and retrieve their ancient ſplendor in a great meaſure. Notwithſtanding which, they ſuffered a ſignal overthrow from *Amaziah* king of *Judah* in the valley of ſalt, where ten thouſand of them fell in battle, and as many of them were alſo taken priſoners. After which their capital *Selah*, which we have ſuppoſed c to have been the famous *Petra*, was taken from them by ſtorm, and ten thouſand captives were by *Amaziah*'s order thrown down from the ragged precipices which ſtood about that city, and were torn, and daſhed to pieces. *Selah* was now by the conqueror called *Jokthеel*[h].

Whether after, or before this, we cannot diſcover, the *Edomites* had a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, wherein, being unfortunate, their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive we cannot ſay, till his bones were reduced to aſhes (X). Thus have we hitherto tacked together the incoherent parts of this hiſtory in the beſt manner we have been able. In the mean time they became ſubject to the king of *Babylon*, in completion of what the prophets had d threatned them[i]. And when utter deſtruction came upon the *Jews*, and that they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, ſo far as to cut off ſuch of the *Jews* as attempted to eſcape the captivity, not forgetting the ſlaughter made of their fore-fathers by *Joab* in the days of king *David*; but for this were they threatned, that they ſhould be repayed in kind, that, for the deſolation they had forwarded in *Judah*, their own land ſhould be deſolate when the reſt of the countries flouriſhed[k]. They were for laying *Jeruſalem* level with the ground, and accordingly, when the *Chaldees* or *Babylonians* were withdrawn, they made an end of the temple with fire[l]. Thus did they proſecute their revenge to the utmoſt, hoping, that the *Jews* were never more to be a nation, inſulting God, and ſlaughtering the few of his miſerable people, who had by his leave eſcaped the hands of the *Babylonians*.

Wherefore confuſion was brought upon them, and violent inteſtine commo- e tions and perſecutions; inſomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and ſettled in the empty land of *Judæa*, and particularly in the ſouth-weſtern parts[m]; and it may be, that at this time they made an end of the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thoſe of them that ſtaid behind in *Edom* joined the children of *Nabaioth*, and were called *Nabatæans* ever afterwards; ſo that the antient kingdom of *Edom* now loſt its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judæa*, which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*. And this is the *Idumæa*, and theſe the *Idumæans* mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and other ancient writers. For be- f cauſe of their wicked dealing with their oppreſſed brethren, their kingdom was to loſe all its glory, and become a deſart; *ſtrangers from the ſouth*[n] *were to poſſeſs it*; it was never

g See before, p. 291. * 2 Chron. xxi. 8. h 2 Kings xiv. 7. i See Iſa. xxi, xxxiv. Jerem. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel. iii. Amos i, ix. k See Ez. xxv, xxxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad. i. l See Pſalm cxxxvii. 1 Eſd. iv. m Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. n Obad. ubi ſupr.

(X) It is doubted, whether this be not the ſame war wherein *Meſha* king of *Moab* ſacrificed his own ſon, or the ſon of the king or chief of *Edom* (50). Our tranſlators of the bible take them to be one and the ſame event.

(50) *See before, p.* 291.

a never to riſe, and from thenceforward to be called *the border of wickedneſs* [p], though it pleaſed GOD to ſpare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to ſeize on a part of their brethrens portion; by which means they came to be united into one family with them, as they were deſcended from the loins of one man.

WE have now pointed out the exit of the ancient kingdom of *Edom*, and ſhall proceed to the broken interrupted affairs of thoſe *Edomites* who ſettled in *Judæa*; concerning which we only know, that a decree was iſſued out againſt them from *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, commanding, that they ſhould deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews* [q]; but what effect this took we cannot well ſay. That upon the decline of the *Perſian* monarchy, and after the days of *Alexander*, they were under the power
b of the *Seleucidæ*, when the ancient averſion they had to the *Jews* being ſtirred up in them, they warred againſt them, under the conduct of *Gorgias* their governor for *Antiochus Epiphanes*: but they got nothing thereby but blows and great ruin; being conſtantly worſted by *Judas Maccabæus*, who at laſt took, and ſacked their chief city *Hebron* [r]: their ſtrong holds, wherewith they awed the *Jews*, were forced by that valorous commander, who cut off twenty thouſand of them in the aſſault, but a reſidue of nine thouſand of them fled to two ſtrong towers [s], where they were well prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege; whence, by a bribe of 70,000 *Drachms*, a good part of them were ſuffered to eſcape. But, when the treachery was diſcovered by the *Jewiſh* general, a ſtop was put to this outlet; theſe two ſtrong caſtles were alſo forced, and no leſs
c than twenty thouſand *Idumæans* again [t] put to the ſword. Thus was their zeal againſt their brethren rewarded as it deſerved, as ſhall be more exactly particularized in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

AFTER theſe very troubleſome times, we know not how it fared with the *Edomites* in *Idumæa*, except that they ſeem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by *John Hyrcanus*; who reduced them to the ſore neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, or of quitting their country. They choſe the former, and, ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorporated with the *Jews* [u], and, conſidering their deſcent as well as their converſion, they were upon a double account reckoned as natural *Jews*; and accordingly, in the firſt century after *Chriſt*,
d the name of *Idumæan* was loſt and quite diſuſed (Y) [w]. And being ſo, we here break off, referring what further relates to this people to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. We have ſeen then, that the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, were partly ſwallowed up before by the *Nabatæans*, or *Arabians*, and partly now by the *Jews*.

SECT. V.

The History of Amalek.

e AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him they were called *Amalekites*, and their country *Amalekitis*. He was the ſon of *Eſau*'s firſt-born *Eliphaz* (A), by his concubine *Timna*. Notwithſtanding the ſpurioufneſs of his birth, he is reckoned among the dukes *in* the land of *Edom* [a], which is all we know for *Their anceſtor.*

[p] Malach i. [q] Eſdr. ubi. ſup. ver. 50. [r] 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68. [s] ver. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, 23. [t] Ibid. ver. 21, 23. [u] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17. [w] PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 5. p. 307, 308. [a] Gen. xxxvi. 12. 1 Chron. i. 36.

(Y) The name of *Edomite* is not ſo wholly loſt, but the *Jews* make uſe of it ſtill. "The *Rabbins* "ſpeak of *Edom and Edomites* long after this; "but thereby they do not mean *Idumæa*, or the "ſons of *Edom*, but *Rome*, and the chriſtians of "the *Roman* empire. For, fearing the diſpleaſure "of the chriſtians, among whom they live, for "avoiding it whenever they ſpeak any reproach-"ful thing of Chriſtians, or of their religion, "they uſually blend it under feigned names; "ſometimes calling us *Cuthæans*; i. e. *Samaritans*, "ſometimes *Epicureans*, and ſometimes *Edo-*"*mites*; and this laſt is the civilleſt appellation "they give us (51).

(A) The *Arabians* deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him ſome generations older than *Abraham*, as follows:

نوح	*Noah.*
حام	*Ham.*
ارم	*Aram.*
حوث	*Uz.*
عاد	*Ad.*
عملاق	*Amalek (1)*

They ſay alſo, that the *Amalekites* in ancient times poſſeſſed the country about *Mecca*, whence they

(51) *Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 2. Book 5. p. 708.* (1) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſt. c. 14.*

for certain concerning him. How this family came to ſeparate from the others of *Eſau*'s a line, wants ſome light. Perhaps it were not abſurd to ſuppoſe *Amalek* or his poſterity to have been expelled by the *Edomites*, when they cleared the land of the *Horites*; and that on account of their illegitimate deſcent, as was practiſed towards *Iſhmael* in the houſe of their great anceſtor *Abraham*. Or on the other hand, *Amalek* or his deſcendants may have been ſlighted and diſtinguiſhed with contempt by the other *Edomites*; which they ſtomaching, may have joined themſelves to the *Horites*, reſolving to ſhare fortunes with them. Very unlikely it is, that this ſingle family ſhould have been able to erect itſelf into a formidable ſtate, ſo early as to have attempted the *Iſraelites* almoſt as ſoon as they had ſet foot on this ſide of the *Red Sea*: they muſt certainly have been joined by others; and by whom ſo likely as by the remnant of b the *Horites*, and by the inhabitants of the land they ſeized on, for ſome there were a? The *Kenites* deſcended from *Jethro*, we know, inhabited with them, but that was in after times [b]. That there was an inbred miſunderſtanding between the *Edomites* and *Amalekites*, and that they held each other in averſion is confirmed, in that we cannot diſcover any manner of harmony between the nations, no confederacy, no correſpondence, or the leaſt token of mutual accord.

As we can but gueſs at the cauſe of this rent in the houſe of *Eſau*; ſo are we left to do little more concerning the ſpot they pitched on, or the tract wherein they afterwards erected their kingdom. Their firſt removal cannot be ſuppoſed to have been at any great diſtance from the land of *Edom*; and indeed from the c firſt of their expulſion or removal to their exciſion, they ſeem to have bordered upon that country: whence *Joſephus* divides the whole land of *Edom* into *Amalekitis* and *Gobolitis* [c]; but, as we have already obſerved, it is very unaccurately ſaid, if we refer to theſe early days, when it is ſo evident there was no participation of counſels between the two kings, as will appear by their different conduct towards the children of *Iſrael* [d], when in the wilderneſs. In reference to this matter, and elſewhere, does the ſcripture divide them into quite diſtinct kingdoms [d]. The ſituation of the kingdom of *Amalek* is however pretty clearly, if not ſelf-evidently, ſettled, by remarking, that it had intercourſe and commerce with *Egypt* [e] (B); that it had a way leading into the country of the *Philiſtines*, and into the land of *Canaan* (C). Whence we conclude it to have been bounded by *Canaan* on the north; by *Egypt*, or its dependant territory, on the ſouth; by *Edom* on the eaſt; and by the deſarts towards the ſea on the weſt; or perhaps by the margin of the ſea itſelf. And this we deliver ſimply as our own opinion, wherein, however, we are not alone [f], and forbear to perplex

[a] See Gen. xiv. 6. xviii. 11. [b] See before, p. 302. [c] See Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8. [c] Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 1. [d] See 1 Chron. [f] Vide Reland. Palæſt. illuſt.

they were expelled by the *Forhamite* kings (2). Some hold, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*. Others, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Amalek*, the ſon of *Ham* (3); but the contrary is the received opinion. Some commentators on the *Koran* (4) tell us, that the old *Adites* were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being an hundred cubits, and the leaſt ſixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the *Koran* (5). In fine, it is alſo ſaid by the *Arabian* writers, that *Amalek* was the ſon of *Azd*, the ſon of *Shem* (6). *Le Clerc* (7) is willing to adopt this notion ſo far as to think, that the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham* or *Lot*; becauſe he finds that *Cherdoloamer* made war on them under that name, which he ſuppoſes muſt be proleptically taken at firſt. But conſidering, that our *Amalek* was of the houſe of *Eſau*, with whom the *Iſraelites* were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to our *Amalek*, but ſprang from ſomewhere elſe.

(B) This ſeems to be clear from *Joſephus* (8), who makes *Amalekitis* to extend between *Peluſium* and the *Red-Sea*, and from the *Arabian* hiſtorians, who make the *Amalekites* to have been even maſters of *Egypt* (9); for it were hard to ſuppoſe they have no manner of foundation for their ſtory, and that the whole is entirely falſe in all its articles. That they had communication with *Egypt*, may farther appear from the *Egyptian* they left behind them on their return from ſacking of *Ziklag*, who fell into the hands of *David* (10). Finally, it is expreſly ſaid in ſcripture, that they had *of old* inhabited *the land——even unto the land of Egypt*.

(C) This is naturally ſuppoſed by their expedition againſt *Ziklag* (11) in the country of the *Philiſtines*, which they took and burnt, and from other inſtances of the ſame kind, which we ſhall not here enumerate; but this we the rather inſiſt on; becauſe ſo miſerable and broken a people as they were at that time, en-

(2) *Pocock Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 173. (3) *Shohnah.* (7) *In Geneſ.* xiv. 7 & Numb. xxiv. 20. D' *Herbelot, p.* 51, 110. (4) *Jalla Lo' Ddin* & *Zamakſhari.* (5) *Kor. c.* 7. (6) *Ebn.* (8) *Antiq. l.* 6 *c.* 8. (9) [illegible] 280, 28[illegible]. (10) 1 *Sam.* xxx. (11) [illegible]

perplex the reader with a variety of opinions, which are not ſo happily ſupported as this. Here then, and hereabouts, was their abode, till they ceaſed to be a nation; their limits extending with their encreaſe of power, and ſhrinking in again as they dwindled away.

THE cities of this country we are wholly at a loſs for, except we follow *Joſephus*, who places the famous city of *Petro* under the juriſdiction of the *Amalekites* [g] (D).

THEIR religious and civil cuſtoms we know nothing of poſitively. That they originally uſed circumciſion cannot be diſputed; and, for ought we know, they may have continued the ſame practice to the end; but whether they were doomed to utter deſtruction for any crying ſins that prevailed among them, beſides the horrid outrage they committed on the diſtreſſed *Iſraelites* [h], we do not read. *Their cuſtoms.*

THEIR religion was at firſt, doubtleſs, the ſame that was taught in the houſe of *Abraham*; but by what degrees they erred therefrom, and how far they went aſtray, we have no knowledge of. *Joſephus* [i] mentions their idols, but the ſcripture terms them the idols of mount *Seir* [k]; ſo that they ſeem to have more properly belonged to the *Edomites* than to the *Amalekites*. *Their religion.*

THEIR arts, their ſciences, and trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of thoſe times, pretty much in common with their neighbours the *Edomites*, and *Egyptians*, and thoſe of the ſea-coaſts of *Judea*. And this is the leſs diſputable, as their king is placed in ſo high a ſphere of majeſty, and themſelves ſtiled the firſt of the nations, as we ſhall ſee anon. Much the ſame may be ſaid of their manners, genius, and policy. *Their arts, &c.*

CONCERNING their government thus much appears, that it was monarchical; and that the firſt, or at leaſt one of the firſt, of their kings, was called *Agag* [l]; as was alſo their laſt [m]; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the ſame appellation. *Their government.*

THE *Amalekites* ſtepped early, if not at the very firſt, into the government of this country; and very remarkable it is, that they grew up to ſuch a ſudden height of power and ſplendor, that their king is ſpoken of as far above all others; for *Balaam*, foretelling the future majeſty of the *Jewiſh* ſtate, expreſſes himſelf, that their king *ſhall be higher than Agag*, and ſtiles them, *the firſt of the nations* [n], (E); which ſeems to countenance the extraordinary things the *Arabian* hiſtorians have concerning the *Amalekites*; as that they conquered *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed the throne of that kingdom for ſeveral generations [o] (F). *Their hiſtory.*

BUT

[g] *Vide* JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 3. c. 2. [h] Exod. xvii. [i] Antiq. l. 9. c. 10. [k] See before, p. 311.
[l] Numb. xxiv. 7. [m] 1 Sam. xv. 8. [n] Numb. ubi ſupr. & ver. 20. [o] See before, p. 280, 281.

cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been able to break through any other country to get at *Ziklag*: and had they not the ſituation we have given them, they muſt have croſſed ſome part or other of the kingdom of *Edom*, at that time in its meridian, which it is not likely would have been allowed them; for there ſeems to have been no manner of underſtanding between the nations, as we have elſewhere ſaid: and it is plain, that they lay to the ſouth of the *Philiſtines* by the words of *David*, who being aſked by *Achiſh* where he had been, he anſwered, that he had been *againſt the ſouth of* Judah, *and againſt the ſouth of the* Jerahmeelites, *and againſt the ſouth of the* Kenites (12); but did not think fit to ſay he had been againſt the *Amalekites*, who lay in the ſouth. Add to this, that the *Simeonites* lay next to them (13).

(D) We muſt here note, what *Joſephus* ſays, that thoſe who inhabited *Gobolitis* and *Petra* were called *Amalekites* (14); but ſeeing the ſame author divides the whole kingdom of *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (15), how comes it, that they dwelt not in this laſt diviſion? it is an ænigma we know not how to unriddle.

(E) It was ſudden, according to the hypotheſis we have adopted (16): for thereby the kingdom of *Amalek* is not likely to have been much, if any thing at all, older than that of *Edom*, which we have ſhewn to have commenced at the *Exodus*; and therefore, when *Balaam* expreſſed himſelf in ſo high a ſtrain concerning *Agag* and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years ſtanding. The expreſſion of *Amalek*'s being *the firſt of the nations*, our verſion turns otherwiſe in the margin, *the firſt of the nations that warred againſt Iſrael*. Much the ſame turn does *Onkelos* give it; but if we compare what is ſaid of *Agag* himſelf but thirteen verſes before, we ſhall not be at any great loſs for the right, or, at leaſt, natural explication of the paſſage before us; which doubtleſs means, that they were the greateſt and moſt noble nation of that time; and this is the moſt generally approved opinion. In *Le Clerc*'s verſion they are ſtiled the *firſt-fruits of the nations*; by which in his commentary he underſtands them to have been the moſt ancient and potent nation; and to have been before any of thoſe which proceeded from the loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*.

(F) What the *Arabic* hiſtory ſays of theſe *Amalekites*, bears an affinity with what the *Egyptian* records report of the *Phœnician* ſhepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (17), and are ſuppoſed, as is ſaid by us of the *Canaanites*,

(12) 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 10 (13) *See* 1 *Chron.* iv. 42. (14) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 3. *c.* 2. (15) *See before in the Notes, p.* 309. (16) *See before, p.* 311. (17) *Ex libro Mirat. Cainat. dicto.*

But not to deviate from the authority we must rely on, it appears, that this a kingdom was haughty and insolent in its very cradle; and no sooner heard, that the *Israelites* had crossed the *Red-Sea*, than they resolved to cut them off. The scripture mentions none but *Amalek*[q] upon this occasion; which, whether it is spoken of the king alone, or collectively of the whole nation, is not agreed. *Josephus* relates, that they had no less than five kings, who laid their heads together, and joined forces to carry on this turbulent design[r] (G). To pass this over, so it was, that the *Amalekites* fell on the rear of the *Israelites*, as they were on full march from *Rephidim* to mount *Horeb*. Some havock they made; but it returned severely upon themselves, as soon as *Joshua* could get the fighting men into order; by whom being in their turn assaulted, a long and bloody battle ensued: but in the end the *Amalekites* were b put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that for this outrage *their* name *should be put out from under heaven*[s].

In the mean time, however, it pleased God to make use of them in conjunction with some of the *Canaanites*, as his instruments for the punishment of the diffidence and disobedience of the *Israelites*, when they thought to have washed away their sinful perverseness by a fool-hardy attempt, in contradiction to the express decree of God, that not one of them from twenty years and upwards should have sight of the land of *Promise*[t]. The slaughter the *Amalekites* help to make of the *Israelites* upon this occasion, will be told in the history of *Canaan*.

After this they seem to have missed no opportunity of vexing the chosen na- c tion, till they were ripe for the excision denounced against them. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites*[u]; and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the *Israelites*, and possess themselves of the land, as they had vainly projected; but what success they had in the attempt, and how they in the end fell by their own swords and those of their friends and allies, we have already related at large[w].

After this there is a very wide gap in the history of this people, which reaches even to the days of *Saul*. At this time their king was a very graceful person, and of noble presence and address, which stood him in good stead; for on account of these his personal accomplishments, was his life spared (say they) in the general massacre d of his subjects[x]. But with all this specious outside, he is upbraided as an insolent and merciless tyrant. Under this prince the nation was grown ripe for the excision they had been threatened with about four hundred years afore. And, as a forerunner of it, the *Kenites*, their inmates, were warned to leave their country, and seek some other seat, for fear they should be involved in the impending calamity[y]. As soon as the *Kenites* had obeyed the summons, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul*, at the head of two hundred and ten thousand men (H). And by these numbers, being sorely oppressed, and quite disabled from making any head, they were all cut off, except *Agag*, and some who were so happy, for the present, as to fly their country, or hide themselves in such retreats where they were not discovered: not e even the mother, or the infant at her breast, was spared; and the whole country was made desolate. *Agag* and the best of the cattle only were suffered to live. However, *Agag* did not long enjoy this favour; for it was no sooner related to *Samuel* that he was alive, than he was sent for by the prophet, with whom all his insinuating address, and hopes that the *bitterness of death was passed*, availed him nothing: he was hewn to pieces by *Samuel*, or at least by his order, in *Gilgal*, before the Lord[z].

The

[q] Exod. xvii. [r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 2. [s] Exod. ubi supr. [t] Numb. xiv. [u] See before, p. 289. [w] See before, p. 304. [x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 6. c. 8. [y] See before, p. 302 [z] 1 Sam. xv. Joseph. l. 6. c. 9.

ites, to have fled into *Africa* (18); and that the *Amalekites* were sometimes comprehended under the general denomination of *Phœnicians*, may be observed hereafter.

(G) What *Josephus* here says need not be supposed to imply, that the *Amalekites* were divided into many kingdoms. It is possible, and very probable, that some of the petty kings of *Canaan* joined the king of *Amalekitis* now, as he did some of the *Canaanites* afterwards, to prevent the *Israelites* from entring into their borders. This junction may have been passed over by *Moses*, who thought it enough, that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the assault.

(H) *Josephus* makes this army to have consisted of no more than 70,000 men, and tells us, that the country was so possessed by them, that the *Amalekites* could hardly escape, if they attempted to fly any where (19); but this is said at random, as we think.

(18) *Vide Reland. Palæst. Illustr. p.* 82. (19) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

a THE poor remnant of the *Amalekites*, who eſcaped the ſword of *Saul*, poſſeſſed themſelves of their deſolate country again, and lived, for ought we know, in peace, till ſuch time as *David* was driven to ask protection of *Achiſh* king of the *Philiſtines*, dreading the murderous jealouſy of *Saul*, and had *Ziklag* allotted to him. At this time the *Amalekites* are mentioned as aſſociated with the *Geſhurites* and *Gezerites* (I). The *Amalekites*, thus picking up again and gathering ſtrength, were ſlaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour *David*, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to compleat the work, which *Saul* had left unfiniſhed. So once more were the *Amalekites*, man and woman, butchered and diſperſed, their country in good part ruined, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off[a].

b THE *Amalekites* meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they doubtleſs called it, and, muſtering their ſtrength, went up to *Ziklag* the abode of *David*, who happened then to be abſent with his ſmall party, ſo that the town was left defenceleſs; wherefore they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place, and burnt it with fire; but touched not the lives of any of the inhabitants, which, conſidering what they had ſuffered ſo lately from *David*, may ſeem to have been a great piece of humanity in them; but this is not allowed them (K). Among their captives were *David*'s two wives, *Ahinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail* who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*; and having thus ſucceeded to their wiſh, they thought to ſecure what they had got by an expeditious return homewards, and determined not to ſtop
c by the way, till they ſhould reach ſuch a place, which was perhaps a pleaſant ſpot, affording water and a refreſhing ſhade, and pretty well out of the reach of the enemy. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind them one of their number, an *Egyptian* by birth, who, by ſome means or other, was ſo weak that he could not keep pace with them. *David* in the mean time had notice of the revenge the *Amalekites* had taken on him, and purſued them very eagerly, and in his way took this *Egyptian*, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt, to rejoice and reſt themſelves. The *Amalekites* arrived at the appointed place, and gave a looſe to their triumph, with great mirth and jollity; and it ſeems they recreated themſelves ſeveral days together. As they were in this careleſs poſture
d they were deſcried by *David*, from the neighbouring hills towards the cloſe of day: and after they had ſpent the whole night in debauchery, and were repaired to reſt, which was towards the break of day, they were ſet upon by *David* and his men, and a ſlaughter was begun among them, which continued till the ſetting ſun; ſo that not a ſoul of them eſcaped the edge of the ſword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burthened with nothing but the doleful news of ſo woeful a miſchance, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſs in their attempt upon *Ziklag*[b].

THUS by degrees were the *Amalekites* reduced; and at laſt the fatal blow was given
e to them, in the days of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simeonites**, who utterly deſtroyed and diſperſed them, and kept their country in poſſeſſion: and this is the imperfect account we have of the exit of the *Amalekites*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations*; *but his latter end* ſhall be, *that he periſh for ever*[c].

BUT it happened afterwards, that a man of *Amalekitiſh* blood had taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, had not GOD interpoſed, as it were, by a miracle; for *Haman* is called an *Agagite*, or *Amalekite*; and it is well known, how near he was to the fruition of his bloody will againſt the *Jews*; but this fact, being tranſacted in another country and period, muſt be related elſewhere. That, however, may be called the laſt act of the *Amalekites*; and here therefore this ſection concludes.

[a] 1 Sam. xxvii. [b] Sm. xxx. * See 1 Chron. iv. 40—43. [c] Numb. xxiv. 20.

(I) Who theſe *Geſhurites* and *Gezerites* were is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the *Canaanites* (20); but by the words of the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country; for *thoſe nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goeſt to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt* (21).

(K) It is ſaid they were a poor covetous people, who intended to ſell them for ſlaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted ſervants for their own uſe, and therefore ſhewed this mercy: but if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their priſoners alive to ſupply the loſs of thoſe who had lately periſhed by the hand of *David*; and this does not ſeem to be a very unnatural ſuppoſition.

(20) *Vide Cleric. & Patrick, upon* 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 1 *Sam* xxx. 2. *& Cleric.* (21) 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 18. (22) *See Patrick on*

SECT. VI.

The History of Canaan.

WE have already [a] given the history of the ancestors of this nation, and of their origin, and therefore shall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, had eleven sons, *Sidon* or *Zidon*, *Heth*, *Jebusi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Gergasi* or *Gergashi*, *Hivi* or *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*. These were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the *Sidonians* or *Zidonians*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergasites* or *Gergeshites*, the *Hivites* or *Hevites*, the *Arkites* or *Archites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, and the *Hamathites* [b]. Five of these are known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergasites* or *Gergashites*, and the *Hivites* or *Hevites*. To these are added two others, the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites*; and these make up the seven primary nations of the *Canaanites*: but how the *Perizzites* came to be a distinct body; or whence the *Canaanites* are peculiarly so called, is a difficulty, can, at best, be only guessed at. These seven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curse denounced by *Noah* against their ungodly ancestor *Ham*, being doomed in the end to expulsion, and excision, and subjection. Whether the six other nations we have mentioned are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, by us commonly so called, is seemingly affirmed by some, and denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other seven; being countenanced by the silence which may be observed concerning them in the wars, the other *Canaanites* had with *Joshua* and his successors. [c] For therein is no mention made of the *Sidonians*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, or the *Hamathites*; which is much, seeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included, else so many petty states or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and these passed over. Being thus, we must seek for these six original tribes elsewhere. It cannot well be otherwise, than that the seven nations, as they are called, were subdivided into many little kingdoms; for little, very little, they must have been, since we must look for them all within the scanty limits conquered by *Joshua*. Within that small compass we have no fewer than the following number of *Canaanitish* kings, said to be subdued by him; the king of *Jericho*, the king of *Ai*, the king of *Jerusalem*, the king of *Hebron*, the king of *Jarmuth*, the king of *Lachish*, the king of *Eglon*, the king of *Gezer*, the king of *Debir*, the king of *Geder*, the king of *Hormah*, the king of *Arad*, the king of *Libnah*, the king of *Adullam*, the king of *Mackkedah*, the king of *Beth-el*, the king of *Jappuah*, the king of *Hepher*, the king of *Aphek*, the king of *Lasharon*, or *Sharon*, the king of *Madon*, the king of *Hazor*, the king of *Shimron-meron*, the king of *Acksaph*, the king of *Taanach*, the king of *Megiddo*, the king of *Kedesh*, the king of *Jonkneam* of *Carmel*, the king of *Dor*, the king of the nations of *Gilgal*, and the king of *Tirzah*, thirty-one in all [c] (A); who were either all, or most of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the seven nations, the *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergasites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, or *Canaanites* (B), properly or peculiarly so called. Nor were these all the branches of the *Canaanites*, who were possessed of the *land of promise*. But how to assign a place to each particular we know not; wherefore we shall only divide the country in general between the seven tribes or nations, as well as we can, which is all the geography we shall give of this country here.

THE

[a] See before, p. 121. [b] Gen. x. 15. [c] Joshua xii. 9, 24.

(A) But we must not for this suppose there were no more than thirty-one in the whole country that bore the royal title. These are only all that were conquered by *Joshua*. The scripture history acknowledges, that the *Canaanites* were never wholly subdued by him; and we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never had much hurt from *Joshua*.

(B) These seven are a contraction, we must suppose, of the ten nations that were promised to *Abraham*, the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaim*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Gergashites*, and the *Jebusites* (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) *Genes.* xv. 19, 21.

Their country.

THE limits of the country of these *Canaanites* in general, as seems, are thus marked out by *Moses*[a], From *Sidon* to *Gaza*, from thence over to *Sodom*, and thence to *Lasha*, thereby, as is thought[b], stretching out the four lines which comprehended the whole country. Whether all the descendants of *Canaan* were included within this compass, is not positively known, but it is likely to have been the original seat of them all; but whether those we must hereafter look for in *Syria* and elsewhere were terrified thither by the successes of *Joshua*, or whether growing too numerous for so small a territory, they naturally transplanted themselves into other parts, may be disputed by some; though we embrace the latter opinion, being therein, in some measure, countenanced by *Moses*, who tells us, that *the families of the Canaanites were spread*
b *abroad*[a], just before he gives us their first extent. Thus much we will add on this head, It is clearly evident from scripture and the *Jewish* writers, that no part of the country on the other side *Jordan*, not even that inhabited by the tribes of *Reuben*, and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, was reckoned into the land of *Canaan*[d]: But to it may be annexed what once made the most beautiful part of this land, though since a detestable lake; we mean the vale of *Siddim*, since called *Pentapolis* from its five cities, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zeboijm*, and *Bela*. The soil of this vale was much of the same nature with that about the city of *Babylon*, being productive of Bitumen, and such combustible substances. *It was watered every where before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of*
c *Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar*[e]. Such was this vale, which needs no further description to give us a due and perfect idea of it.

divided.

Now the seven nations above-mentioned, the *Hittites*, the *Jebusites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergasites*, the *Hivites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Canaanites*[f], divided their country among them after this manner: The *Hittites* dwelt about *Hebron*; for of the children of *Heth Abraham* bought the cave of *Mach-pelah*[g]. The *Gergasites* had the *Jebusites* and *Canaanites* for their neighbours[h], as is thought[i]; but it does not plainly appear. The *Amorites* were anciently in the neighbourhood of *Hazezon-tamar*[k], and in the valley of *Eschol*[l]. The *Amorites* were also on the other side of *Jordan* and the *dead Sea*, by the conquest they made of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*[m]; but that con-
d quest, as we have already observed, was no part of *Canaan*. The *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called, were divided into two distinct bodies, and inhabited two distinct divisions, the sea side to the west, and the river side to the east[n]. The *Perizzites* seem to have been near *Beth-el*; for *Abraham* pitched his tent in the beginning, between *Beth-el* and *Ai*, and the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* are said to have been then in the land[o]: moreover, we find, that they dwelt in the mountains, together with the *Hittite* and the *Jebusite*[p]; though they are elsewhere forgot when these are mentioned[q]. It appears also, that the *Perizzites* were not far from *Shechem*, they being mentioned, together with the *Canaanites*, to have been near that city[r]. They seem also to have extended beyond the portion of *Ephraim*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* as far as
e *Beth-shean* and the valley of *Jezreel*, and to the southward, where they seem to have been with the *Rephaims*[s], into the tribe of *Judah*[t] (C). The *Hivites* are said to have dwelt under *Hermon*[u], and in *Gibeon*[w], and in mount *Lebanon*[x]. The *Jebusites* inhabited the mountains, and held the city of *Jebus*, afterwards *Jerusalem* (D).

THE

[a] Gen. x. 19. [b] See WELLS's Geog. of the Old Test. vol. I. chap. 7. [c] Gen. x. 18. [d] Vide RELAN. Palæst. Illustr. Tom. 1. c. 1. [e] Gen. xiv. 10. [f] Deut. vii. 1. Josh. iii. 10. Acts xiii. 19. [g] Gen. xxiii. [h] Josh. xxiv. 11. [i] Vide RELAND. Palæst. Illustr. lib. 1. c. 27. [k] Gen. xiv. 7. [l] ver. 13. Deut. xix. 24. [m] See before, p. 287, 294. [n] See Numb. xiii. 29. & Josh. xi. 3. [o] Gen. xiii. 3, 7. [p] Josh. xi. 3. [q] See Numb. xiii. 29. [r] Gen. xxxiv. 30. [s] Josh. xvii. 15, 16. [t] Judg. i. 4, 5. [u] Josh. xi. 3. [w] ver. 19. [x] Compare Josh. ix. 7. with Judg. iii. 3. See also 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

(C) The *Perizzite* appears to have been a wanderer; whence possibly *Josephus* divides the land of *Canaan* into no more than six provinces (2)

(D) Some (3) divide them into but two sorts by the lump, the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, merchants and shepherds, as the two words nearly import; for *Perizzite* originally signifies a villager. The same are unwilling to suppose that those appellations belong to any two particular tribes; or that either of them descended from any single son of *Canaan*; but that they were mixed multitudes: but as they are constantly named as distinct tribes, and in order with the rest, we know not how to decide upon this matter. The names indeed of these tribes and of this people in general are a little vague and uncertain: so the whole body of the seven nations is

(2) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 1. (3) *Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq. p.* 132. *See also Bedford's Script. Chronol. p.* 202.

The cities of this country, beſides thoſe of the *Pentapolis* when it flouriſhed, that a can be fixed with any tolerable degree of certainty, were *Hebron*, *Jebus*, *Jericho*, *Bethel-Shechem*, and *Beth-ſhean*, concerning which, as they ſtood under the *Canaanites*, we have nothing particular to add.

Their cuſtoms, &c.

Now to ſpeak of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language of theſe ſeveral nations, we may ſuppoſe, that in ſome points they differed widely from each other, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life (E). We need not ſay, that the *Canaanites* on the ſea-ſide were merchants, in which capacity we ſhall conſider them at large, when we come to ſpeak of them as *Phœnicians*; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*: accordingly the *Seventy*, inſtead of *the kings of the* Canaanites, *which were by the ſea*, have rendered it, *the kings of the Phœnicians, on the ſea-coaſt*. And by the ſame, the whole *land of Canaan* is called the *country of the Phœnicians*[y], though thoſe only were properly ſo called who inhabited the ſea-coaſt: and theſe we ſhall dwell upon more particularly under the head of *ancient Phœnicians*. The other *Canaanites*, who had an inland ſituation, were employed in paſturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exerciſe of arms, in which they will be ſeen to have been well verſed. Thoſe of them who dwelt in the walled cities and fixed abodes cultivated the land, as we may ſuppoſe; and thoſe who wandered about, as particularly the *Perizzites* ſeem to have done, by what we have juſt before ſaid of them, grazed cattle. So that it is eaſy to diſcern among them the ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of merchants, and conſequently ſeamen, and artificers, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen, if not ſtudents. As much as they were divided in intereſt and ways of life, we ſhall perceive by their hiſtory, that they were ready to join in the common cauſe; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offenſive or defenſive; that their towns were well fortified, and themſelves well furniſhed with weapons to battle it in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, ſo dreadful among the ancients, and which they are thought to

[y] Jos. cap. 5. com. 1, 12.

is ſuppoſed to be ſignified ſometimes by the *Amorites*, juſt as all the people of the ſeven united provinces are now properly called *Hollanders*, who are more potent than any of the reſt (4).

(E) It is hard to ſay any thing particular of the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, and the *Rephaim*, or to point at the exact places where they dwelt. The *Kenites* we have largely inſiſted on already; but however, though the name be the ſame, we know not how to think theſe the ſame people. Theſe are mentioned as a tribe of the *Canaanites*, who were to be delivered up to the executive juſtice of the *Iſraelites*; whereas thoſe we formerly touched on are repreſented as a people who lived in a great degree of friendſhip with them. The *Chaldee* interpreter calls them *Schalmites*; whereby they are underſtood to have been pacific, and at no enmity with *Iſrael*. This indeed ſounds them the ſame with the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s family. Whether or no the appellation of *Kenite* may have belonged to two diſtinct families we know not, but it appears pretty plain by ſcripture, that there was a difference in their manner of life: for on the one hand we are told, that it was unlawful for them to drink wine, to plant, to ſow, or to dwell in houſes, and that they conformed to this injunction, and led their life accordingly (5). Where we find this we underſtand alſo, that for their obedience to their laws they were to eſcape the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*: whereas the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s line and kindred are ſaid to have pitched *their neſt upon a rock*, which ſeems to imply, that they built them a city for a ſafe habitation; and what is more, they were carried off with the ten tribes of *Iſrael* by the *Aſſyrian* (6); but we have dwelt ſufficiently on theſe. The *Kennizzites* there is little or nothing ſaid of, nor do we know where they dwelt. The *Kadmonites*, from the import of their name, are allowed to have dwelt in the eaſt, and the *Jeruſalem Targum* (7) expreſly calls them, the *children of the caſt*. The *Rephaim* are moſtly placed in *Baſhan*, where *Og* the laſt of their race reigned (8). They were, as their name declares, men of a gigantic ſtature. A writer (9) of great learning and repute has a remarkable thought concerning the *Rephaim*; he fancies, they were the *Gephyræi* who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*. He obſerves, that in the *Chaldee* they are called גבראי *Gebari*, or *ſtout men*; and hence he has room for his conjecture. The race of the *Rephaim* indeed was quite extinguiſhed upon the death of *Og*; but the name may have been aſſumed by others. From the little here collected we may obſerve, why theſe four are omitted in ſpeaking of the land of *Canaan* in the days of *Moſes*, though they ſeem all to have poſſeſſed the region deſigned for *Abraham* and his ſeed. The *Rephaim*, we ſee, were in *Baſhan*, which, as we have obſerved, was no part of the land of *Canaan*; the *Kadmonites* alſo were on the eaſt of *Jordan*; the *Kenites* were, as ſeems upon the whole, a tribe of the *Midianites*, and therefore theſe three could not be reckoned among the tribes of *Canaan*, they being foreigners to that country; though it happened, that they alſo did, in part, fall to the *Iſraelites*, as was promiſed. To conclude, it is not plain, that any of theſe four nations were of the ſons of *Canaan*.

(4) *See Patrick upon Gen.* xlviii. 22. (5) *Jerem.* xxxv. (6) *See before, p.* 302. (7) *Gen.* xv. (8) *Deut.* iii. 11. (9) *Reland Palæſt. Illuſtr. p.* 141.

a to have borrowed from the *Egyptians* (F); that they were daring, and obſtinate, and almoſt invincible; and, in the example of *Gibeonites* beneath, we ſhall ſee they wanted not craft and policy. The language they ſpoke was well underſtood by *Abraham*, as ſhould ſeem; for by what appears, he converſed very readily with them, upon all occaſions; but for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which conſidering all things cannot well be doubted, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then ſubſiſting in that part of the world, who all ſpoke the ſame tongue, or very nearly the ſame, or whether they borrowed it at firſt from the *Iſraelites*, may be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak farther of the *Hebrew* language [z].

Their Religion.

b THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowledged *Melchiſedec* to be Prieſt of the moſt high GOD; and *Melchiſedec* was indiſputably a *Canaanite*, or, at leaſt, dwelt there at that time, in high eſteem and veneration (G). They never offered to moleſt *Abraham*; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of *Ephron* towards him, in the affair of the cave of *Machpelah*. To ſay no more upon this ſubject, we muſt hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of Religion among the *Canaanites* at this day, but it muſt be granted, that the very *Hittites*, ſo ſeemingly commendable in the days of *Abraham*, degenerated apace, ſince they were become the averſion of *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, who c could not endure the thoughts of their ſon *Jacob*'s marrying among the daughters of *Heth*, as their ſon *Eſau* had done, to their great grief. So that about this time we muſt date the riſe of (H) thoſe abominations, which ſubjected them to the fierce wrath of GOD, and made them unworthy of the land of their poſſeſſion. In the days of *Moſes* they were become incorrigible idolaters, for he commands the *Iſraelites* to *deſtroy their altars*, and *break down their images*, ſtatues or pillars, *and cut down their groves* (I), *and burn their graven images with fire*. And, leſt they ſhould pervert the *Iſraelites*, it was as ſtrictly enjoined them not to intermarry with them; but *to ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them, nor ſhew mercy upon them* [b]. By this we may form an idea of their fearful errors. They are accuſed of the cruel cuſtom of ſacrificing d men, and are ſaid to have paſſed their ſeed through fire to *Moloch* [c]. The cuſtom of ſacrificing men they are charged with, as they were the anceſtors of the *Phœnicians*, and therefore we ſhall not repeat what we have already [d] ſaid on that ſubject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our *Phœnician* ſection. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, beſtiality of all ſorts, prophanation, inceſt, and all manner of uncleanneſs, are the ſins laid to their charge, and which

[z] See SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book 2. p. 110. See before, p. 152. [a] See before, p. 306. [b] Deut. vii, 1—5. [c] Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 293; [d] See before, p. 138.

(F) This is *Cumberland*'s thought, who ſuppoſes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in *Egypt*; and that the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, when named together, muſt be underſtood of thoſe mingled tribes of all the *Canaanites*, who had been engaged in fierce wars with the *Egyptians*; and further, that theſe two bodies are particularly marked down for deſtruction, as they were the moſt warlike and skilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the ſame diſcipline, and the moſt likely to give the *Iſraelites* trouble (10).

(G) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (11) concludes, that they perſevered in the true religion till the death of *Melchiſedec*; but that afterwards they fell away therefrom, and began to embrace idolatray, now ſpreading, as he thinks, from *Chaldæa*. They are ſaid to have been given to the ſuperſtition of the ancient *Perſians* (12).

(H) It is the opinion, however, of biſhop *Cumberland* (13) that the *Canaanites* were idolaters before the congreſs of *Melchiſedec* and *Abraham*, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word is *Aſharim*, which we render *groves*; but it is interpreted to mean wooden images of *Aſtarte*. One of the reaſons given to corroborate this opinion is that *Gideon* is ſaid to have thrown down the altar of *Baal*, and to have cut down the grove that was by it; whereas by the *Hebrew* text, it was upon it, as it is alſo by the *Greek* of the LXX: wherefore, ſay they, the *Aſherah* upon the altar could not have been a grove, but muſt have been an image, and none more likely than that of *Aſtarte* (14). Sir *Iſaac Newton* remarks upon the whole paſſage, that the *Canaanites* had no tempels. *Moſes commanded Iſrael to deſtroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the Canaanites, but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in thoſe days* (15).

(10) *See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiqu. p.* 132, 133. (11) *Chronol. of anc. Kingdoms amended, p.* 188. (12) *See Shuckford's Connect. of ſacr. and proph: Hiſt. Vol. I. Book* 5. *p.* 335. (13) *Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 427. (14) *Selden de Diis Syris Syntagm.* 2. (15) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p.* 221.

which brought on the calamities they were doomed to e: and this may ſerve as a ſupplement to the character of this people, after their fall from the right way.

Their Government.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be ſaid, That they were comprehended under a great number of ſtates, and under ſubjection to limited chiefs, or kings as they are called; and tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies: ſo *Abraham* bowed not down to the king of the children of *Heth*, but to themſelves; ſo *Ephron* ſeems to have acted with *Abraham* with the participation of his whole tribe: ſo *Hamor* king of *Shechem* would not conclude upon what anſwer he ſhould make to what the ſons of *Jacob* propoſed to him, till he had conſulted his citizens upon what he ſhould, or ſhould not do, in the caſe; and throughout all their tranſactions the ſame tenor of conduct in their princes will be obſerved by every attentive reader: nor is it likely, that ſo many petty kingdoms ſhould have been ſtanding when *Joſhua* invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and luſt of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, That every man as an individual, and every ſtate as a collective body, is free and independant, ſo they may thereby have been reſtrained from invading each other's rights, or elſe one or a few muſt have ſwallowed up the many; and though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of *Adonizebek*, that one example will have no other effect upon this argument, than a ſingle exception has to a general rule; that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well ſay concerning their government, laws, and policy.

Their Hiſtory.

WE now come to their hiſtory, the beginnings of which are too dark and unſettled for us to dwell on them, and too heavily laden with the hypotheſes of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking ſcripture and the natural lights reflected therefrom for our principal guides, we ſhall touch as lightly as may be upon what the learned have advanced, as it were, from their own ſtock. When we conſider the ſituation and diſtance of this country, we cannot but think it was at firſt peopled by *Canaan* and his deſcendants upon the firſt diſperſion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with *Egypt*, are rather gueſſed at, than confirmed to us, in reſpect of the time when they were tranſacted; but, finding that there was a ſettled averſion among the *Egyptians* in the days of *Jacob* againſt ſuch as fed cattle, it is thought, the *Phœnician* ſhepherds or *Canaanites* may have warred upon, and oppreſſed the *Egyptians* before *Abraham* removed into *Canaan*; though this is liable to ſome objections (L): Therefore we muſt here acknowledge, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and diſſatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All therefore we can pretend to in this matter is, to mark out, as we go along, the times, in which the learned have been induced to fix what *Manetho* tells us of the *Phœnician* ſtrangers in *Egypt*. In conformity to this, it is pretended f, that ſome of them, upon the encreaſe of their families, being ſtraitened for want of room, moved ſouthwards, as *Moſes* intimates, as others did northwards, ſuch as the *Hamathite* and *Arvadite*; and that the former penetrated far into *Egypt*, or at leaſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Arabian* ſide of that country, which they will have to have been *Goſhen*. Here, ſay they, did they ſettle even under *Mizraim* himſelf, erected a ſeparate kingdom, and differing from the pure *Egyptians* in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions aroſe between them, which ended in a total expulſion of them in the manner we formerly related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*; and this, ſay they, was effectuated in the days of *Abraham*.

WE have reckoned the vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, into the ancient country of *Canaan*; and it happens to be the ſcene of the firſt action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by *Chedorlaomer*, king

e Levit. xviii. f See CUMBERLAND on SANCHONIATHO, p. 351, 352, ſeqq. & BEDFORD's Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253. 337.

(K) There is an old tradition which ſays otherwiſe; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of *Shem*, by virtue of a diviſion made among the ſons of *Noah*; but that the children of *Canaan* diſpoſſeſſed them (16): whence it is argued, that God did but ſtrict juſtice in reſtoring the line of *Shem* to their rightful poſſeſſion.

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the *Egyptians* muſt have looked on *Abraham* as a *Phœnician* or *Canaanitiſh* paſtor, when he was among them; but we do not perceive, that they had him any how in averſion, quite the contrary is certain (17).

(16) *Epiph. Hæreſ.* 46. *n.* 84. (17) *See Gen. xii.*

a king of *Elam*, and reduced to a tribute (M), which they paid for twelve years ſucceſſively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, which drew on them a ſecond war, which we ſhall come to anon.

In the mean time the other parts of the country received *Abraham* with great hoſpitality and veneration, two or three years after this invaſion; but ſoon after his arrival, the whole land was oppreſſed by famine, and the *Canaanite* is now expreſly ſaid to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove *Abraham* into *Egypt*: whence we learn, that the whole country at this time was in great want[h]. The famine was of no long continuance, and *Abraham* returned into this country again, and found that the *Perizzite* was alſo in the land; whence, it is thought, they are ſpoken of as new
b comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or, dreading an expulſion, had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom; and the rather, becauſe *Abraham* and *Lot* ſeem now to have been ſtraitened for want of room, which cauſed their ſeparation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at firſt found it (O). And now was the whole land promiſed to *Abraham*[i].

The five kings of the vale of *Siddim*, Bera king of *Sodom*, Birsha king of *Gomorrah*, Shinab king of *Admah*, Shemeber king of *Zeboijm*; and the king of *Bela*, or *Zoar*, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued by *Chedorlaomer*, and made tributary to him, as we have already obſerved. Wherefore *Chedorlaomer* with his allies marched hither again in the fourteenth year, taking ſeveral
c other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazzontamar*. At laſt he fell on the five kings of *Siddim*, who were reſolved to diſpute their rights with him; but they fell under the preſſure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either ſlain in battle, or carried away captive, or obliged to fly to the mountains and their cities. *Sodom*, and *Gomorrah*, and the reſt were pillaged with the utmoſt rigour and ſcrutiny. Among the priſoners was *Lot*, which rouſed up *Abraham* to undertake his reſcue; which he did, ſo effectually[k].

At this time *Melchiſedec* (P) was king of *Salem*, and prieſt alſo of the moſt high

h Gen. xii. Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. i Gen. xiii. k Gen. xiv.

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim* was a very juſt one; for if it be true, that the land of *Canaan*, of which this was undoubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, from whom it was forcibly taken by the children of *Ham* (18), no wonder, that the kings of the eaſt, who were of that deſcent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this moſt lovely ſpot in particular; for *Elam* deſcended from *Shem* (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more than that the *Canaanites* had invaded the country before *Abraham* came thither. But we muſt remember, that this is building a ſuperſtructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the ſame may be ſaid upon the paſſage afterwards, that the *Perizzites* were alſo in the land.

(O) But upon this we may ſtart one queſtion, which in this caſe cannot be readily anſwered; How came ſuch a weak prince as *Hamor* king of *Shechem* to have ſo much ground to ſpare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with *Jacob* (20)?

(P) The *Jews* will have him to have been *Shem*, out of a vain reluctance, that their father ſhould have had any ſuperior among the *Canaanites*; and they are not without their advocates for this opinion among the Chriſtian writers, and ſome of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point.... "I am glad, that "I can cite *Grotius* to abet my opinion [That "*Melchiſedec* was the *Shem* of *Moſes*, and the "juſt judge of *Philo Byblius*] thus far, that he ſaith "in his notes on *Hebr.* vii. 1. *Melchiſedec* is the "man meant by *Sydic* in *Philo Byblius*. And "that *Shem* had this title of *Melchiſedec*, or "*the juſt king*, as *Pompey* was ordinarily called "*Magnus*, and *Octavius* called *Auguſtus*, is the "judgment of the eldeſt and learnedeſt *Jews*, "and of many modern learned men in *Jewiſh* "antiquity; to whoſe judgment herein I ſub"ſcribe with great ſatisfaction. And whereas "others think him ſome ſmall king of *Canaan*, "I concur thus far with them, that I believe he "neither had, nor ſought any large dominions "for himſelf (21).... This then is a favourite opinion we ſee, and no doubt the great man, whoſe words theſe are, had perfectly ſatisfied himſelf, that the thing muſt have been ſo. But as eminent a prelate (22) of our own differs ſo far from the former, whoſe words we have given above, that he wonders how any Chriſtian can entertain ſuch a notion, ſo evidently deſtroyed by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (23). where it is expreſly ſaid, that *Melchiſedec* was not γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, *his deſcent* or *pedigree was not counted from them* [the *Jews*] which is not true of *Shem*. "Nor could *Shem* be ſaid to be "*without father or mother*, whoſe genealogy is evi"dent from *Adam*. Nor was *Shem*'s prieſthood, "if he had any, of a different order from *Levi*'s, "who was in his loins, as well as in the loins "of *Abraham*. And therefore it cannot be ſaid, "that

(18) *See before in the Notes. p.* 326. (19) *Gen.* x. 22. (20) *See Gen.* xxxiv. 21. (21) *Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p.* 174. (22) *See Patrick upon Gen.* xiv. 18. (23) vii. 6.

high God (Q): and as *Abraham* was returning from the war, he presented him a with bread and wine (R); that is, gave him an entertainment of meats and drinks to refresh him, and received from him tythes of all (S); having blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor, or creator, of heaven and earth. The king of *Sodom* was at this remarkable interview, and seems to have acted a very generous and modest part, claiming nothing of all that *Abraham* had re-taken from the enemy, except the persons of his subjects, leaving the rest to his disposal and discretion: but he met with as generous a return from *Abraham*, who, so far as in him lay, made him ample restitution of all that belonged to him, whether persons or goods; but *Aner*, *Eshcol*, and *Mamre*, his *Canaanitish* confederates, who were all three *Amorites*, were to do as they pleased; and how far they followed *Abraham*'s example, is not b said [1].

Now for fifteen years there is a dead silence as to the affairs of this people; but about this time a severe judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*. Living in great ease and affluence, they were grown to such a height of impiety, that there was no room for mercy on them; which if it could have been obtained, by the intercession of *Abraham*, they had been spared from the wrath of God now, as, by his arms before, they were snatched out of the hands of their enemies. The sin they suffered for was bestiality [m], which, from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, has since born the name of Sodomy. The particulars of this catastrophe we have already given [n] in speaking of *Lot*; and shall now only say, that the four cities of this fertile and pleasant spot, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboijm*, were de- c stroyed by a rain of brimstone and fire, or thunder and lightning, from the Lord out of heaven, and the whole vale was consumed [o]; and thenceforward became the *dead* or *salt-sea*, or lake *Asphaltites* (T). Thus perished a branch of the *Canaanites* with their whole territory; all saving the city of *Bela*, henceforward called *Zoar* [p].

The

[1] Gen. xiv. [m] Gen. xix. [n] See before. [o] Gen. ubi supr. Deut. xxix. 23. [p] See before, p. 283.

"that *Levi* paid him tithes in the loins of *Abra-*
"*ham*; but it would be as true, that he received
"tithes in the loins of *Shem*. For, according to
"this interpretation, he was in the loins both of
"him that received tithes, and of him that paid
"them; and so the whole argumentation of the
"apostle falls to the ground. But setting aside
"these, and other Christian reasons, there is no
"cause that we can discern, why *Moses* should
"call *Shem* (whom he so often mentions) by any
"other name than his own: nor is it likely, that
"*Shem* reigned in the land of *Canaan*, which now
"was in the possession of his brother's son. Nor
"could *Abram* be said to *sojourn there as in a*
"*strange country*, if his noble ancestor *Shem* had
"been king there (24)." These arguments must be allowed to be very strong, and it is pretty clear, that the notion which obtains among the *Jewish* writers is of no very antient date. *Josephus* expressly calls *Melchisedec* a *Potentate of the Canaanites* (25). The *Arabians* deduce him from *Peleg* (26). To pass over some notions of the church, and of some hereticks, concerning him, which are pretty wide from our present purpose; he was both a king and a priest; which offices were anciently joined in one person, of which several instances are observed in ancient writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

(Q) *Salem* is by *Josephus* (27) called *Solyma*; who also says, that *Melchisedec* was the first founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a priest, calling it *Jerusalem*; whereas its former name was *Solyma*. But what he says in this case has no weight with the most accurate and learned of the Christian writers, who, for the most part, have a different notion. There is a *Salem* mentioned in the New Testament (28); which is supposed to have been the same where *Melchisedec* reigned (29). The *Arabians* will have it, that *Jerusalem* was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for *Melchisedec*, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it *Jerusalem* (30).

(R) As he is generally acknowledged to have been a type of Christ, so some have discovered in this bread and wine a near relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper: but this is a pious mistake; the words of *Moses* mean what *Josephus* (31) explains; it was no more than a refreshment of meats and drinks, which he offered to *Abraham*, according to the hospitality of those times; *eating of bread*, in the scripture phrase, is feasting.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itself are so ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was *Abraham* that gave, or *Melchisedec*, had not the apostle (33) explained it: whence *Eupolemus* thought *Melchizedek* had bestowed gifts upon *Abraham*. Of what kind the tithes were that *Melchisedec* received from *Abram*, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of *Abraham*.

(T) How this terrible subversion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of slime-pits (34), or places whence *Naphtha* and *Bitumen* were extracted, is supposed to have been universally impregnated with igneous matter, and

(24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *De Bell. Judaic. l.* 7. *c.* 18. (26) *Hotting. Smeg. Orient. p.* 256, 260, 306. (27) *Idem ubi supr.* (28) *John* iii. 23. (29) *See Patrick ubi supr.* (30) *Eutych. Annal. p.* 67. (31) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 10. (32) *See Patrick ubi supr. ver.* 19. (33) *Hebrews ubi supr. ver.* 2. (34) *Gen.* xvi. 10.

a THE *Hittites* after this treated with *Abraham*, who desired to purchase the cave of *Machpelah* for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that incomparable patriarch deserves well a place here. In a public assembly they offered him the choicest of the sepulchres to deposite his dead in, and that in the most respectful terms. But, when he signified his desire to have a separate place for his family, and had cast his eye upon the cave of *Machpelah*, belonging to one of their tribe, called *Ephron* the son of *Zohar*, with whom he desired them to intercede in his behalf: *Ephron* himself, who is supposed to have presided in this assembly, generously offered to make him a present of not only the cave he wanted to purchase, but of the ground or field also where it stood, and pressed him much to accept of it; but by the noble b spirit of *Abraham* he was disappointed so far as to be obliged to sell the field and the cave to him for four hundred shekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between *Abraham* and him; so great was his desire of retaining the favour and friendship of *Abraham* [q].

NOTHING occurs after this, that we can take notice of here, for the space of about one hundred and twenty-eight years. At this time reigned *Hamor* in *Shechem*, a poor kingdom and weak; though *Hamor* himself seems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance than befel him. He sold a piece of ground to *Jacob**. At *Shechem* it happened, that *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob* coming to see, and converse with the daughters of the land, she was observed by *Shechem* the c son of *Hamor*, who was violently smitten with a liking to her, and forced, and deflowered her; but having a real passion for her, and being sensibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified, and perswaded her to consent to marry him. And speaking also to his father *Hamor*, he entreated him to use his endeavours, that he might have *Dinah* for his wife. Accordingly *Hamor* went to *Jacob*, to communicate the ardent inclinations his son had for *Dinah*, and to ask his consent. But the injury and affront was stifly insisted on by *Jacob*'s sons, who were present, as was also *Shechem* himself. This last finding, that the others were highly exasperated at the violence he had committed on their sister, proferred all the satisfaction their hearts could wish, if they would but forgive him, and let him have her. *She-*
d *chem* thought he had gained his point upon the answer he received from them; which was, That if he, and all of his tribe or city, would consent to be circumcised, he should have his will. *Shechem* willingly submitted to this painful proposal, and so did his father *Hamor* for his sake; for he had an especial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore returning to the city, they assembled the people in the gate, and bespoke them to this effect; That seeing that *Jacob* and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that there was full room enough for them all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that indeed there was a pretty hard condition insisted on, which was, that they should all be circumcised; but that the pain thereof would be amply compensated by such an accession of
e wealth, as must flow in upon them by being one people with *Jacob*. The men of the city, partly out of affection to *Hamor* and *Shechem* we may suppose, and partly upon the last consideration, declared they were ready to be circumcised, and circumcised they were; but while they laboured under the sores and inconveniencies of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all suddenly cut off, by two of *Jacob*'s sons at the head of their servants; every one of them perished by the edge of the sword, and their wives, and children, and cattle, and household-goods, and all belonging to them fell a prey to the sons of *Jacob*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, who had perpetrated so horrid a violence upon a parcel of helpless, and, to all appearance, innocent people†.

HITHERTO

[q] Gen. xxiii. * Gen. xxxiii. † Gen. xxxiv.

and the lightning darting upon it, or flashing along the surface of it, kindled the combustible parts (35), which had the fearful effect of turning this once inchanting paradise into a loathsome lake. But we shall speak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the *Jews*.

(U) (36) "And began to be a little feverish: "For the greatest pain and anguish the *Jews* ob- "served was upon the third day after circumcision, "which very much indisposed them (37). And "indeed *Hippocrates* says the same of all wounds "and ulcers, that they are then most inflamed by "a conflux of sharp humours to them."

(35) *Vide Cleric. Dissertat. de Sodomæ Subversione*, § 4. (36) *Patrick upon Gen.* xxxiv. 25.
(37) *Elias. Pirke*, c. 29. & *Vorsti. Annota. p.* 95.

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the history of this people by incoherent pieces, and so we must continue to do: there is no connection, no successive train of events to be expected here. When *Moses* drew towards the skirts of the promised land, for the first time, the *Canaanites* in the south-eastern parts of the country were joined by the *Amalekites* [r], who we may suppose, were eager to take their revenge upon the *Israelites* [s]. These, understanding that spies had been in the land from *Moses*, drew towards the frontiers; and the *Israelites* attempting to enter their territory against the express decree of GOD, were by them repulsed with a great slaughter quite to *Hormah* [t].

WHETHER before or after this, is not precisely known, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and dispossessed them of their country on the other side *Jordan* and the *dead Sea* [u]: this conquest is celebrated by the most ancient poem [w] that is extant among prophane writers.

Arad. ARAD (W) was a king in the south-east of *Canaan*, when *Moses* had a second time reached the skirts of the promised land; and being informed of their coming by the *Way of spies* (X), he went out and attacked them, and took several of them prisoners; but fortune changed countenance on him, and he was vanquished by them, and his country doomed to utter destruction [x].

Sihon. SIHON the *Amorite* soon after this, residing in the ancient country of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, was entreated by messengers from *Moses* for a free passage through his country, in his way to *Canaan*: but this request he arrogantly rejected; and, instead of complying, marched out against him; but it was a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at *Jaazer* with a total overthrow, which was ensued by the entire loss of all he had, to *Moses* and his people.

Og. OG king of *Bashan* is reckoned a king of the *Amorites* [y], and was of the race of the giants, or *Rephaim*, and the very last of them. His iron bed-stead of nine cubits in length we have already mentioned [z]. He was a dreadful enemy [a]. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of *Bashan*, which is compared to GOD's hill [b], and has since been called *Batanæa*. In it were no less than sixty walled towns, besides villages [c]. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle [d] and stately oaks [e]. In short, it was a plentiful and populous territory. *Og*'s residence was at *Ashtaroth* [f] (Y) and at *Edrei*, at, or near, which place he was vanquished, as he was espousing the cause of *Sihon*, and attempting to stop the progress of *Moses* and his people. He fell in battle, he, and all that belonged to him; and his whole kingdom, and all therein was transferred to the *Israelites* under *Moses* [g].

THE news of what *Moses* had done on the other side *Jordan*, to *Sihon* and *Og* kings of the *Amorites*, was matter of astonishment we may suppose to the *Canaanites* of every denomination; but when they also heard, how the waters of the river had been divided to give the *Israelites* a passage over to them, their hearts melted, and their spirits failed them. *Jericho* was the first place that felt the fury of the approaching excision, being dismantled by the shouts of the *Israelites*, the sound of seven rams-horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and in it no soul was spared but the harlot *Rahab* and her family, who had been instrumental in saving the spies that had been sent by *Joshua* into this city, which was now

[r] Deut. iii. 5: [s] See before, p. 320. [t] Deut. ubi supr. p. 287, 294: [u] See before.
[w] Numb. xxi. 27. [x] Ibid. ver. 1, 2. [y] Deut. iii. 8. ver. 11. [z] See before, p. 293: [a] Vide Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 5. [b] Psal. lxviii. 15. [c] Deut. iii. 4, 5. Josh. xiii. 30. Joseph. Antiq. ubi supr. [d] Ibid. xxxii. 14. Psal. xxii. 12. [e] Ezek. xxv. 6. [f] Josh. xii. 4.
[g] Numb. xxi. 33, 35.

(W) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himself or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of *Canaan*'s sons was so called, according to the LXX and the *Vulgar*, who so translate the *Hebrew* of *Arvad*; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(X) This is supposed to be a road or a way, so called from the spies who entered the country formerly eight and thirty years before. Some understand it, that the king heard spies were coming into his country. The *Hebrew* word here rendered spies, is האתרים *haatharim*; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and call it Αθαριμ.

(Y) This city being elsewhere called *Ashtaroth-Karnaim* (39), or the *two horned*, has given room to suppose it derived its name from the goddess *Astarte*. But, as is observed, it might as well be supposed, that the city was in the shape of a half-moon (40).

(38) *Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Num.* xxi. 1. (39) *Gen.* xiv. 5. (40) *See Patrick on the above passage of Genesis.*

a now turned to a heap of aſhes and rubbiſh, being burnt with fire; and the man curſed that ſhould ever attempt to rebuild it[h].

THE men of the city of *Ai* and their king then rouſed up, and were permitted by GOD to repulſe a body of three thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, killing thirty odd of their number, by way of puniſhment on the whole congregation, for the iniquitous practices of one perſon at the ſacking of *Jericho*. The king of *Ai* very rightly apprehended the war was not decided by ſo ſlight a favour of fortune on his ſide; and therefore ſent to the men of *Bethel*, who were his ſubjects, and owed him homage, to repair to him, that they might ſtrengthen his arms againſt the enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that *Joſhua* was moving towards him. In general, he b apprehended *Joſhua*'s intent was to beſiege him; but he knew nothing of a ſtratagem that was formed, and of ambuſcades that were laid to ruin him, and deſtroy his city. He ſaw *Joſhua* appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once reſolved to fight him: which he no ſooner offered to do, than the *Iſraelites* faced about and fled; which when he ſaw, he ordered every body to come out of the city, and help to purſue the enemy, that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left deſtitute of all defence, every body being at the heels of the *Iſraelites*; which, when it was known to a party, who lay in ambuſh, they roſe up, ſeized upon the city, and ſet the out-skirts of it on fire. The king of *Ai* turning his head backwards, ſaw the ſmoke of his city aſcending up to c heaven; and in the midſt of his conſternation he ſaw alſo the enemy ſtop ſhort, ſhout, and face about upon him. His return to the city was intercepted by thoſe who had ſet it on fire, and were now advancing to aſſiſt in cutting him off. The men of *Ai* perceiving therefore that their city muſt periſh without reſource, and that they were to be attacked as it were on all ſides, their hearts ſunk within them, and they all fell by the edge of the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to *Joſhua*. And after this ſlaughter of their army, their city was viſited by the *Iſraelites*, and there the ſcene of blood was acted over again upon the women, and thoſe who were found in and about it; ſo that in all, there fell this day 12,000 ſouls, who were all that belonged to this deſtined place, which was now turned d into a deſolate heap, as it ever afterwards continued. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, toſſed into what had been the gate-way of the city, where he had uſed to ſit in judgment perhaps, and buried under an heap of ſtones, which were thrown on him: ſo ended the kingdom of *Ai*[i].

The king of Ai.

UPON this the whole country was riſing up in arms to fight *Joſhua*; but *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites*[k], far ſtronger and more conſiderable than *Ai*, and renowned for the courage of its citizens[l], heard what had been done to the kingdoms of *Jericho* and *Ai*, and trembled; and the inhabitants deſpairing to be able to withſtand the torrent, which was now broke into their country, by ſtrength, they reſolved to try what art e could do. And conſulting what could be done in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, they came to the reſolution of ſending to *Joſhua* ſome ambaſſadors, who ſhould be dreſſed in old tattered garments, with clouted ſhoes, with dry mouldy bread, and wine-skins or bottles old, and rent, and bound up: and all this they contrived, that their ambaſſadors might ſeem to come from ſome very far country. With this ſordid equipage did they ſet out for *Joſhua*'s camp in *Gilgal*; where being arrived, they told him, they were come from afar off to ſeek his friendſhip; and being queſtioned as to their ſincerity, they anſwered equivocally, and being ſtill further preſſed upon the point, f they replied with great ſubmiſſion, That they were actually of a very far diſtant country; and that the fame of the LORD GOD, and what he had done for *Iſrael* in *Egypt*; and ſince then, by the deſtruction of *Sihon* and *Og*, thoſe mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them ſo far from home, being ſent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and deſire to be accepted into a league with *Iſrael*; and as a proof that in all they had ſaid they had confined themſelves to ſtrict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken hot out of their houſes the day they ſet out: our bottles of wine, ſaid they, were new, and ſee how they are rent; our garments and ſhoes were the ſame, but they are worn out by reaſon of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmoſt cunning

[h] Joſh. vi. [i] Joſh. vii, viii. [k] Joſh. ix. compare ver. 3. with ver. 7. [l] Joſh. x. 2.

cunning and prevarication, and being too eaſily believed, gained their point, by a perſuading *Joſhua* and the *Iſraelites* to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby ſave their lives. At the end of three days their whole artifice was diſcovered; but then they valued it not, having brought the *Iſraelites* under a ſolemn engagement to protect them as friends: but in the concluſion they fared not ſo well as they, perhaps expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that is, to be ſlaves, or very little better [m].

Adonizedek. When *Adonizedek* king of *Jeruſalem* heard, how *Jericho* and *Ai* had been utterly deſtroyed, and, what was worſe to the common cauſe, that the *Gibeonites* had ſubmitted to *Joſhua*, he was divided between diſdain and fear. But reſolving to make an example of the *Gibeonites*, thereby to deter others from following ſo pernicious and ſo inglorious an example, he called in *Horam* king of *Hebron*, *Piram* king of *Jarmuth*, *Japhia* king of *Lachiſh*, and *Debir* king of *Eglon*, to join him to fight againſt *Gibeon*; and accordingly they all went againſt it, and beſieged it. The inhabitants in this diſtreſs diſpatched notice to *Joſhua* of what was befallen them, and begged his ſpeedy ſuccour to reſcue them from their enraged countrymen. The effect of this was, that the five kings, as they were beſieging the city, were furiouſly aſſaulted by *Joſhua*; ſo that they were obliged to riſe from before it, and make off in great confuſion. As they were flying away, and had almoſt reached *Beth-horon*, there came down a dreadful tempeſt of hail-ſtones, of ſuch enormous ſize that they knocked them on the head, and did more execution among them than the ſword of *Joſhua*. Thus perſecuted by the heavens above, and preſſed by the *Iſraelites* in the rear, they fled, as chance directed them, not knowing whither they were going. By ſo general a diſperſion it is poſſible that many of them might have come off with life, had not the ſun, at the command of *Joſhua*, ſtopped his career, that the *Iſraelites* might ſee to overtake, and deſtroy the ſcattered multitude. And now the five kings, ſeeing nothing but deſtruction and deſolation before their eyes, made the beſt of their way to a cave near the city of *Makkedah*, the only glimpſe of hope they had left. Happily, as they thought, they reached this aſylum, but were ſome how or other diſcovered to be there; and information thereof being carried to *Joſhua*, they ſoon ſaw the mouth of their cave ſtopped up with great ſtones: and under this diſmal confinement did they remain, till the action of this miraculous day was concluded, when, being viſited and dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of *Iſrael*, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: which done, they were all five put to death, and their dead bodies were hung, each on a tree; and there they hung till the ſetting ſun, when they were taken down and toſſed into the mouth of the cave, which was again filled up with great ſtones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while ſome of their ſubjects were ſo fortunate as to get into certain fenced cities, and ſo eſcape for the preſent*.

Jabin. Jabin king of *Hazor*, when he heard this, and that moreover *Makkedah*, *Libnah*, *Lachiſh*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir* had been ſubverted, and all their inhabitants put to the ſword, and that not a ſoul had been left alive in one of them: and again, that *Horam* king of *Gezer* and his whole force had periſhed in attempting to relieve *Lachiſh*: Such a crowd of calamities together made him reſolve to raiſe all the tribes of the *Canaanites*, to withſtand the deſtruction, which ſo imminently threatned them all. He ſent therefore to *Jobab* king of *Madon*, to the king of *Shimron*, to the king of *Achſhaph*, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to thoſe in the plains ſouth of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the weſt, and to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, on the eaſt and weſt, and to the *Amorite*, and the *Hittite*, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Jebuſite* in the mountains, and to the *Hivite* under *Hermon*, in the land of *Mizpeh*. Theſe all confederated together againſt *Iſrael*; they were as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude, and were very ſtrong in horſe and chariots, a dreadful enemy for *Joſhua* and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided of both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of *Merom*, ſince called the lake *Samachonitis*. Here, as they lay conſulting together, they were aſſaulted by ſurprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many diſtinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each tending homewards. But the main body of them ſeem to have fled with their faces towards the great *Zidon*, weſtward, and *Mizrephoth-maim*; while another multitude ſcoured towards the valley of *Mizpeh*

[m] Joſh. ix. * Joſh. x.

a *Mizpeh* eaſtwards. But they were every where ſo furiouſly and effectually purſued, that moſt of them fell by the way. *Jabin* himſelf had the luck to eſcape for the preſent, but he periſhed with his city ſoon afterwards; for *Hazor* was ſoon after taken, her inhabitants all cut off, there was not one of them left, and herſelf burnt with fire. This city was reckoned as the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore was treated with the greater rigour; but the reſt of the cities of theſe princes, which alſo fell into the hands of *Joſhua*, were ſuffered to ſtand, though none of the inhabitants were ſpared in any of them [n].

No loſſes, though ever ſo grievous, could for a conſiderable while break the ſpirits of the *Canaanites*; they ſtood their ground, and roſe up ſo thick and ſo faſt one b after another, that they kept *Joſhua* employed ſix years [o]: And in the end, great numbers are ſuppoſed to have left their country, and, travelling towards *Afric*, to have ſettled themſelves there at laſt, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing againſt *Joſhua* by a very injurious appellation, as will be obſerved hereafter in the hiſtory of that continent. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, which ſubſiſted under ſeveral of their own kings; but being at laſt overpowered, were forced, ſome of them, farther weſtward into *Afric*: and thus are they made out to have been the *Phœnician* paſtors, who lorded it ſo long, and ſo rigorouſly over *Egypt* [p].

c After the *Canaanites* had been ſucceſſively defeated, and at length diſperſed, and reduced, the *Anakims* [q] (*Z*), who alſo inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin diſtinct from the *Canaanites*, as is thought, were invaded and cut off; and thus was the whole country, as it were, poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*.

But ſtill the *Canaanites* of ſeveral denominations were ſtrong and potent, and held no mean ſhare of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of *Joſhua*'s days, they were very little moleſted; being ſuffered to breathe, while the important buſineſs of dividing their country by the conqueror could be regulated and adjuſted.

d This diviſion being marked out, the *Canaanites* were on all ſides invaded again by the tribes of *Iſrael*, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek* were accordingly invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and there fell of them ten thouſand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of *Bezek*, where *Adonibezek*, the king of that place as his name imports, reſided. This king is infamous, with all men, for his ſingular cruelty and inſolence; for, by his own confeſſion, having taken ſeventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and made them expect their meat under his table, like ſo many dogs. The city itſelf was now aſſaulted and carried; and all thoſe within the walls were put to the ſword, which may be called c the ſecond ſlaughter of this diſpute. *Adonibezek* himſelf was in the city at this time, though he, it ſeems, eſcaped: but he was overtaken in his flight, and his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a juſt requital, as he himſelf acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeſervedly ſpared, he being carried alive to *Jeruſalem*, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by *Joſhua* formerly, or the tribe of *Judah* now [r], is not very clear (A).

Imme-

[n] Joſh. xi. [o] Usser. Annal. [p] See before in the Notes, p. 247. [q] Joſh. ubi ſupr. [r] Judg. i. 3—8.

(Z) Theſe are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one *Arba*, who ſeized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, the city of *Arba*. From *Arba* deſcended *Anak* (41), who, it ſeems had three ſons, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. From *Anak* the *Anakims* derive their name; but whether they were a numerous family, or really more bulky than their neighbours, is far from being aſcertained: their name has various derivations aſſigned it, which are many, and doubtful, and unſatisfactory; nor can we hope for any certainty in matters ſo ancient, and at the ſame time ſo imperfectly touched on as this family is in ſcripture.

(A) *Jeruſalem* is mentioned as taken by *Joſhua*; but, as may be obſerved, the *Canaanites* laid hands again on ſeveral places which *Joſhua* had torn from them; and the ſame may have happened at *Jeruſalem*: for though it is by moſt commentators imagined, that the *Iſraelites* held the town, and the *Jebuſites* the fortreſs of *Zion* ever afterwards; *Joſephus* (42) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when *David*

(41) *Joſh.* xiv. 15. xv. 13, 14. (42) *Joſeph. l.* 6. *c.* 7.

Immediately after this the *Canaanites* were invaded in ſeveral other parts, a and particularly in *Hebron* and *Debir*, two cities which had formerly been deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, but were now in the hands of the *Canaanites* again, an inſtance among many others of the ſame kind, of the reſolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. And in general the *Canaanites* in the highlands or mountains were reduced; but thoſe in the low-country were able to keep their ground, becauſe they had chariots of iron. *Hebron* was by this war put into the hands of *Caleb*, who thence expelled the three ſons of *Anak*[s] (B).

The *Jebuſites* were alſo aſſaulted by the *Benjamites*, but they could not be diſ- b lodged. Thoſe about *Beth-el* had the houſe of *Joſeph* to deal with, and fell by fraud, their city being betrayed by one of the inhabitants, unwarily ſeized on by the hands of the enemy. But thoſe of *Beth-ſhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*, made head againſt the attempts of the children of *Manaſſeh*, and preſerved their ſeveral juriſdictions entire. The *Canaanites* alſo that dwelt in *Gezer* could not be expelled by the *Ephramites*; and thoſe of *Kitron* and *Nahalol* ſtood their ground againſt the poſterity of *Zebulun*, though they ſubmitted to a tribute. The inhabitants of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ahlab*, *Achzib*, *Helbah*, *Aphik*, and *Rehob*, inſtead of being driven out by the tribe of *Aſher*, ſeem to have impoſed what conditions they thought proper on them, and barely to have ſuffered them to hold any part of their lot. Thoſe who held *Beth-ſhemeſh* and *Beth-anath* were an over match for *Naphtali*; but in the end c they were made tributaries. The *Amorites* preſſed hard upon the children of *Dan*, and confined them to their mountains, denying them all the benefits of the low country; nor would they ſuffer them to have the mountains to themſelves neither; but would keep mount *Heres* in *Aijalon* and in *Shaalbim* in their own hands: but though they dealt thus with the *Danites*, according to their own pleaſure, they were reduced at laſt to a tribute by the joint forces of the houſe of *Joſeph* and of *Dan*, and their coaſt or border aſcertained, *from the going up to Akrabbim from the rock, and upwards*[t] (C).

Thus upon the diviſion of their country, and the attempts made by the ſeveral tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great ſucceſs on either ſide; and the adverſe parties ſeem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain that multitudes of this people were d ſlain in the wars of *Joſhua*, and that, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, many of them fled the land in queſt of more ſure and quiet abodes twenty years ago; yet ſuch was their number remaining, or valour, or ſuperior skill in war, that, after all their calamities,

[s] ver. 9—20,

David gave them their fatal blow; and, conſidering the temper and inſolence of the *Jebuſites*, it is not likely, that, while they poſſeſſed the citadel, they would ſuffer the *Iſraelites* to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, though the place may have been reduced by *Joſhua*, and re-poſſeſſed by the *Jebuſites* again, and reduced a ſecond time by the tribe of *Judah* now, yet it is likely, there were always diſputes between the *Jebuſites* and the *Iſraelites*, and that theſe were driven out by thoſe a ſecond time; and that in the days of *David*, the *Jebuſites* had both the city and fortreſs in their own hands, as *Joſephus* aſſures us above. *Joſephus* (43) ſeems to be right here, when he tells us the tribe of *Judah* did now attack *Jeruſalem*, but did not ſucceed in their attempt.

(B) The names of theſe ſons of *Anak* are *Ahiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (44); concerning whom we ſhall only remark what *Bochart* has fancied, as to the import of their names. To begin with their father *Anak*, his name he makes to ſquare with the *latin* name *Torquatus*; the eldeſt, or firſt of the brother's name *Ahiman*, or *who is my brother*: that is, *who is my equal*. By the name of *Sheſhai* the ſecond, he ſuppoſes him to have been ſix cubits high, as *Goliath* is ſaid to have been. *Talmai*, the

[t] ver. 21—36.

name of the third, he derives from *Talam* a *Furrow* *; as if he ſeemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, ſome may ſay, and ſome may think it a little preſumptuous. *Joſephus* (45), as his cuſtom is too frequently, gives us a fearful account of theſe inhabitants of *Hebron*, "Among the ſlain, ſays he, "were found ſome gigantic forms, who not only "exceeded the ordinary ſize of men, but differed "alſo from them in aſpect and voice..... Some "of their bones are expoſed as a prodigy to this "day.

(C) For want of knowing the exact ſituation of the places here mentioned, we are at a loſs to underſtand, whether the *Amorites* were left maſters of a ſmall, or a large territory. Obſcurities of the ſame kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will upon this occaſion, and all of a like nature, paſt or to come, excuſe our want of preſumption; or that we do not pretend to ſhew him the exact ſituations of places, which, from the beſt light we have, can hardly be gueſſed at, and muſt for ever, it is likely, remain a diſpute among ſuch as have time to waſte, and little elſe to do, or think of.

(43) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2. (44) *Numb.* xiii. 22. * *Canaan. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. (45) *Ubi ſupr.*

a lamities, take them which way you will, they ſeem to have been but little inferior to the *Iſraelites*. Nor after this do we miſs one tribe of them, except the *Gergaſites* (D).

THE *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*, and the *Hivites* of mount *Lebanon*, from *Baal-hermon* to *Hamoth*, were left to prove *Iſrael*, to exerciſe them with temptation to idolatry and ſin (E), and the more immediately devoted nations, the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, dwelt, as it were in common, with the children of *Iſrael* in their promiſed land. Being thus blended together, they in time wrought ſo upon the unſtable minds of the *Iſraelites* as to perſwade them to intermarry with them, and ſerve their gods[u], thereby captivating their minds, as

b they afterwards did their bodies.

FOR in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, *Jabin*, whom we may reckon the ſecond of the name, ſeeing he reſided at the very ſame place with the former, was permitted by GOD to deal with the *Iſraelites*, as the inſtrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt *Hazor* (F), which had been deſtroyed with ſuch rigour by *Joſhua*, re-eſtabliſhed the royal ſeat there, was maſter of nine hundred chariots of iron (G), which, and the reſt of his hoſt, were under the command of *Siſera*, who dwelt in *Haſhoreth of the Gentiles* (H). *Jabin* therefore reduced the *Iſraelites* *Jabin* II.

[u] Judg. ii. 21—23. iii. 1—7.

(D) We are poſitively told, they fled into *Afric* (46), where they fixed their ſeat; whence their being omitted is very rationally accounted for; and though it were difficult to think, that none belonging to the other tribes accompanied them, or trod afterwards in their foot-ſteps; yet may we hence conclude, that the *Gergaſites* were the chief of the fugitives from this country, which we ſhall reſume when we come to *Afric*.

(E) Here we ſee a remarkable diſtinction made between the *Canaanites* of *Joſhua*'s conqueſt, and thoſe who were not ſo; as if theſe, who were only their borderers, were more proper, or more likely to tempt the *Iſraelites* than thoſe who were actually inmates with them. Whence, whether we are to conclude, that the idolatry of the former was more enchanting than that of the latter, or their luxury more enticing; or whether at all, there was any real difference between them, we leave the reader to fancy. Both religious and political reaſons have been aſſigned for this mercy towards the *Canaanites*; of the former is, That the *Iſraelites* might not grow ſluggiſh for want of ſome to waken and ſtir up their courage, and to keep up martial diſcipline among them, and that they might always be in a more immediate ſtate of dependance on God, or look conſtantly up to him for ſuccour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extenſive to be thoroughly inhabited by the *Iſraelites*, might lie deſolate, ſo as to be left for a harbour to wild beaſts, who might by their encreaſe prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the *Canaanites* (48).

(F) We think with thoſe who ſuppoſe this *Jabin* to have deſcended from the other, who fell by the hands of *Joſhua*; and that he now ſeized on the ſpot where *Hazor* formerly ſtood, and rebuilt that city; which, ſeeing he was ſo powerful a prince, is no unlikely matter, though ſome make a ſcruple of it, whether *Jabin* was an appellation common to all the kings of *Hazor*, we have not to ſay from poſitive authority, though it ſeems to have been a common cuſtom in theſe parts for kings to ſucceed each other under the ſame appellation, as *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, *Agag* in *Amalekitis*, &c. He is in the text called king of *Canaan*; which, whether it refers to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, or to the whole body of the *Canaanites* in general, we take not on us to ſay.

(G) The number of theſe chariots, which are all along taken for the ſcythed ſort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had ſuch a multitude of them before he warred upon *Iſrael*; or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not ſaid; though it is probable he had not ſo many before. But what ſhall we ſay to *Joſephus*, who acquaints us, That *Jabin* did actually reſide at *Azor* [*Hazor*] ſituate near the lake *Samachonitis*, and that he had an army of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 3000 chariots (49). If *Bochart* wonders, as he does, at the 900 chariots the ſcripture gives him, obſerving, that *Mithridates* had but one hundred in his army, and *Darius* but two hundred (50); what muſt he have thought of *Joſephus*'s three thouſand? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that alſo of the horſe and foot, he is too large to be eaſily credited; nor perhaps is it always ſafe to lend an attentive ear to that hiſtorian. And it is to be noted, that notwithſtanding he on this ſide ſo vaſtly exceeds what the ſcripture ſeems to intend, he agrees therewith in the number of the *Iſraelites*, who roſe up to recover their rights, reckoning them at only ten thouſand (51). What authority he had for this very extraordinary exceſs in the numbers of the *Canaanites* againſt the *Iſraelites*, we know not: but his view may have been to do honour in this example, as in others, to his country-men and fore-fathers, with the *Romans*, who gloried chiefly in their military exploits, and in what their fathers had done before them that way.

(H) If *Hazor* was not rebuilt, then *Haſhoreth of the Gentiles* bids fair to have been the royal ſeat. It is called *of the Gentiles*, as is ſuppoſed, from a confluence of all ſorts, who came now to put themſelves under the protection of *Jabin*'s growing empire.

(46) *Gemar. Hieroſolymit. ad tit. Shebitih, cap.* 6. (47) *See Patrick upon Judg.* iii. 2. (48) *See Exod.* xxiii. 29. *and Deut.* vi. 22. (49) *Antiq. lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. (50) *Hierozoic. Part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *c.* 9. (51) *Joſephus ubi ſupr.*

Israelites to a state of slavery, and mightily did he oppress them for twenty years. a
But whether he held them in general under subjection, or the northern tribes only, is a matter of uncertainty. But whether his dominion over them was total or partial, it expired at the end of twenty years, as we have said. News was brought to *Sisera*, that the *Israelites* had been stirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms, consulting together, how they might shake off his master's yoke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and issued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to assemble together, to march out against the *Israelites*, who were but ten thousand strong, with *Deborah* and *Barak* at their head. They came to a battle, and *Sisera* was beaten, and irretrievably routed, and a general slaughter was made of his army, quite to the gates of *Harosheth of the Gentiles*: and being b
himself in great danger of the pursuers, he quitted his chariot, and trusted to his feet (I), directing his steps to the tent of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who was at amity with *Jabin*. He found *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife, in the tent door, who, perceiving the hurry and disorder he was in, entreated him to step in, and fear nothing; which he did, and she covered him with a rug, or some such thing, so as not to be seen, or to prevent his taking any harm, while he reposed himself after the fatigue of the battle and fight. He had not lain long ere he complained of being very thirsty, and begged a draught of water; instead whereof his kind hostess presented him with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank his fill, she covered him up again. Then c
he called out, and bad her, if any one came to enquire if she had any man within, to answer no, and to stand at the tent-door for that purpose. Now, being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep sleep, and *Jael*, taking one of the tent-nails and a hammer, trod softly up to him, and drove the nail into his temples, and so killed him. By this time *Barak* had reached the tent in quest of *Sisera*; and *Jael* with a triumphant air went out to him, and invited him to the sight of the man he sought, whom he here saw dead with the nail smitten into his temples. So fell *Sisera*; and thus was *Jabin*'s glory eclipsed, and his dominions forced from him by the children of *Israel*, by whom he was persecuted to destruction[w] (K).

Now what the *Canaanites* did, or what was done against them after this, for a long series of years, we cannot say. Thus much appears, They had been able to d
maintain their ground in several parts, and particularly in *Jerusalem*, till the time that *David* was king of *Israel*. When the *Jebusites*, who held that city, or at least the fortress of *Zion*, saw *David* actually advanced up to them to besiege them, they posted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them, saying they were enough to keep

[w] Judg. iv.

(I) The particulars of the battle are not recorded in the sacred text; but thence it very plainly appears, that there was something miraculous and extraordinary in this defeat of *Jabin*'s host, thunders, lightnings, and frightful sounds rumbling in their ears, so that the heavens had the principal share in this overthrow. And *Josephus*, that we may not wonder at the ruin of so mighty a power by so contemptible a handful of the *Israelites*, tells us very circumstantially, That the armies were no sooner engaged, than there arose a furious wind, which drove such a tempest of hail and rain into the faces of the *Canaanites*, as stifled and blinded them, and benumbed their fingers to that degree that they were in all respects disabled from action; so that they were easily broken, and dispersed, and trampled to death by the horse, and torn to pieces by their own chariots, which, together with the execution made on them by the *Israelites*, quite dissipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(K) *Josephus* gives us the particulars of his downfall. *Jabin* met *Barak* as he was in full march against *Hazor*, and was encountered by him and slain; and *Hazor*, the seat of his empire, was laid level with the ground: and thus fell the empire of the *Jabins* in *Hazor* a second time (53), according to this historian.

(L) Who, or what, these lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is disputed, whether we must with *Josephus* (54) understand them to have been persons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameness and blindness, or whether something else is here to be understood, as others think. *Bochart* (55) deems this so plain a case, that he wonders how some great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a solution of it; and holds it past dispute, that this was a flourish of thrasonism in the *Jebusites*, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their most infirm and unfit people, to defend them: while our own Dr. *Gregory* (56), who has a whole dissertation about it, understands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the psalmist expresses it, *had eyes, and saw not, and feet, and walked not* (57): and this opinion is supported by these very plausible arguments; 1. How could *David* distinguish the halt, or the lame, or the blind from able men, when posted upon

(52) *Josephus ubi supr.* (53) *Idem ibid.* (54) *Ibid. lib. 7. c. 2.* (55) *Phaleg. l. 4. c 36.* (56) *In Patrick's commentary upon this passage.* (57) *Psal.* cxv.

a keep off ſo mean an invader, relying wholly on the ſtrength of their walls and ſituation. But they were diſappointed, being carried by ſtorm (M). But the circumſtances of this event, and how it fared with the garriſon and inhabitants, are not told [x].

THIS was doubtleſs a very ſevere blow upon the *Canaanites* in general, and muſt have perplexed them much: and they muſt again have been deeply humbled when they were invaded in *Gezer* by *Pharaoh*; upon what provocation given by them, or whether any, is utterly unknown (N); and their city burnt, and themſelves put to the ſword. This city was afterwards rebuilt or repaired by *Solomon*, he receiving it in right of his wife, *Pharaoh*'s daughter [y].

b THUS oppreſſed by the *Iſraelites* on the one hand, and by the mighty power of *Egypt* on the other; and the glory of *Solomon* ariſing towards its meridan, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites* were reduced to the grievous ſtate of bondage and ſlavery; whence it is gathered, that they were now brought to ſo low an ebb as to be unable to anſwer the demands of a tribute; wherefore being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, with king *Solomon*, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. And this ſervility was entailed on their poſterity [z]; for, although it is apparently certain, that they upon their firſt reduction became proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion, yet it is thought, they were

c diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*; and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is ſuppoſed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the *Jews*; though it is far from being poſitively known (O). And now it remains only for us to obſerve, That among the tribes of the *Canaanites*, enumerated above to have been laden with the yoke of *Solomon*,

x 2 Sam. v. 6—9. y 1 Kings ix. 46 z See ver. 20, 21. See alſo Ezra xi. 55, 58. and Nehem. xi. 3.

upon lofty walls, ſince thoſe infirmities are not diſcernible but near at hand? 2. How can it be ſuppoſed there was ſuch a number of theſe unfortunate perſons in ſo ſmall a city as might ſerve ſuch a purpoſe? 3. And why ſhould *David* ſay, as he does, that *his ſoul hated them*; when it would have been but natural in him to have commiſerated their unhappy condition? From theſe arguments it is concluded, that it was not the lame and the blind of the city, whom the *Jebuſites* relied on, but their idols, which in the *Pſalms* are deſcribed in the ſarcaſtical words we have inſerted above, and which they planted upon their walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy; which they hoped would have been ſo efficacious a means of preſerving them, that they truſted *David* would be unable to prevail againſt their ſuper-natural operations. And here a parallel caſe is drawn in reference to the *Palladium*, the city of *Troy* being ſuppoſed to he impregnable while that remained with them: and ſome ſuch, or the ſame, notion may have obtained among the *Jebuſites* now, touching their god or gods (58). To this we ſhall add one chimerical notion of a *Jewiſh* Rabbi upon this event. He pretends, that when *Abraham* bought the cave of *Mach-pelah* of the children of *Heth*, he formally covenanted with them, that when his poſterity ſhould come to be poſſeſſors of the land (which they had a fore-ſight of) they ſhould not touch the city of *Jebus*; and that now they engraved this covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them upon their walls, pretending, that *David* could not attempt them, but by the breach of the covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them (59).

(M) We have already obſerved, that according to *Joſephus* (60), the *Jebuſites* were in poſſeſſion both of the city of *Jeruſalem* and the fortreſs of *Zion*; to which he adds, that the lower town was eaſily carried by an aſſault, with *David* at the head of it, but that the caſtle or fortreſs held out, till *Joab* ſucceeded in the important ſervice of aſſaulting that.

(N) A late commentator is of opinion, that *Pharaoh* attacked the *Canaanites* at this place, out of complaiſance to *Solomon*, who had married his daughter; for, apprehending the *Jews* to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a ſiege, he ſuppoſes they were not able to maſter this city of *Gezer* (61), which, how it came to be ſo much ſtronger than *Jeruſalem*, and the fortreſs of *Zion*, and many other places by them ſubdued, we cannot ſay. This *Pharaoh* is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the firſt expedition the *Egyptians* made out of their own country, called *Rameſſes Miamun* (62).

(O) We will give you the moſt obvious texts of ſcripture which relate to this matter; it is firſt ſaid, *And all the people* that were *left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites*, and *Jebuſites which* were *not of the children of Iſrael, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael alſo were not able to deſtroy, upon thoſe did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day* (63). And at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the *children of Solomon's ſervants . . . . . And all the Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants were three hundred ninety two* (64): And elſewhere are the *Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants* mentioned together (65); and in theſe laſt texts our

(58) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. v.* 6. (59) *Eliezer Pirke, cap.* 36. (60) *Ubi ſupr.* (61) *Vide Cleric. in* 1 *Reg. ix.* 16. (62) *Marſh. Can. Chron. ad Sæc.* 13, 14. (63) 1 *Kings ix.* 20, 21. (64) *Ezr. ii.* 55, 58. (65) *Nehem. xi.* 3.

mon, the *Canaanites*, peculiarly so called as we have hitherto spoken, are omitted: a these therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burthen, but remained whole and independent in their possessions on the sea-coast, and sprung afterwards to a great height of fame; continually improving themselves in navigation, commerce, and the useful arts; and becoming comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*.

SECT. VII.

The History of the Philistines. b

Their Origin. WE have already observed, that this people descended from the *Casluhim* partly, and partly from the *Caphtorim* [a], both from the loins of *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*. This is their origin; whence it appears, that *Egypt* was their first Seat: nor have we ought to add concerning the origin of this people, except we acquaint you more particularly, than we have already [b], with the improbable notions, as we think them, of some of the learned concerning the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* (A). But we have, as much as possible, forborn to perplex our reader with what can afford no solid fruit, and only feed us with the slender fare of c little better than groundless guesses, advanced with a presumption, which we admire how it should have possessed the minds of men, otherwise modest and scrupulous enough. Therefore we shall say no more of the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, whence the *Philistines* derive their origin, than that they certainly were of *Egypt*, as we have said; and that consequently the *Philistines* came from that country. From *Egypt* they migrated into, and seized upon, the land, which was afterwards called by their name; concerning which we shall say no more here than is barely necessary.

Their Country. THE land or country of the *Philistines*, known to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Palæstine*, grew in time to such a height of note as to communicate its name to the whole region, of which it was only a part; so that all the *land of* d *Promise* became comprehended under this name, which is most commonly used, even in our days, in the same extent, it having prevailed always among the Christians of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, from whom we have received it. This celebrated name is very apparently derived from *Philistine*, which the *Greeks* altered into *Palæstine*, though some pretend to derive it from the *Greek* it self (B), but therein they are certainly mistaken. Dismissing this obscurity, we shall proceed to mark out the boundaries of this country; which, from what we have said above, may be aptly stiled the proper *Palæstine*. It was a slip of land stretching along the sea-side; bounded

[a] See before. p. 165, 166. [b] See before, ubi supr.

our translators refer us back to the first, as if they were the children of the *Canaanites* on whom *Solomon* imposed a tribute of bond-service. But there is a difficulty to account for the smallness of the number, so that commentators are willing to deduce these mentioned upon the return from *Babylon*, from some other origin. Perhaps we shall find some traces of them in *Josephus*, who, with some variation from scripture, having acquainted us, That *Solomon* reduced a stubborn remnant of the *Canaanites*, inhabiting between mount *Libanus* and *Hamath*, made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in servile works and labour; to which purpose they were to furnish *Solomon* with a certain number of slaves, agreed on, who were to till the gound, and go through other sorts of drudgery; and over these, says he, were six hundred Officers appointed to set them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66). Afterwards, enumerating those who returned from *Babylon*, he reckons up six hundred and fifty, who passed for *Israelites*, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty-five; and of servants that attended upon the whole multitude, seven thousand three hundred thirty-seven (67). These three numbers, making eight thousand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been *Canaanites*; but still the number is too small, except we suppose, that the far greatest part of the better sort were blended with the *Jews* so intricately, that there was no distinguishing between the pretensions of each, and moreover, that multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(A) As that the *Casluhim* were the ancient *Colchi* described by *Herodotus*, and the *Caphtorim*, the *Cappadocians* in *Asia minor*, which though we have rejected already (68), we may have occasion to resume hereafter.

(B) Deriving it from *Pelusium*, the famous *Egyptian* city of that name; from whence this people are supposed to have come; which name they deduce, from a *Greek* word signifying *dirt*: but of this more hereafter.

(66) *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 8. *c* 2. (67) *Idem ibid. lib.* 11. *c.* 4. (68) *See before, p.* 165.

ded on the eaſt, by the tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*; on the ſouth by *Amalekitis*, and partly, but very little perhaps, by *Edom*; on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, or *Midland-ſea*; and towards the north it interfered with the tribe of *Dan*. It was a country much longer than broad, but neither way conſiderable for its dimenſions, being ſcarce forty *Engliſh* miles in length; but what it wanted in extent it made up in fertility of ſoil. Towards the ſea it is a plain country, but three or four miles up it begins to ſwell into hills and mountains; whence it is moſt beautifully diverſified with hill and dale, mountain and valley, productive of the moſt luxuriant gifts of nature, and rich in proſpects, which way ſoever the eye be turned. Rivers in this country there are none to ſpeak of; but that defect is ſupplied by
b exuberant ſprings, and brooks, and rills, down the ſides of mountains. The temper of the climate, nature of the ſeaſons, and natural hiſtory of this delicious ſpot we dwell not on here, referring our reader to the geography of the *land of Promiſe*, of which it was a part, and a very noble one.

But we cannot ſo paſs over the cities of this country, which we will here enumerate and deſcribe as well as we can, beginning from the ſouthermoſt. *Gaza*, the moſt renowned of them all, ſtood upon the ſkirts of the deſart which led to *Egypt*, and was built within two or three miles of the ſea, as from the moſt authentic accounts is gathered. What it was in its firſt days cannot be known; but in time it became conſiderable for ſtrength, beauty, and extent. In the *Hebrew* it is called
c *Azza*, and *Aza* was it called by the *Syrians* [c]; which has been altered into *Gaza*, which, ſay they, ſignifies a treaſury in the ancient *Perſian*; and this name it had becauſe *Cambyſes* in his war with *Egypt* made uſe of it as a magazine [d]. But this is rejected as a meer notion: nor indeed is it a concluſion, ſuppoſing it to be true, that *Cambyſes* did make ſuch a uſe of this city, nothing, as we have ſaid, being to be poſitively determined from a ſimilitude of names and appellatives in different languages.

In latter times it was alſo called *Ione*, and *Minoa* [e]; and the ſea which waſhed along the ſhore from *Gaza* to *Egypt* was called, ſay they, the *Ionian* ſea, *Gaza* being called after *Io* [f]. This city is placed at one of the four corners of the *land of Promiſe* by *Moſes* [g], and was in the lot of the tribe of *Judah*, according to the diviſion *Joſhua*
d made of the whole land [h]. But though it was attempted, and carried, yet the *Philiſtines* poſſeſſed it again, and kept it [i]. Whether or not it had originally the ſame ſituation which it appears now to have had, cannot be known; but it is probable, that it from the beginning ſtood upon, or near, the ſame ſpot. It ſtood upon an eminence about three miles from the ſea, as we have ſaid, and was of very difficult acceſs for the depth of the ſands which ſurrounded it [k]. But by another author we underſtand it to have been ſcarce a mile diſtant from the ſhore [l], a difference we ſhall not take on us to reconcile. If a well-eſteemed traveller of our own nation be not miſtaken in the place, it is now upon a hill, ſurrounded by delicious vales, and thoſe again encloſed with a chain of hills [m]; but he mentions not a word of deep ſands about
e it, which if ſo difficult, as is ſaid above, he could not have paſſed over. But though he differs from the ancient hiſtorian [n], who gives us the ſituation of this city in reſpect of the ſoil about it; yet he ſeems to agree with the geographer [o] from whom we have its laſt-mentioned diſtance from the ſea, computing it at ſeven furlongs, which fall ſhort of a mile [p]: but his expreſſion on this point is obſcure, and we cannot build on it. For the more convenient communication with the ſea, it had a ſea-port, *Majuma* [q], a place of no great account, as ſeems, till *Conſtantine* took notice of it, and called it *Conſtantia*, in honour of his ſon *Conſtantius*. The ancient name of this ſea-port is not aſcertained; but *Julian*, out of hatred to the memory of *Conſtantine*, altered its name *Conſtantia* into the *Port of Gaza*, or *the maritime part*
e of the ſaid city [r]: and from hence we find, perhaps, *Gaza* in the plural number, *Gazæ*. *Majuma* is alſo called the *maritime Gaza*. There is no ſign that it ever was a commodious place for the entertainment of ſhipping; but a ſhift was made with it, where no place more convenient was to be had; and doubtleſs the ſhipping which belonged to, or frequented it, were of a nature proper for ſo indifferent a ſtation; though perhaps, on the other hand, the port may have been altered from what it was

[c] Stephan ad vocem Γάζα. [d] Pompon. Mel. lib. 1. c. 11. [e] Stephan. ubi ſupr. [f] Idem ad vocem Ἰονία. [g] See before, p. 323. [h] Joſh xv. 45. [i] Judg. 1. 18. iii. 3. [k] Arrian. l. 2. p. 150. [l] Strabo. l. 16. p. 759. [m] Sandys Trav. Book 3. p. 116. [n] Arrian. ubi ſupr. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Sandys ubi ſupr. [q] Sozomen Hiſtor. l. 5. c. 3. Marc. Diac. in vit. S. Porphyr. c. 8. [r] Sozomen ubi ſupr. Marc. Diac. ubi ſupr. [s] Hieron. in Dan. xi.

was by the incroachment of the sea, but we read nothing of this; parellel cases, in- a
deed, happen almost every day. *Anthedon* seems also to have been another sea-port
belonging to *Gaza*, situate to the southward of *Majuma*; but of what antiquity,
or how far, or whether at all, it depended on *Gaza*, cannot be said: it was not quite
three miles distant from it. We shall have occasion to mention it as a place of some
note hereafter. We will not particularize the history of *Gaza*, and shall only
say, that it several times groaned under the miseries of war; that it was sometimes in
a flourishing state, with mighty walls and costly edifices (C); sometimes in a low
depressed condition. After several vicissitudes it lay neglected so far, that in the
New Testament it is called a desart[t]; such a desart as it is now we may suppose,
weak in inhabitants, and defenceless[u]; for so fertile a spot can never be called by b
that miserable appellation[w], according to the common acceptation of the word
with us. In this city they chiefly worshipped a deity called *Marnas*[x]. Its name is
remembred with *Tyre* and *Sidon*[y], when its sister cities are either forgot, or omitted,
as not worthy of a place among the considerable places of this sea-coast.

The second place we shall give to *Ascalon*, *Askelon*, *Ashkelon*, or *Askalon*, a great and
noble sea-port of this country, by ancient accounts sixteen, by modern, twelve miles
to the north of *Gaza*; and known to us still under the same name it bears in scrip-
ture, and in the writings of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, by whom it was had in
a religious veneration. Nor do we find any considerable variation from this name, ex- c
cept that the *Greeks* sometimes lengthened it into *Ascalonion*. This city, as well as *Gaza*,
is reckoned into the lot or tribe of *Judah*, and was taken by them, but not held.
The situations of *Gaza* and this city cannot be disputed, since they may be said to
stand at this day, and have been often visited; therefore we shall multiply no words
upon so needless a dispute. By *Josephus*[z] we understand this city to have stood up-
on a spacious plain, and, in his days, extremely well fortified. Though we have
placed this city on the brink of the sea, and made it a sea-port of itself, yet there is a
Majuma[a] given to this, as well as to *Gaza*, which, whence it was necessary, cannot
be precisely said; it may, perhaps, have been a distinct part of the city next to the
sea-side; or, perhaps, *Ascalon* was not quite so close thereto, but it might require
the convenience of a more immediate port town to intervene; or the harbour of d
Ascalon may have been rendered unfit for the reception of shipping, as we have
before observed in the speaking of *Gaza*, whence a necessity arose of seeking some
other place near, and of erecting a town there. But, to have done with these con-
jectures, let us proceed to things we are more sure of. *Ascalon* was famous among
the ancients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of *Semiramis* the *Assyrian*
empress, which puts us in mind of the lake that is said to have stood near this city,
wherein the goddess *Derceto*, her mother, plunging herself for shame of her rash amour,
was transformed into a fish[b]. This city is noted for the place which originally pro-
duced the kind of *Onion*, called the shalot[c], which is supposed thence to have bor-
rowed its name (D). It is famed also for its wines[d], and very remarkable for its e
great flights of pigeons[e], which, whence they encreased to such extraordinary num-
bers, will be told hereafter: nor must we forget the cypresses[f], which were here ad-
mired,

t Acts viii. 26. u See Sandys ubi supr. w Vide eund. & Anton. Gall. apud Reland. Palæst. Illust. p. 788. x Stephan. ubi supr. Hieron. Epist. 11. ad Læt. y Lucan lib. 3. z De Bell. Judaic. l. 3. c. 1. a Joan. Hierosoly. In Act. Concil. Constantinop. Tom. V. b Diodor. Sic. l. 1. par. 1. p. 65. c Stephan. ad vocem Ασκάλων. d Alex. Trall. l. 8. c. 3. & Albert. Aquens. Histor. Hieros. l. 9. c. 15 and 51. e Philo. apud Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 8. f Dioscorid. de re Med. l. 1. c. 124. Plin. lib. 12.

(C) It is now a miserable place; "Yet there "are some reliques left, and some impressions "that testify a better condition. For divers "simple roofs are supported with goodly pil- "lars of *Parian* marble, some plain, some cu- "riously carved. A number broken in pieces "do serve for thresholds, jambs of doors, and "sides of windows, almost unto every beggarly "cottage. On the north-east corner, and sum- "mity of the hill, are the ruins of huge arches "sunk low in the earth, and other foundations "of a stately building. From whence the last "*Sanziack* conveyed marble pillars of an in- "credible bigness, enforced to saw them asun- "der ere they could be removed; which he em- "ployed in adorning a certain mosque below in "the valley." The *Jews* are silly enough to think this the building *Samson* pulled down upon the *Philistines* (2). We must note by the by, that our traveller seems to confound *Majuma* and *Gaza* with each other.

(D) This seems at first sight to be a very ob- lique derivation; but the *Latin* of this plant is *Ascalonia*, whence the *French* have their *Echalott*, which we have curtailed into *Shalot*.

(2) *Sandys's Travels, l. 3. p. 116.*

a mired, or the extraordinary wells attributed to *Abraham* and *Isaac* g. The changes this city underwent will be shewn in the course of this work. It is now dwindled to almost nothing.

We now strike up into the country to *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, which lay about twelve miles north-easterly of *Ascalon*. This was a city of extraordinary fame among the ancients. It had an inland situation, and is said to have been built by one who fled from the *Red-Sea*, who called it after his wife, whose name was *Aza*, or *Capra* h. But this seems, at least, to be a mistake; we hear of none that fled from the *Red-Sea* but the *Edomites*; and that they, under some chief, may have repaired and fortified this place is probable enough; but that they imposed this name [*Azotus*] on it, we b cannot allow, it being very evidently a corruption of the *Hebrew* name *Ashdod*, which was in use long before the *Edomites* were driven out of their country. But to continue what we find concerning this city, it stood in a champain country, which produced great plenty of corn i. It held out against the longest siege recorded in history, if it be true, that *Psammetichus* laboured twenty-nine years in the reduction of it. Here stood the temple of *Dagon*, and here was he peculiarly worshipped.

Almost east from hence lay the city of *Gath*, of principal fame, as being the royal seat in the middle times of this people; but it dwindled away very early, so that we have few or no materials towards a description of it. It is famed for the c remnant of the giants, or *Anakims*, who there fixed their abode.

Nearly north-west of this city, about nine miles distant, was *Ekron*, corruptedly *Accaron*, concerning which we can only say, that it was the northermost of the five cities; that it was consequently a frontier town; that the famous idol *Baal-zebub* was there worshipped; that it faded away to a great degree of obscurity, and that, although the name, and even considerable vestiges of what it had once been, subsisted for many ages, it happens, that no mention is made of it in prophane authors.

These were by way of eminence called the five cities of the *Philistines*, and the whole country was sometimes from them called *Pentapolis*; and here their five lords resided. Other cities they had, as *Gerar*, venerable as it was the ancient seat of their d first kings; but its exact situation being by no means determined, we for that reason pass it over with the bare mention of its name, and for the same reason we shall be quite silent as to what concerns their other places of less note.

Their government, Customs, &c.

Their most ancient form of government was administered by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*; such were the kings of this people, father and son, who had to do with *Abraham* and *Isaac*: but as we have observed concerning the *Canaanites*, and as will be plainly seen in the following history, these first kings were under great limitations. The sceptre departed from this race very soon; for in the days of *Moses* their monarchy was revolved into an aristocracy of five lords, who seem to have been in part independent of each other, though they e were also apparently obliged to act in concert for the common cause. After this they had a king over them, which, how they submitted to, or whether it was their choice or not, we cannot say. This second race of kings are called, so far as we know, by the appellation of *Achish*, though they were also called *Abimelech*. Three of these we think we have some account of, but their power seems to have been circumscribed within very narrow bounds; they were subject to the controul of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five we think, who seem to have subsisted under these kings; so that these princes, it is likely, were set up, to act meerly as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs, cyphers of state, without any extent of power. This kind of mixed government can be to none so aptly f applied as to that of *Poland* in our days. We find little or no mention of this second race of kings. They held their residence at *Gath*, during their best times, from whence the royal seat was removed to *Ascalon*, and from thence to *Gaza*. In a word, we may say, that the *Philistines* had very violent notions of liberty. They did not circumcise, and, in their earliest times, at least, held adultery in the greatest abomination.

Their character, language, arts, and inventions, &c.

After what we have said we need not remark, that they were a very warlike people; but to it we must add, that they were ingenious and industrious. Their character must be considered at different times; for we may say, they were not always the

g Origen. cont. Cels. l. 3. Euseb. ad vocem Φξέαρ. h Strphan. ad vocem Ἄζωτος.
i Joseph. Antiq. l. 12.

the same people. In the days of *Abraham* and *Isaac* they were, most assuredly, a righteous and hospitable nation; and so in great measure they may have been, under all their first race of kings: upon whose decay, a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have ensued, all together. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the same enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are constantly mentioned in scripture as strangers, and though possessed of a most valuable part of the *land of Promise*, yet God would never suffer them to be driven out, they being *Egyptians* by descent, and not original natives, whose land only was promised to *Abraham* and his seed. Their arrogance and ambition were great, and their inveterate enmity (E) against the *Israelites* was such, that one would be almost tempted to think, they were created on purpose to be a thorn in the side of that chosen people; for though the hand of God was self-evidently against them several times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and closed their eyes against conviction, flattering themselves, that they might one day compass their ends against the *Israelites*. They seem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they persisted, though they, with their own eyes, saw the shame and ignominy which befel them, when in the presence of the captive ark; and were even stupid enough to imagine notwithstanding, that their gods might prevail against him, who had so greatly shamed them. They were much addicted to trade, which they, considering their situation, may have exercised from the beginning; but, by the accession of the fugitive *Edomites* in *David's* time[k], they rose to so great a reputation as merchants, that the *Greeks*, it seems, reckoned them the most considerable people that way, and from them called all the country bordering on them *Palestine*[l]. Their language was not so different from that spoken by the *Hebrews*, as to cause any apparent difficulty for them to converse together, as will be perceived by their intercourse with *Abraham* and *Isaac*; so that in all this region the several nations spoke one and the same togue, perhaps indeed, with some variation of dialect. They had doubtless the arts and sciences in common with their most learned and ingenious contemporaries; and, perhaps, some of them in greater perfection than any where else. They had giants among them, who, whether they were orignially of the breed of the *Anakims*, who retired hither when they were expelled *Hebron*[m], or whether they sprang from accidental births is not a very clear matter. We must not forget, that the bow and arrow is attributed to their invention (F), and that they were particularly skilful in the use of the same.

Their religion. Their religion was different at different times: under their first race of kings, they were of one religion with the *Hebrews*: *Abimelech*, in the sin he had like to have committed with *Sarah* through *Abraham*'s timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from God; and by his speech and behaviour at that time it seems, as if he had been used to converse with God. In after-times they erred into endless superstitions, and a very multifarious idolatry, each of the principal or five cities seeming to have had an idol of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnash*[n], was

[k] See before, p. 314, 315. [l] See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiquiss. p. 37. [m] See before, p. 333, 334. [n] Hieronym. in Esai.

(E) And from a passage in *Chronicles* (3) it is guessed to have been of very ancient date; where it is said, that the *men of Gath slew the children of Ephraim, who would have taken their cattle from them*. This incident is no where else to be found, and there are various thoughts concerning the sense we must take this passage in. As to the time it was transacted, most allow it to have been while the children of *Israel* were sojourners in *Egypt*. It plainly appears by the next verse, that *Ephraim* himself was living at the time. The *Targum* supposes his children miscomputed the time they were to serve in *Egypt*, and began too early an attempt upon their promised land. Dr. *Lightfoot* (4) makes the men of *Gath* to have been the aggressors, and supposes the *Ephraimites* only stood up to defend themselves and cattle. But taking the words in the first sense, which seems most obvious, they may serve to account for the reason why *Moses* would not conduct the *Israelites* by the way of the *Philistines*. If this be the case, it must have been some horrid injury, or very uncommonly resented.

(F) It is supposed (5) that before they removed from *Pelusium*, where they are thought to have first inhabited, as we shall shew hereafter, they had occasion to annoy the enemies, who then infested them, at a distance; whereupon the bow and arrow came into their head, wherewith they armed their stoutest men, whom they called *Cherethites* (6), a name which includes this whole nation, as will be observed hereafter.

(3) 1 vii. 21. (4) *Annotat. in Gen. sub fine.* (5) *See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p.* 245. (6) *Bochart. Can. l.* 1. *c.* 15.

a was worſhipped at *Gaza*, and is ſaid to have migrated into *Crete* (G), and to have become the *Cretan Jupiter*. *Dagon* was worſhipped at *Azotus*; he ſeems to have been the moſt grand, the moſt ancient, and moſt favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, ſubſiſted the longeſt of any [o], that did not ſtraggle out of the country, as we are not ſure he did. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of *Agriculture*, as his name imports [p]. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being repreſented as a monſter, half man, half fiſh; or conſequently into another, almoſt as common, that he is the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs *Derceto*, who, we are told, was repreſented under ſome ſuch mixed form. Our opinion is, that his idol was in ſhape wholly like a man; for we read of his b head, and his hands, and his feet [q] (H). He ſtood in a temple at *Azotus*, and had prieſts of his own, who paid a very conſtant attendance on him, as one would think [r]. Next to *Dagon* was *Baalzebub*, the god of *Ekron*. In the text of the New Teſtament he is *Belzebub*, and the *prince of Devils*. His name is rendered, *Lord of flies*; which on the one hand is held to be a mock appellation beſtowed on him by the *Jews*; but on the other it is more rationally ſuppoſed, that he was ſo ſtiled by his votaries, as *Hercules Apomyos*, and others among the heathens, from driving away flies; and he, it is not unlikely, may have been the parent of the other pagan deities, who are famed for the ſame pretended power. This is certainly the truth of the matter; for *Ahazia* [s] in his ſickneſs had never ſent to conſult him under that c name, if it had carried any opprobry or reproach along with it. How, or under what form, he was repreſented is uncertain: Some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly [t]: a very wide difference. To have done with this obſcurity, it appears, that he became an oracle in higheſt repute for omniſcience and veracity; that he had prieſts of his own; and that he, in the middle times at leaſt, was much ſought after by thoſe who were anxious about futurity, or ſolicitous concerning other hidden matters. *Derceto* we take certainly to have been the goddeſs of *Aſcalon* [u]; but, as we are herein only ſupported by prophane authority, without the leaſt countenance from ſcripture, we ſhall not inſiſt on it. *Gath* is ſeemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the ſcripture d declares, that *Aſhtaroth* [w], or *Aſtarte*, was worſhipped by this people, we are ready to place her at *Gath*, and the rather, as this of all their cities may have had moſt communication with *Sidon*; but concerning her we muſt be ſilent here, ſeeing we ſhall have a more proper opportunity to touch on her hereafter. To ſpeak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; it appears, as if they erected very large and ſpacious temples, or elſe very wide halls for the celebration of their ſolemn ſeaſons and feſtivals [x], for ſuch they ſurely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourſe from

o See 1 Macch. x. p See before in the Notes, p. 135. q See Fuller's Piſgah-ſight, Book 2. c. 10, § 32. r See 1 Sam. v. 3, 4. s 2 Kings i. 2. t Procopius Gazeus. u Vide Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 65. w 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. x Judg. xvi. 27.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the *Philiſtines* planted the iſland of *Crete*; and it muſt be alſo, that the inhabitants there were a colony from *Gaza* in particular, the peculiar place of his worſhip. The *Philiſtines* are in ſeveral places of ſcripture (7) called *Cerethites*: particularly, they are ſo called by the *Egyptian* (8), whom *David* laid hands on, when he was in purſuit of the *Amalekites*, who had burnt *Ziklag*; whence we may infer this to have been their *Egyptian* name, or the name they were known by in *Egypt*. Where they are elſewhere called *Cerethites*, as in our verſion, the LXX write them *Cretes*, or *Cretans*; and this is the beſt part of that foundation whereon the learned have built their notion of deriving the *Cretans* from the *Philiſtines*; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the *Curetes* alſo from them, which we may conſider hereafter.

(H) That he had feet, we underſtand from a *Greek* reading of the LXX in *Fuller* (9), where mention is made of *Dagon*'s mutilation, which runs thus, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῦ ἀφηρημένα. Here we are told that the ſoles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the *Vatican* copy, we read τὰ ἴχνη τῶν χειρῶν, or *the ſoles of his hands*, which ſeems abſurd. We have never obſerved, that the *Greek* word Ἴχνος is put for the *palm of the hand*. And we the rather reject this reading, becauſe a very ſenſeleſs tautology follows it; for it is ſaid, that the *wriſts of his hands* were gone alſo. Whence it muſt appear that *hands*, in the firſt place, are curruptly placed for *feet*, and that *Dagon* had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fiſh's tail: that would make him *Horace*'s monſter indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondneſs of the generality of the learned, rather to

(7) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 14, 16. *Ezek.* xxv. 16. *Zephan.* ii. 5. (8) 1 *Sam. ubi ſupr.* (9) *Piſgah-ſight, Book* 2. *c.* 10. §. 32. *in the Margin.*

from all parts; and that they presented their gods with the chief of their spoil, and a carried them about to war with them. We do not find in scripture, that they sacrificed their children, and yet the *Curetes* (I) are derived from them.

Their history. It is now time for us to think of the history of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of *Egypt* (K); but upon what motive is not positively known, no more than the time of their removal: and, finding that the *Avims*[y] were a people seated in a pleasant and fruitful land, and that they were strong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and succeeded. We are not much inclined to think them a very numerous multitude when they first settled in this their conquest; for their king, even in the days of *Isaac*, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great sign that his own was very exorbitant; though possibly they may have been settled there many years before, and must consequently have been very much increased to what they were at first. But, supposing this kingdom or state to have been but weak in its beginnings, as most others have been, we proceed, continuing with the next notice we have of their affairs.

Abimelech (L), their king in *Abraham*'s days, was an holy and just person, and one who had intercourse with God. He resided at *Gerar*, of which place he

[y] Deut. ii. 23.

to derive his name from דג *Dag*, a fish, than from דגן *Dagan*, bread-corn (10): it seems no difficult matter to chuse which we are to stick by. From this last etimology it may be rationally enough supposed, that they borrowed their idolatry from *Egypt* (11); and that *Dagon* is a copy of their *Isis*, to whom much the same invention is attributed. Not that they brought it away with them from *Egypt*; from thence, their history plainly assures us, they brought a pure system of religion; and we do not remember, that *Moses* mentions the *Egyptians* as idolaters once throughout all his writings.

(I) The *Curetes* did sacrifice their children to *Saturn* (12); and from the similitude this name bears to *Cerethites* or *Philistines*, it has been advanced, that they are the same (13); but as we have no warrant for saying the *Philistines* practised so barbarous and unnatural a custom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elsewhere.

(K) This we take to have been really the case, and so do many of great authority; but there is also another opinion concerning this matter. For it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the *Casluhim* and *Colchi*; whence it has been taught, that they migrated first into the country of *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*; and from thence returning towards *Egypt*, in their way, seized on the country of the *Avims*, and there fixed their abode. *Bochart* (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is said of the agreement between the *Colchi* and the *Egyptians* in *Herodotus* and others; therein forgetting, that the *Philistines* did not circumcise, which *Herodotus* assures us the *Colchi* did. Again, nothing can be positively asserted in this matter, by what the same author relates, who speaks of them as dwelling in *Colchis* in his time, where they had abode so long that it was doubtful when they settled there first; so that from him there is no solid argument to be deduced, that the *Colchi* he speaks of were the *Casluhim* of *Moses*. In like manner the *Caphtorim*, from whence also the *Philistines* are derived, are placed in *Cappadocia*, a country of *Asia minor*, adjoining to the country of *Colchis*. Here, say they (15), we find the city called *Side*, and the country *Sidene*, mentioned by *Strabo*: and, because *Side* in *Greek* and *Caphtor* in *Hebrew* signify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the same country was by the *Hebrews* called *Caphtor*, and by the *Greeks Sidene*. But, to shew that nothing can be fixed from such a manner of arguing, it may not be amiss to add, that the *Caphtorim* are on the other hand supposed to have dwelt in *Afric*, on the bay of the great *Syrtis*, which is supposed to have been called כפתור *chaph-thor*, the *circular shore*, as it forms a semicircle; and that the pomegranate was so called by the *Hebrews*, because it first came from that part of *Afric*, consonant to what *Pliny* writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). We have already declared our sentiment as to the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, and must therefore refer the reader to the place where he may find it (17). It would be in vain for us to touch on the history of the *Philistines* before they removed out of *Egypt*, or from the last place of their abode, before they came into the land of the *Avims*; but we will, however, briefly insert what some have been tempted to say upon that very obscure subject. According to bishop *Cumberland* (18), they cohabited with the *Phœnices* or *Canaanites* in *Goshen*, that is, that side of *Egypt* next to *Arabia*; but, finding their country invaded by their kindred, the other sons of *Mizraim*, they left it to avoid the miseries of the impending war between the pastors and the pure *Egyptians*; that is, and removed into the land where *Abraham* found them.

(L) One *Philistinus*, whom *Josephus* (19) makes a son of *Mizraim*, is sometimes reckoned their first king (20), from whom that *Jewish* writer derives the name of *Palestine*. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is also likely, that either they borrowed their name from *Pelusium*, or *Pelusium* from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they first settle, as is by most allowed (21); and it will not be much out of the way if we suppose they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

(10) *See before, p.* 135. (11) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the sacr. and proph. Hist. Vol. I. p.* 344. (12) *Ister apud Porphyr. l.* 2. § 56. (13) *Bochart, Caste, &c.* (14) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 31. (15) *Bochart. ubi supr.* (16) *Vide Cleric. in Gen.* x. 14. (17) *See before, p.* 165, 166. (18) *c. Sanchon.* (19) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 7. (20) *Vide Hist. p.* 372. *Jul. in Regn. Palæst.* (21) *See before, p.* 165.

Abimelech I.

a he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal ſnare by the too great caution of *Abraham*; who, coming into this kingdom to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, then reeking under the calamitous judgment of heaven, pretended, that *Sarah* was not his wife, but his ſiſter. *Abimelech* ſaw her, and was ſmitten with love of her; and, underſtanding ſhe was a ſingle woman, reſolved to take her to his bed, and he took her accordingly to him with that intent: but, ere he accompliſhed his deſires, he was warned by GOD to return the woman to her concealed huſband, and that immediately, upon pain of death. *Abimelech* hereupon excuſed himſelf to the divine viſion upon the innocence of his intentions; and ſeeming to have freſh in mind the terrible overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, *Lord*, ſays he,
b *wilt thou alſo ſlay a righteous nation?* As if he would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable anſwer from the viſion or dream, That GOD knew well, and approved his integrity, and had prevented him in his intentions; and, to conclude, that *Abraham* ſhould, at his requeſt, pray for him, and all would be well again. Being thus admoniſhed, he firſt acquainted his ſervants with what had happened, and all were inſtantly ſeized with a general dread for the conſequences which might enſue: Then, calling *Abraham* to him, he aſked what he had done to him, that he ſhould miſlead him into ſo dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed againſt him, that he ſhould tempt him to ſuch a ſin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himſelf only,
c but of his whole kingdom alſo. Indeed, ſays he, you have not uſed me well; what have you obſerved in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you ſhould imagine, we would offer any violence to you out of deſire for your wife? The anſwer he received from *Abraham* to all this, was a frank confeſſion of the truth, he acknowledging, without diſguiſe, that he feared they had not been endued with right notions of GOD and his laws, and that he ſhould certainly be deprived of his life, that they might enjoy *Sarah*. Moreover, that in ſaying ſhe was his ſiſter, he had not ſpoken wrong, ſhe being really ſo; and, to ſalve the matter in ſome meaſure to the king's good liking, he acquainted him, That in ſtrange places it had always been his cuſtom to make her paſs for his ſiſter, only for fear of the worſt.
d *Abimelech* was ſatisfied with what he heard; and in conſequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine admonition, not only returned *Sarah* to *Abraham*, but in ſo doing, made him a very noble preſent in ſheep and oxen, and in ſervants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he beſt liked. To *Sarah* he ſaid, *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold, he* is *to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that* are *with thee, and with all* other: *thus ſhe was reproved.* In this manner did *Abimelech* acquit himſelf of the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for *Sarah*'s ſake, the LORD having ſtruck them all with
e barrenneſs and impotency (M). Ever after this, *Abimelech* lived in perfect harmony with *Abraham*, and that the ſame might be tranſmitted down to their poſterity, *Abimelech*, with the participation of *Phicol* the chief captain of his hoſt, propoſed an oath to *Abraham*, whereby he ſhould bind his poſterity to live in love with his, and deal by them juſt as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by *Abraham*; but firſt he deſired a diſpute might be ſet right, concerning a well which *Abimelech*'s ſervants had forcibly taken from him. *Abimelech* declared he never had heard a word of this outrage till that moment, and that nothing of the kind ſhould have been then to be complained of, had *Abraham* informed him of it.

And

(M) "Or with ſuch ſwellings in the ſecret "parts, that the men could neither enjoy their "wives, or the women, who were with child, "be delivered (22)." They muſt have been very ſenſible of ſuch an alteration as this; but it is on the other hand ſuppoſed to have been ſomething imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be diſcovered, but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were a conſiderable time at *Abimelech*'s court (23). Nothing can be poſitively determined in this caſe from the words of the text. We find this whole ſtory quite altered by *Joſephus* (24), who ſays, *Abimelech* was taken with ſo violent a fit of ſickneſs, that his life was deſpaired of; that in the midſt of it he had a dream, which admoniſhed him concerning *Sarah*; that finding himſelf upon the mending-hand, he called together his friends, and diſcloſed to them his dream, and the violence of his paſſion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with *Abraham*, and ſo on

(22) *Patrick upon Gen.* xx. 18. (23) *Vide Cleric. in Gen.* xx. 17. (24) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 13.

And that this matter might be terminated in such a manner as to admit of no farther a dispute, he accepted of seven ewe lambs, in testimony, that as *Abraham* had been at the charge of digging the well, it belonged of right to him, and to him alone. These seven ewe lambs, which were set apart for this end out of a very great herd of other cattle, sheep and oxen, he accepted, together with the rest, from whence they were picked, and the desired covenant was made; then *Abimelech* rose up, and *Abimelech* II. *Phicol* the chief captain of his host, and they returned from whence they came[z] (N).

Abimelech the son of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the second (O) of that name or appellation, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philistines*, and reigned also at *Gerar*, and had almost the same transactions with *Isaac*, as his father had with *Abraham*. He seems to have been actuated by the very same principles b with his father, and, by what appears, he well deserves to be stiled a just and pious prince. In his days came *Isaac* to *Gerar*, sore pressed by famine, and conducting *Rebekah* with him, whom in imitation of his father, he gave out as his sister or cousin. Whether *Abimelech* and his subjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have ensued to the grievous detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were still so pure, and chastity and hospitality in such due and high esteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure or troublesome attempt, we take not on us to say; but so it was, that *Rebekah* was unmolested by suitors of any sort: and *Isaac* was perfectly at his ease upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that *Abimelech* himself, at least, had a shrewd c suspicion that they were man and wife; for, looking one day out of his window, as it is expressed, he saw *Isaac* caressing *Rebekah* in such a manner, as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore, he called *Isaac* to him, and asked him how he could be so deceitful, pretending that she, who was really his wife, was no more than his sister? To which *Isaac* pleaded his father *Abraham*'s excuse. *Abimelech* replied, It was by no means kindly done of him, for that ignorantly some or other of the people might have lain with her, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a most dangerous sin (P). Which to prevent, he made proclamation of the matter, and forbad any to seek *Rebekah* to lie with her, or attempt to hurt her husband, upon pain of death. Nothing can well be added to d give us a more favourable idea of this upright king than his behaviour in this case; doubtless he was no stranger to what had happened in a like case to his father; and having the fearful judgments of God before his eyes, he had faith therein, and dread-

ed

[z] Gen. xx. xxi.

(N) In the text it is, *They returned into the land of the Philistines* (25); as if they had come out of it to make a league with *Abraham*, who was still a sojourner in *Palestine*: it can therefore mean no more than that *Abimelech* returned to the place of his own abode, as if a distinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by *Abraham*, which, by the covenant made, was now considered as his own, and no longer under the jurisdiction of the *Philistines*.

(O) Some (26), between these two *Abimelechs*, place *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was so kind to *Abraham* (27), which, perhaps, is the best, if not the only, ground of such a surmise. It is supposed he may have been surnamed the *Hittite*, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28); but nothing of this kind is to be depended upon or believed. This second *Abimelech* is the natural successor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the series of time: his father was contemporary with *Abraham*, as he was with *Isaac*; but so plain a case can admit of no dispute with any, but such as are fond of nothing else.

(P) Notwithstanding this *Abimelech* makes so amiable a figure in the writings of *Moses*, *Josephus* (29) represents him as a very ill and corrupt person; and, to mend the matter, tells his story in a very broken manner. Passing over what relates to *Rebekah*, and *Isaac*'s denial of her for his wife, he says, that *Abimelech* did behave with much outward respect to *Isaac* upon his first arrival in his country; but in time, finding him to be more in the favour of God than himself, he broke with him, and burned with envy of him, and gave him all the ill-natured trouble he could upon all occasions. But in the end, perceiving the man's encrease, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the consequences his inhospitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it best to propose to him the covenant which was made between him and *Abraham*; for he all along takes this *Abimelech* for the same that conversed with *Abraham*, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or simplicity of intention; and besides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he supposes *Abimelech* to have been but a child, or a meer lad, when *Abraham* first removed into the land of the *Philistines*.

(25) *Gen.* xxi. 31. (26) *Theophil. Antioch. Regn. Palæst. p.* 76. (27) *See before, p.* 329. (28) *Vide Hist. Jul.* (29) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

a ed to incur the wrath of God. And very remarkable it is, that though, conſidering the dreadfulneſs of his apprehenſions, it might have been expected, that he would have driven out *Iſaac* from his dominions, as one who, either maliciouſly or ignorantly, had expoſed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet, inſtead of that, he ſuffers him to abide in the land till he began to look on him more as a dangerous rival, than a harmleſs inmate. Then indeed, when the *Philiſtines* beheld the prodigious increaſe of *Iſaac*'s ſtore, they envied him, and ſtudied to make him uneaſy: and at laſt *Abimelech* himſelf ſent to *Iſaac*, deſiring he would ſeek ſome other abode, pretending, he could not be at reſt while he had ſo powerful and near a neighbour. This requeſt, though ſeemingly conceived in very modeſt and friendly terms, took not effect,
b *Iſaac*, as ſeems, only removing from one part of the country to another; for violence in thoſe days was neither uſed or dreaded, except in very extraordinary caſes, or maintained by the falſe and inhuman gloſſes and arguments, which have ſince been too frequently advanced to prove the neceſſity or wiſdom of it. Hot bickerings and contentions after this aroſe between the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar* and *Iſaac*'s ſervants, who opening the wells which *Abraham* had dug, and which the *Philiſtines* after his death had ſtopped up, and wanting ſtill more water, ſought for new ſprings, and dug new wells, which the *Philiſtine* herdſmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus diſputed, which were two, were one of them by *Iſaac* called *eſek*, or *contention*, and the other *ſitnah*, or *hatred*. By theſe vexatious and obſtinate claims, they put
c *Iſaac* upon ſhifting his place a ſecond time. *Abimelech* at laſt, remembring, we may ſuppoſe, the covenant between his father and *Abraham*, and plainly perceiving, that *Iſaac* was favoured with God's ſpecial favour and bleſſing, thought it his duty, or his intereſt, to renew the aforeſaid covenant; and taking with him *Ahuzzath*, an intimate friend, and *Phichol* (Q) the chief captain of his hoſt, went to *Iſaac*, who at firſt wondered to ſee them, after what had paſt, and plainly told them as much. To which they anſwered, That they plainly ſaw God was with him, and that he was riſing to a high pitch of power and proſperity; and therefore deſired to enter into bonds of friendſhip with him by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; deſiring no other terms, than that the *Philiſtines* and their poſterity might be
d uſed and conſidered by *Iſaac* and his poſterity, as he and his family had been conſidered and uſed by *Abimelech* and his people. They were all three then entertained by *Iſaac*, and the league they deſired was mutually ſworn to next morning, and they departed in peace [a].

The hiſtory of the *Philiſtines*, hitherto pretty clear and circumſtantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable miſt, through which we can only perceive, that the men of *Gath* fell on the children of *Ephraim*, and ſlew them for attempting to drive off their cattle [b]. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the conſequences that enſued, we know not [c].

For a very long ſeries of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left
e to gueſs, That they in the mean time diſſolved their ancient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the *Iſraelites*; for when they are next mentioned, they are repreſented under diſtinct juriſdictions, and at ſtrife with the children of *Iſrael*.

They eſcaped, as ſeems, the fury of *Joſhua*; but ſoon after his death *Gaza*, *Askelon*, and *Ekron* (R) were taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah* [d]; but they poſſeſſed the ſaid cities again in a very ſhort time [e]: but whether they recovered them by force of *Arms*, or whether they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

About one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philiſtines* held the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they were delivered

[a] Gen. xxvi. [b] Chron. vii. 21. [c] See before in the Notes, p. 342. [d] Judg. i. 18. [e] Judg, iii. 3.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's hoſt, as may be remembred, was alſo called *Phichol* (30); but, as it is impoſſible, or very highly improbable at leaſt, that this was the ſame man, we conclude *Phichol* to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that as the king was conſtantly called *Abimelech*, his chief miniſter or general was conſtantly called *Phichol*.

(30) *See before, p.* 345.

(R) Here *Joſephus* (31) tells us of only *Aſkelon* and *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, as ſubdued, and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the *Canaanites*. But for *Gaza* and *Ekron*, or *Accaron*, ſays he, they were in the flat country, very ſtrong in chariots, and well able to make good their defence, whereby they ſaved themſelves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(31) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

delivered by *Shamgar*, who ſlew ſix hundred of this people with an ox-goad (S) [f]. Nor a muſt we forget, that the *Philiſtines* ſuffered in common with the *Iſraelites* [g], by the furious incurſions and ravages of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* kings of *Midian* [h].

A second time they oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* in conjunction with the *Ammonites* in the days of *Jephthah* [i].

A third time they reduced the *Iſraelites* by the permiſſion of God, and kept them very ſtrictly under forty years. In the mean time was *Samſon* born to check their pride, and give them great trouble (T). He, when grown up, was ſmitten with love of a damſel of this country, who dwelt at *Timnath*. At the celebration of the nuptials thirty young men of the *Philiſtines* were appointed to attend on *Samſon*, as we now ſpeak (U); who, among other diſcourſe, propoſed a riddle to theſe thirty b youths concerning a lion he had killed, in whoſe Carcaſs, a twelvemonth after he had killed him, he found honey. It was propoſed to theſe young men by *Samſon*, that if they got the better of his riddle, he would give them thirty ſuits of apparel, one to each; but that if they could not anſwer him at the end of the ſeven days of the marriage-feſtival, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. They accepted the offer, and deſired to hear the riddle, and in vain perplexed themſelves therewith for three days together, and then, deſpairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their country woman, *Samſon*'s bride, to deſire her to get the myſtery out of her husband, or elſe they would burn her and all her kindred, as perſons who had on ſet purpoſe introduced a ſtranger to trick them out of their ſubſtance. This made c a deep impreſſion on the young woman, who, by continual entreaties, prevailed at laſt on her huſband to diſcloſe the ambiguity to her, which ſhe communicated to the thirty young men; in conſequence of which they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon *Askelon*; for *Samſon*, to make good his engagements, went down thither, and ſlew thirty men, whoſe garments he gave to the thirty expoſitors of his riddle [k].

This marriage was a very obſcure beginning of great miſery upon the *Philiſtines*; for *Samſon*'s father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well poſſeſſed of her husband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied *Samſon*, who had been abſent a twelve-month, all acceſs to his wife; but, to pacify his reſentment, would have given d him another daughter, who, as he ſaid, was younger and handſomer. This did by no means mollify *Samſon*, and in revenge ſent out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails into the corn-fields; and all the ſtanding corn was thereby conſumed with fire, as were alſo the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The *Philiſtines* were amazed at ſo terrible a diſaſter, and underſtanding the motives which had induced *Samſon* to uſe them ſo cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the incendiary in a primary ſenſe; and therefore they went, and burnt him together with his daughter, who alſo may be called the cauſe of all this miſchief (W). But this execu-

[f] ver. 31. [g] See Judg. vi. 4. [h] See before, p. 304. [i] See before, p. 359. [k] Judg. xiv.

(S) It is worth obſerving, that *Joſephus* (32), who is ſo fond of extraordinary events, and ſo apt to make more of them, than, it is likely, he found them, quite paſſes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illuſtrate this action. A parallel caſe is found in *Homer*, where *Lycurgus* puts to flight the *Bacchæ* with an ox-goad. By the *Vulgate* it is interpreted a plow-ſhare, induced thereto by the LXX. But thoſe (33) ſeem to think very rationally, who imagine, That *Shamgar* put himſelf at the head of a tumultuary riſe of country people, who were armed in their ruſtic way with the implements of tillage, and that *Shamgar* happened to have an ox-goad in his hand when theſe ſix hundred of the *Philiſtines* fell; not that he killed them all himſelf with that weapon.

(T) *Joſephus* (34) reckons, that the *Philiſtines* were ſtripped of their dominion over *Iſrael* by *Samſon*, but he is plainly miſtaken.

(U) This we take to have been the cuſtom of the country in caſes of a like nature, and a uſual compliment now paid to *Samſon*, who was come to marry among them; but nothing leſs appears by *Joſephus* (35), who writes, that theſe young men were ſet as a guard upon him to prevent his doing any miſchief in his cups.

(W) This ſeems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for as through their indiſcretion they drew on their country ſo ſad a revenge by fire, the reſt might think it but juſt and natural, that they ſhould periſh thereby to expiate their crime. But on the other hand, we find, that puniſhing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in thoſe days with this people; for the thirty young men, as may be remembered, when they began to deſpair that they ſhould ever unfold *Samſon*'s riddle, threatned the bride to burn her and her father's houſe with fire, if ſhe did not befriend them, and help them

(32) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 5. (33) *Vide Cleric. in Judic.* iii. 31. (34) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* [illegible]
(35) *Ubi ſupr.*

a execution they did not with impunity, they were ſmitten hip and thigh by *Samſon*. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and underſtanding he had retreated to the rock *Etam*, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of *Judah*, who dreaded their diſpleaſure. The *Philiſtines* ſhouted aloud at the ſight of *Samſon* bound; but their joy was ſoon turned into mourning, for *Samſon*, breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an aſs at hand, and killed a thouſand of them therewith [1].

ALL this the *Philiſtines* never forgot, and wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to be revenged on *Samſon*. The *Gazites*, about twenty years after the laſt ſlaughter, thought they had him ſecure in their city. They had information, that b he was with an harlot of theirs; and they watched him, and made faſt their gates, being ſure they ſhould kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpoſe, and they were diſappointed; for *Samſon* riſing at midnight, took the city gates, and poſts, and bar, and all, and carried them away towards *Hebron*, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the *Philiſtines* then heard, that *Samſon* was enſnared by another harlot of their nation in the valley of *Sorek*, whoſe name was *Delilah*. The five lords came to this woman, and promiſed her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of ſilver, if ſhe would betray *Samſon* to them, by enticing him to tell her where his ſtrength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary ſtrength of another man. So large a c bribe corrupted *Delilah*'s heart, and ſhe uſed her beſt endeavours to earn the very many pieces of ſilver ſhe had in proſpect; and, thinking ſhe was miſtreſs of the ſecret, ſhe ſent for the *Philiſtines* to execute their pleaſure on him; but ſhe was deceived, and they were diſappointed. A ſecond time ſhe was deceived in like manner, and a third time; but the fourth time ſhe was ſincerely informed, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, which ſhe cut off, and delivered *Samſon* a helpleſs prey to the lords of the *Philiſtines*, who gave her the promiſed reward of her treachery, and put out *Samſon*'s eyes, and bound him with fetters of braſs, and carried him to *Gaza*, and there made him grind in the priſon-houſe.

THEY then met in a ſolemn manner to celebrate a feſtival to their god *Dagon*, d and to offer him thanks, and praiſes, and ſacrifices. They met together to the number of many thouſands, and were all in one place; which, whether it was a temple, or a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; but it was of ſuch extent that no leſs than three thouſand perſons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity they ſent for the blind *Samſon* from the priſon-houſe to make ſport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his ſtrength, conſequently, returned to him. They made what diverſion they pleaſed with him, and dearly

[1] Judg. xvi.

them out. It is ſuppoſed they were taken by ſurprize, and burnt in their houſe; and it is obſerved, that the bride and her father's houſe ſuffered the ſame calamity ſhe ſought to avoid by betraying her huſband (36).

(X) We find the generality of the learned moſt inclined to think this vaſt building a theatre, ſuch as formerly the *Romans* contrived, and which were almoſt incredibly capacious: this may have been the truth of the matter, and we ſhould moſt readily have embraced the ſame opinion, did we not perceive, that this building was roofed, and that ſo firmly as to bear the weight of three thouſand perſons upon its top. A difficulty ſtarts up here; how could this roof be contrived, ſo that ſuch a multitude might partake of the diverſion *Samſon* was making below? It is anſwered, that thoſe on the roof were the vulgar ſort, who had conveniencies of looking down into a great hall, where the lords, and chiefs, and better ſort ſate in ſtate; which will ſtill make the building more extenſive. A roof it had, which we ſufficiently underſtand by the two pillars which *Samſon* pulled down, and which ſupported it. It hence muſt have been a place of a particular conſtruction, like the *Egyptian* hall in *Vitruvius* (37), and nothing like the theatres of the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*.

(Y) *Joſephus* (38) underſtands, that they wanted to flout and jeer him; though alſo they may have made him go through a courſe of ridiculous geſtures and ſpeeches.

(Z) In the margin of our verſion it is, *As when he was ſhaven*; or it was grown to the ſame length it was of when *Delilah* clipt it. Whence we gather, that *Joſephus* (39) is right in ſaying this was an annual feaſt in honour of their god *Dagon*, as appears alſo by the text of ſcripture; where great thanks are returned to *Dagon*, for delivering *Samſon* into their hands, which was ſtill uppermoſt in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly deſired ſeveral years paſt. From hence we may learn, that the worſhip of *Dagon* was not confined to *Aſhdod*, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in theſe days he was the moſt highly revered of any god they had.

(36) *See Patrick upon Judg.* xv. 6. (37) *l.* 6. *c.* 5. (38) *Ubi ſupr.* (39) *Ubi ſupr.*

dearly they paid for it; for they all perished by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by the strength of *Samson*. This was a terrible disaster, and most of, if not all, the chiefs of the *Philistines* were lost in this mighty ruin; so that the nation must, upon that account, have been greatly humbled, and in a low condition, being destitute of governors, and commanders, and men of wisdom [a].

For a considerable time the *Philistines* lay quiet: they recovered their loss at *Gaza*, and grew to a greater pitch of power than ever. They now made war upon the *Israelites* again, who had as good as thrown off their yoke since the fatal day at *Gaza*. They pitched first in *Aphek*, and the *Israelites* lay incamped at *Eben-ezer*. The two armies soon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the *Philistines*, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and in all slew [b] four thousand of them, and drove them into their camp. The *Philistines*, in the midst of their triumph, upon this occasion, heard an uncommon shout of joy from the *Hebrew* camp; and enquiring into the cause of it, were told, that the *Hebrews* had sent for the ark of the lord, and that it was come into their camp. Upon hearing this they cried out in the utmost consternation, God is come into the enemy's camp, what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, despairing to be delivered from those mighty gods, as they spoke, who had so severely smitten the *Egyptians*. They now were quite daunted and spiritless, till their chiefs, or some of the more resolute awakened them from their fears, exhorting them to be of good cheer, and behave [c] like men, lest they fell under the power of the *Hebrews*, and became their servants, instead of being their masters, as they were: behave like men, said they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the *Philistines* in general, and inspired them with fresh courage. Animated in this sort, they came to a battle, and fell on so furiously that they slew 30,000 of the enemy's footmen; and to crown all, they took the ark of God, which at first gave them so much trouble, and *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the priests who attended it, they slew. Doubtless they called this a most compleat victory, and rejoiced in a most extraordinary manner, ignorant of the evil consequences they were to suffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to *Ashdod*, and placed it in the temple of their idol [d] *Dagon*, as an acceptable offering to him, and as properly his captive, we may suppose. The next morning they went into the temple, and *behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord*. They took him up therefore, and set him in his place again, attributing this first humiliation to some unheeded accident (A). But on the second day, when they went in again, they not only saw their god in the prostrate posture they beheld him yesterday, but dismembered also of his head, and hands, and feet, which lay upon the threshold; nor was any thing left of him but the stump, or, as we rather choose to express it, the trunk of his body. Hence came a superstitious custom among his priests, never to tread on the threshold as they went into his temple (B), either in remembrance of this [e] mutilation as a calamity, or because it had been hallowed by having served for a resting-place to the head and hands of their persecuted god. But their own sufferings far exceeded those of their idol, who being senseless could feel none of the pains they themselves were afflicted with, being smitten with a sudden plague, of which many of them died, while those who survived were grievously tormented with *emerods*. *Ashdod* and its whole territory labouring under so dreadful a calamity, they resolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too sensibly convinced, that they suffered because of the ark. But that they might not take a hasty step, they

[a] Judg. xvi.

(A) They might impute it to some defect in the pedestal, or might imagine the statue itself not to have been exactly poised, or, finally, they might attribute it to some unusual shock, as of an earthquake, and the like

(B) This superstition obtained for many ages, as may be gathered from *Zephaniah* (39), where those are threatned *that leap on the threshold*. Hence it appears, that they were wont to leap over the threshold. This has doubtless an eye to the ridiculous and stupidly-grounded superstition of this people (40). The *Jews* have an idle story, that the *Philistines*, henceforward forsaking *Dagon* himself, worshipped the threshold of his temple (41).

(39) i. 9. (40) *Vide Bochart. Hierozoic. par.* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 36. (41) *Vide Buxtorf. Hist. Arc. c.* 19. *p.* 172.

a they called an aſſembly of all the lords of the *Philiſtines* to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and what was beſt to be done with the pernicious ark. The reſolution they came to was, that the ark ſhould be removed to *Gath*, apprehending, as is thought, that *Aſhdod* was a place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thither, and the ſame plague, and another ſort of *emerods* (D) followed it to *Gath*, without diſtinction of ſmall or great. The men of *Gath* then ſent the ark to *Ekron*; where, knowing what *Gath* and *Aſhdod* had already ſuffered by the detention of the ſame, they cried out with a frighful voice, that the ark of the God of *Iſrael* was ſent to deſtroy and afflict them alſo. Their fears were not vain, and great was their lamentation for the loſs of thoſe that died, and for the grievous fore-
b neſs of the *emerods*, the affliction gathering ſtrength, and growing worſe as it ſpread (E). But they had no ſooner received the ark than, all in confuſion, they ſent to the lords of the *Philiſtines* to conſult with them, entreating them to fix upon ſome manner of ſending the ark to its place. The reſult of this council is not expreſſed; but it ſeems as if, obſerving the afflictions to ravage the cities chiefly, they removed the ark into the country (F), which, as ſeems alſo, only added to the number of their plagues, the country being now deſolated by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore there was no reſpite to be had, and that the perſecution lay harder and harder upon them, and multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their prieſts and diviners, to demand of them what they thought
c moſt expedient to be done in this mournful time of peſtilence; and in what manner it would be fitteſt to ſend the ark quite away from among them. Their anſwer was, That they ought not to ſend it away empty, but, by all means, with a treſpaſs-offering, as an atonement. They were then asked what this treſpaſs-offering muſt be: They replied, five golden *emerods*, and five golden *mice*, according to the number of the lords of the *Philiſtines*; "for the ſame plague was common to you "all; make images of your *emerods*, and images of your *mice*, which have been ſo "deſtructive to your land; and humble yourſelves to the God of *Iſrael*, that he "may

(C) *Juſt as* Æneas *and his people indited their beds and their houſes of the diſaſters that befel them; and* Cadmus *forſook his own city.*

——— tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non ſua ſe premeret. ———

As if the ill luck which hunted him had been the place's, not his own; as our Dr. Jackſon *obſerves out of* Ovid, *in his* Original of Unbelief, chap. 18. paragr. 4. (42).

(D) At *Aſhdod*, it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods* only, without any addition; but now it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods in their ſecret parts:* whence it is evident enough, that this plague was ſome how or other altered; and it being the moſt univerſally interpreted in both places that they were afflicted by *emerods*, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at *Aſhdod* they had the ordinary ſort, which appear outwardly, and that now at *Gath* they had the *blind* ſort, which are inward. Inſtead of *emerods* ſome (43) ſpeak of violent diſorders in the inteſtines, of their rotting alive, and of their waſting away by dyſenteries and vomitings, thereby diſcharging their loathſome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none ſo generally received as what we have ſaid of the *emerods*.

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expreſſed in deeper terms, upon every removal; which gives room for this aſſertion.

(F) *Joſephus* (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, which we have no warant to aſſert from ſcripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally perſecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonſtrative proof thereof: but there is no room to ſuppoſe this, ſince we find, that the *Ekronites*, convinced of the deſtruction and plague which followed the ark, did not ſo much as think of procuring it to be ſent either to *Askelon*, or *Gaza*; but only, that it might be ſent back to its place. Their requeſt, it ſeems, was no farther complied with by the reſt, than the removing it from them into the country or the *fields*, for that is the ſenſe of the original, where it remained ſeven months; nor is it likely that either of thoſe two cities would have admitted it within their gates after a thrice-repeated experience o what the conſequence would be, if they did admit it; nor does it appear, that they had yet been affected in the manner of *Aſhdod*, *Gath*, and *Ekron*, where the ark had been lodged. It ſeems, that the ark, being removed into the fields, gave birth to thoſe prodigious ſwarms of mice, which did eat up the country, and that *Gaza* and *Askelon* were now ſmitten by the plagues alſo, that the whole body of this people groaning under the ſame ſeverities and diſtreſs, there might be no diſſention among them about diſmiſſing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may diſcover, that as much as they were divided into five ſatrapies or lordſhips, they were nevertheleſs ſo linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the reſt; which is no where ſo evident as in this caſe of the *Ekronites*, who were ſo thoroughly convinced the ark was to be ſent home, that we cannot conceive what ſhould have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been, that they were afraid of making a breach into their common conſtitution; or dreaded to be called to an account by the reſt, for preſuming to act of their own heads in an affair of ſuch moment.

(42) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam.* v. 8. (43) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 1. (44) *Ubi ſupr.*

" may withdraw his avenging hand from among you. Do not offer to harden your a
" hearts, as *Pharaoh* did: proceed then, and make a new cart, and take two milk
" cows which have never felt the yoke, and take their calves away from them, and
" harness them to the cart you make (G), and on it place the ark and the jewels you
" offer for a trespass-offering in a coffer by it, and in that manner suffer it to depart.
" If it takes the way which leads to *Beth-shemesh*, you need not doubt who has so
" sorely afflicted you; but if not, you may conclude, that what you have suffered
" has proceeded from a mere natural cause." They obeyed the voice of their priests, and punctually followed their directions. The cows moved away for *Beth-shemesh*, lowing as they went along, nor turned once to the right or the left, the lords of the *Philistines* keeping after them till they saw them clear of their borders, where b they wondering stood, to observe in what manner the sacred captive was received by those with whom it would dwell [n].

We have sufficient reason to conclude, that the *Philistines*, by dismissing the ark in the manner they did, freed themselves from their bitter afflictions, and that, though they were undeniably sensible of the hand which chastised them, they soon forgot the mighty power thereof. For about twenty years afterwards, understanding the *Israelites* were gathered in a body at *Mizpeh*, they resolved to disperse them, jealous, perhaps, that they were upon measures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards *Mizpeh*, and a terror went before them, which quite confounded the *Israelites*, who having *Samuel* in the midst of them begged, that, without ceasing, he would c entreat God for them. The *Philistines* marched on, unmindful of him, who, when his people turned to him, was ready to confound the strength and devices of the wisest and mightiest, and being on the edge of assaulting the *Israelites*, a fearful storm of thunder and lightning came on (H), which beat them down, and dispersed them; and being broken into this wild disorder, they were pursued and slaughtered by the *Israelites* to *Beth-car*. This was a blow indeed, and deprived them of the dominion they had exercised over the *Hebrews*, and was the loss of all the encroachments they had made upon their territory, and reduced them so low that they never offered to molest *Israel* again all the days that *Samuel* [o] governed.

During all this time that they had held *Israel* in subjection, they had d quite disarmed them, and would not so much as suffer a smith to dwell among them [p]. How sensibly soever the *Philistines* may have been affected by this last route; yet in a few years they seem to have been vastly, nay, infinitely more formidable than ever. For, understanding that a fortress of theirs, called *Geba*, had been surprized by *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, they gathered together thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen (I), and foot as the sand of the sea, to

[n] 1 Sam. iv. 5, 6. [o] Ibid. vii. [p] Ibid. xiii. 19.

(G) The new cart was ordered in honour of the God of *Israel*, and the kine, unconscious of the yoke to draw it, were to prove, whether or no he would interfere in the return of his ark; for such unbroken cattle could never go on right together, or at all, as we may say, but by a miracle.

(H) To this *Josephus* (45) adds, that they were in part swallowed by an earthquake, so violent that it was as much as they could do to keep their legs.

(I) Sir *Isaac Newton* (46), from this vast number of chariots and horsemen, is tempted to think the *Philistines* were now very powerfully succoured, and their numbers mightily encreased by the accession of the shepherds out of *Egypt*, who were now expelled that kingdom: We shall not contend with him upon so dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes these thirty thousand chariots to be of the warlike sort, and designed for battle, wondering at the great excess of the number, when compared with those that followed *Pharaoh*, who perished in the *Red-Sea*. For our parts, we cannot take these chariots to have been any other than carriages, that were used, partly, in carrying the baggage of so great an army, as they seem to have had on foot at this time, and, partly, designed to move off the plunder of the whole country, which they seem to have grasped at with the most insolent presumption: and this, upon observing the method in which this war was carried on, must have been their design by such a number of carriages; which, if we reduce to three thousand, as the number stands in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* copies, will, as is very judiciously remarked (47), be far too many to suppose them to have been warlike chariots, since *Mithridates* had but one hundred, *Darius* but two hundred, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but three hundred; and no one can imagine, that the *Philistines*, and whosoever else may have joined them upon this occasion, were able to muster up such a force in chariots as either of those three monarchs.

(45) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 2 (46) *Chronol. of anc. king. amended, p.* 167. (47) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. xiii.* 5.

a to fight with, or rather plunder the *Iſraelites*, who ſtill laboured under the ill effects of their tyrannical policy, by continuing deſtitute of arms. This very numerous multitude went out, and pitched in *Michmaſh*, and ſent ſuch a terror before them, that happy was the *Iſraelite* who could hide himſelf to his ſatisfaction from them, or get out of their way. *Michmaſh* was their ſtation, from whence they ſent out three bands, three ſeveral ways, to ſpoil the country; and great damage they did to the whole land, as we have room to infer. Their ravages they committed without interruption, having to deal with an unarmed enemy, who conſequently were in no condition to make head againſt them.

At *Michmaſh* they continued to lie encamped, while their ſpoilers quite ruined and
b ſtripped the country; and here they took up their quarters ſome time. But in the midſt of their depredations they received a check from *Jonathan*, who, hurried on by a divine impulſe, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a conſiderable ſlaughter of one of their out-guards; the noiſe of which ſpreading to the whole body, they were ſeized with a ſudden pannic, and an unſpeakable tumult aroſe among them; ſo that, hyperbolically ſpeaking, the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this diſorder, it came to paſs that, they fell upon each other with a moſt fearful ſlaughter of themſelves (L), and preſently they began to move off in a wild uproar and fury; which, when it was obſerved by the *Iſraelites*, they moved after them by degrees, and at length purſued them one and all, with *Saul* at their
c head, who, if he had not been in too great a hurry, and commanded his men not to ſtand to take a little refreſhment, the *Philiſtines* had loſt a great deal more blood than they did upon this occaſion; but as it was, their loſs was very conſiderable (M), they being purſued from *Michmaſh* to *Aijalon* q.

Though they were thus viſibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet in a few years they revived again, and put themſelves under arms, once more to try what they could do with the *Iſraelites*: but they were now, perhaps, chiefly induced thereto upon hearing that *Saul* was gone diſtracted. But though they made a great noiſe and parade this time, yet they did not proceed with ſuch fury as formerly, and do not ſeem to have been very eager for a battle. They found *Saul* in the field ready to contend
d with them, which checked them in their career. They firſt rendezvouſed in *Shochoh*, in the tribe of *Judah*; and advancing thence, and ſtill finding the *Iſraelites* in a poſture to fight them, they went, and pitched upon a mountain oppoſite to another, on which *Iſrael* was incamped. They had in their army at this time a giant, one *Goliath* of *Gath*, who was ſix cubits and a ſpan high, and wore a ponderous and well wrought ſuit of braſs armour: he had a helmet of braſs on his head, a coat of mail (N) of the ſame on his body, and a target or gorget of the ſame between his ſhoulders,

q 1 Sam. xiii, xiv.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occaſion. Beſides the thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſemen mentioned in ſcripture, *Joſephus* (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thouſand. But a late commentator (49), from the alarm given them by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects of the ſame, takes occaſion to think, that the *Philiſtines* were neither ſo numerous, as is, in ſcripture ſaid, or ſo well ſkilled in war as they are uſually deemed; and infers, that the text muſt have been corrupted.

(L) This favours, very much, the conjecture of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who ſuppoſes they had, about this time, an acceſſion of the ſhepherds from *Egypt*, as we have already noted from him (50) It looks very much as if this great hoſt, for ſuch it may be juſtly ſtiled, though not a quarter ſo ſtrong as is repreſented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, ſo far as to be certain, that a defection and treachery might not be brought to paſs among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer ſavoured ſtrongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two perſons on ſo vaſt an army, could never of itſelf, have cauſed ſo wild an uproar, but ſomething at the ſame time muſt have been added thereto, that made them enraged againſt each other, and fired them with the utmoſt fury and indignation. Nor does what we here inſinuate, by any means, derogate from the concern the Almighty had, in this miraculous deliverance of his people; ſince in caſes of this kind he has ſo often acted by ſecond cauſes.

(M) According to *Joſephus* (51), they now loſt ſixty thouſand men.

(N) According to the *Engliſh* ſtandard, the height of *Goliath* was twelve *foot* eight *inches*, and ſomewhat better than three *tenths*. His coat of mail alone weighed five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of one hundred and eighty nine of our *pounds Troy*; and by the ſame rule, the head of his ſpear, which weighed

(48) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 7. (49) *Cleric. in* 1 *Sam.* xiv. 15. (50) *See before in the notes, p.* 352.
(51) *Ubi ſupr.*

shoulders, and greaves of the same upon his legs. The staff of his spear was like a a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and before him went one who bore his shield. This gigantic person seems to have been very sensible of his warlike abilities and strength, and to have fancied, that he alone could support his country's cause. Accordingly; whether by his own suggestions, or at the sollicitation of his countrymen, we know not; this man took on him to fight any one in the host of *Israel*, and by a single combat to determine which of the two nations should rule, and which obey. Accordingly he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and called up to the *Israelites*, "To "what purpose do you draw yourselves out in battle array! here am I, a *Philistine* (O), b "and ye the slaves of *Saul*; find me out a man among you that has the heart to come "down and fight me: if he kill me, we will submit to be your subjects; but "if I kill him, you shall serve us, as you have done heretofore: mark that I "defy every one of you; let who dare advance out of your ranks to fight me!" This arrogant challenge met with no acceptance, and *Goliath* was left to himself to vapour his fill; but the figure of the man, and his menacing deportment stood the *Philistines* in good stead, by quite disheartening the *Israelites*, who were greatly dismayed, both at him and his words. But, as confident as *Goliath* was in his own strength, and in consequence thereof, how ready soever he was to fight, the rest of his countrymen had not the least stomach to it: They remembered how c terribly it had more than once fared with them in their contentions with *Israel*. Wherefore, though the first day's experience convinced them, that not one soul of the *Israelites* would undertake a single combat with *Goliath*; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, they every morning and evening sent out *Goliath* to repeat his idle challenge, for forty days together. At last, as the armies were drawing down to each other in battle array, *Goliath* advanced out of the ranks as usual; and in the height of his pretended expectations for one to come out (for pretended they must have been, after so many fruitless repetitions of the same defiance) he saw a handsome ruddy youth advancing toward him, from the *Israelites*, in the habit and appearance of an ordinary shepherd. The sight fired him d with indignation, and observing a staff in his hand; "What, says he, am I a "dog, that you are come against me with a staff? and cursing him by his gods, "Come hither, that I may give your flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts "of the field." Having heard what the young man, *David*, had to say in answer to him, he stepped towards him to seize on him, and crush the presumptuous lad; but ere he reached him, a stone was flung at him by *David*, which took his forehead, and laid him flat at his length on the ground; and his head was instantly severed from his body by his own sword, and carried off as a trophy by the conqueror. The *Philistines* no sooner saw their champion gone, than they fled (P), as if their hopes and all centered in him; and to judge by their behaviour, it was really the case. They fled, and were pursued by *Saul*, quite home to the gates of their e

ed six hundred shekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the same *pounds* (52). The weight of these and the other parts of his armour and arms, whose weight is not specified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for so gigantic a person, whose strength, doubtless, was in proportion to his stature: and yet some are willing to think it was too cumbersom; and therefore choose to say the shekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53), which seems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(O) It is generally thought, that he here vaunts himself as a lord among the *Philistines*; or rather that he boasts of his liberty, as he was born of that country, and reviles the *Israelites* as servants or slaves; insinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himself, so far as to contend in single combat with any one of them.

(P) From this flight commentators are apt to imagine, that what *Goliath* did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by single combat, was his own act and deed, and without the assent of the *Philistines*; or else, that if they did bind themselves to submit to the fate of such a battle, they were faithless enough to slight the obligation. To us, it appears, that they did in a very great measure depend on *Goliath* for success in this war; that they prided themselves chiefly in him; and that, flattering themselves he was invincible, and, by his strength and armour, an overmatch for any in the host of *Israel*, they were not against what he took on him, as their champion; but that they formally agreed to stand to what he promised is unlikely: such decisions by single combat seem not to have been the custom of those early times; but the whole seems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of stupidity and cowardice in the rest.

(52) *See Arbuthnot's Tables of anc. Coins, Weights, and Measures.* (53) *See Patrick upon* 1 *Sam.* xxii. 5.

a their own cities, *Gath* and *Ekron*, with a fearful ſlaughter no doubt (Q); leaving all their tents and baggage behind them [r].

THE ſame hand, which had deprived them of *Goliath*, perſecuted them again ſoon afterwards; for two hundred of them were ſlain by *David* for the ſake of their foreſkins only, that he might perform the condition impoſed on him by *Saul*, before he would give him his daughter to wife; but the particulars of this ſlaughter are not ſpecified in the text of ſcripture. But thence it may be gathered, that this was the cauſe of a freſh rupture, and that the princes of the *Philiſtines* undertook to revenge the injury, but what ſucceſs they had, is not ſaid [s].

SOON after this they were overthrown in battle by *David* *, and ſome great *Achiſh.*
b change ſeems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government; for as, ever ſince the *Abimelechs* they are repreſented under lords or princes; ſo now we read of a king they had, whoſe name was *Achiſh*, and who reſided at *Gath* [t]. He is elſewhere called *Abimelech* [u], the ancient appellation, as we have ſeen, of the firſt kings of this people. *David*, to avoid the terrible intentions of *Saul*, fled to *Gath*, and was brought before this king; who imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beſide himſelf, would take no farther notice of him, than to order he ſhould be brought no more into his preſence [w].

THE *Philiſtines* all this time were upon no ſettled terms with *Saul*, but invaded him, and thereby diverted him from laying hold on *David* in the wilderneſs of *Maon*;
c but it ſeems they had ill ſucceſs this time again, and fled before *Saul*, or elſe retreated for fear of him.

ACHISH, the ſon of *Maoch* (R), after this received *David*, and his wives, and all his train of followers into his protection, and treated the diſtreſſed refugees with great hoſpitality. And at *David*'s requeſt, that he might have ſome place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he very generouſly named *Ziklag* for that purpoſe; whence it came to be afterwards claimed by the kings of *Judah*. All this muſt give us a very favourable idea of *Achiſh*, if we conſider what reaſon the *Philiſtines* had to be angry with *David*, who certainly deſerved not very well at their hands; and thoſe muſt have had very commendable notions, who could
d thus forgive a man, with whom moſt others would have kept no meaſures (S), and have ſlighted the obſervance of all laws. *Achiſh* conceived very high thoughts of *David*, and underſtanding he had been out upon ſome expedition, examined him about it, and receiving from him ſuch an anſwer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation; he expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, hoping *David* had done ſomething to make himſelf odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that now he ſhould have him a ſervant for ever. Preparing ſoon after to war with *Saul*, he told *David*, that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; and promiſed to recompenſe him with ſome moſt eminent poſt in his ſervice.
The *Philiſtines* firſt gathered together at *Shunem*, and there encamped. From thence
e they removed to *Aphek*. Here the ſeveral bodies of the *Philiſtines* appeared together

[r] 1 Sam. xvii. [s] Ibid. xviii. * Sam xix. 8. [t] Ibid. xxi. 10. [u] Pſal. xxxiv.
[w] 1 Sam. ubi ſupr. Ibid. xxi. 27—29.

(Q) If we hearken to *Joſephus* (54), they had thirty thouſand killed, and twice that number wounded in this purſuit, which ſeem to be exceedingly too many.

(R) From this mention of his father's name, ſome are willing to think him a different perſon from the former; to which they ſeem to be partly inclined, by the kind manner in which he received *David*, whom the former had ſpurned at, as an ideot or a madman. But we muſt remember, that *David* actually played that part to ſave his life; and it is no wonder, if *Achiſh* did not care to be troubled with ſo unhappy a wretch, as *David* then made himſelf: but the ſame man may have returned to a better mind concerning him, when he was let into the ſecret of *David*'s fears: and may afterwards have entertained a correſpondence with a perſon of ſuch known worth, and invited him into his dominions, and aſſured him of protection againſt the evil intentions of *Saul*; hoping thereby to weaken *Saul*, and keep up a diviſion in his kingdom, at the ſame time that he ſtrengthened himſelf. If no humanity may be allowed to *Achiſh* in this caſe, a large ſhare of human policy may be admitted: nor do we perceive any ſolid ground for ſuppoſing this *Achiſh* and the former to be different perſons.

(S) Thoſe who remember that *David* ſlew two hundred of them, for their foreſkins only, may juſtly admire at the patience and forgiveneſs of this people, who could after ſuch an action receive him any otherwiſe than as a ſworn enemy to them and theirs. How it was poſſible, that they could refrain from exerciſing great rigour towards him, is what we are wholly at a loſs for, except we recur to the immediate interpoſition of the Almighty.

(54) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 11.

ther, in a kind of review, under their respective chiefs, and *David* and his men fol- a
lowed about, or after *Achish*; from whence it is gathered, that the post he pro-
mised him was, to be captain of his guard. When the lords and chiefs of the *Phili-*
stines observed this, they were offended, and expostulated with *Achish*, who in
vain endeavoured to perswade them that *David* was a fast, and very trusty friend.
Instead of being satisfied with what the king said, they grew angry with him; and
insisted on it, that *David* should not stir a step further with them; that he should
return to *Ziklag* his appointed place: and not have it in his power to betray them
in battle, the only way he could have to reconcile himself with his natural lord and
master, at the cruel expence of the *Philistines*. In short, they could not imagine, that
David, who was the idol of his own people, would forfeit his valuable popularity b
among them by fighting against them. *Achish* was unable to resist all this clamour,
and calling *David* to him, assured him, That for his own part he had the highest
sense of his sincerity and innate worth, and had been perfectly satisfied with his be-
haviour ever since he had sheltered him; but, that since the lords were far from be-
ing disposed to think so well of him, it were in vain, and imprudent to contend
against them in this matter; and therefore desired him to return quietly to *Ziklag*.
David resenting the unkindness of the notions the lords entertained concerning him,
and protesting his readiness to fight in his cause, *Achish* answered him with great
earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a singular ve-
neration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was as *an angel of God*; but, that seeing c
the lords were so unreasonably bent against him, the thing could not be, and he must
set out for *Ziklag* early the next morning.

So *David* went his way, and *Achish* and the *Philistines* marched against *Saul*, who
was encamped on mount *Gilboa*. A battle was fought between them on that same
mount, and the *Philistines* prevailed mightily against the *Israelites*, and drove them
before them with a great slaughter. In particular, they pressed hard after *Saul* and
his sons; and these, *Jonathan*, and *Abinadab*, and *Malchishua*, they slew. They sent
their arrows with great eagerness after *Saul*, and did hit him several times; but did
not lay him along, nor had they the honour of dispatching him: he was dead ere
they reached him by his own weapon. Thus the *Philistines* at length obtained a d
compleat victory; in consequence of which they possessed themselves of much of
the enemy's country. On the morrow after the battle, when they came to strip
the slain, they found *Saul* king of *Israel*, and his three sons among the rest, in mount
Gilboa. They did cut off *Saul*'s head, and dispoiled his body of his armour. His
armour they dedicated in the temple of *Ashtaroth*, and his body, and those also of
his sons, they ignominiously hung upon the walls of *Beth-shan*. What they did, par-
ticularly with his head, is not related; but it seems, as if they at first sent it up and
down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feast
the eyes of their people with such grateful objects, and such demonstrative marks
of victory. But the bodies of *Saul* and his three sons hung not long where the
Philistines exposed them. They were stolen away from them by the men of *Jabesh*.

Now there is reason to think, that *Achish* soon after died, inasmuch as we find
the *Philistines* in a short time at variance with *David*, with whom *Achish* would
certainly have maintained a fair correspondence, except we suppose the lords of the
Philistines to have had such power over him, as to have constrained him to make a
breach into the kind friendship he had made with *David*. To dismiss this ob-
scurity, the *Philistines* invaded king *David* very early in his reign, and no sooner e
heard that he was anointed king over *Israel*, than they went out to make war upon
him. Their design seems to have been to nip him in the bud; for while the division
between him and *Ish-bosheth* subsisted, they gave him no trouble; but when they
understood that *Israel* and *Judah* were united under him, it is likely, they feared the
heavy effects of his resentment, or innate enmity to their nation. They marched
out therefore, and incamped in the valley of *Rephaim*, from whence they removed to
Baal-perazim, where they were encountered by *David*, and by him so completly
overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they left their baggage
behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imi-
tation of the *Israelites*, when they brought their ark against them. The *Philistines*
seem to have rallied again upon recollection, to rescue their captive gods, and
drew

f 1 Sam. xviii, xxix, xxxi.

a drew up again in battalia in the valley of *Rephaim* (T); but they were defeated again by *David* in a ſudden onſet, by the immediate interpoſition of GOD, and purſued with a long and bloody ſlaughter from *Geba* to *Gazer* [z], a place, it ſeems, on their own frontiers.

THE war did not end here; for a ſhort time afterwards they were invaded by *David*, and ſubdued, and *Metheg-ammah* (U) was taken out of their hands [a].

THE *Philiſtines* had ſeveral men of extraordinary ſtature among them, and all it ſeems of the kindred of *Goliath* (W). And though they had experienced the little uſe of ſuch men in an army, yet they ſeem ſottiſhly to have caſt their eyes upon theſe; now flattering themſelves, that by their help they might retrieve their honour, b and take revenge on *David*. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet ſeveral years, they broke out into a war again with *Iſrael*, and their giants marched with them. They came to a battle, in which *Iſhbi-benob* (X), a ſon of *Goliath*, as is thought, taking *David* at ſome diſadvantage, had like to have ſlain him. But miſſing his aim, he fell by the hand of *David*, aſſiſted by *Abiſhai*, although the head of his ſpear weighed three hundred ſhekels of braſs (Y), and although he was extraordinarily appointed (Z) for war. A ſecond battle was fought near a place called *Gob*, wherein *Saph*, another ſon of *Goliath*, was ſlain by *Sibbechai* the *Huſhathite*. A third battle they fought at *Gob* alſo, and *Goliath*'s brother, the ſtaff of whoſe ſpear was like a weaver's beam, fell by the valorous might of *Jaare-oregim* a *Beth-lehemite*. From c this laſt place the war was transferred into the territory of *Gath*; and in this fourth battle, another ſon of *Goliath*, who had ſix fingers upon each hand, and ſix toes upon each foot, did, in imitation of his father, challenge the whole army of *Iſrael* to ſend out one of their number to fight him, and was brought down by the hands of *Jonathan* the brother of *David*. The *Philiſtines*, thus exhauſted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty ſtature and ſtrength ſtood them in no manner of ſtead, refrained from a further proſecution of the war they had ſo obſtinately

[z] 2 Sam. v. 17—25. [a] Ibid. viii. 1.

(T) Or the *valley of the giants*, as *Joſephus* (55) renders it; who ſuppoſes, that they were now unable to raiſe any thing of an army themſelves, and that they were joined by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*; as a proof of which he alledges they returned home upon their firſt defeat, and came back to the charge again with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the ſame place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculouſly defeated with very great ſlaughter, and put to flight with the loſs of all their baggage and their gods. *Joſephus* is very fond of treating the forces of a vanquiſhed people, as we have obſerved before (56), and may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. But why he ſhould imagine the *Philiſtines* were at ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to make war with *David* of themſelves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we ſhould allow of the great ſlaughter and deſtruction, he makes of them in ſome of their preceeding battles (57).

(U) Or, as it is in the margin, *the bridle of Ammah*; or, as it is explained in the *Chronicles* (58), the city of *Gath* and the territory thereunto belonging. There are many and very various expoſitions of this point; but as the context clears it up naturally, we ſhall paſs them over, and adhere to that, as moſt likely and juſt. Only let it be obſerved, that as *Gath* was the royal ſeat, it may, on many accounts, have been called a *bridle* to the reſt of the land. As to its ſtanding upon a hill called *Ammah*, as ſome commentators teach, they would have done well, had they produced their authority for ſo ſaying: we know of none.

(W) If they were not immediately his ſons, they may poſſibly have been of the ſame family. To ſay nothing of their deſcent from the *Anakims*, who were expelled from *Hebron*, and took up their abode at *Gath*, which is a very obſcure piece of hiſtory; it is common in all nations to ſee families remarkable for their extraordinary ſtature: nor is there any need to ſuppoſe them deſcended from any ancient race of giants. We are indeed told that the *Anakims* either fled from *Hebron* to the cities of the *Philiſtines*, or elſe were planted there of old time (59). But how it came to paſs, that they were ſo dwindled away there in the days of *David*; and how it comes to paſs, that we read no where of them in the armies of the *Philiſtines* to the days of *Saul*, we preſume not to ſay.

(X) *Joſephus* (60) calls him *Amchon*.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his ſpear, he was not of much above half the ſtrength and ſtature of *Goliath*, the head of whoſe ſpear, as we have noted (61), weighed ſix hundred ſhekels, or twenty-two of our pounds *Troy*; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred ſhekels, or eleven of the ſame pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obſcure; it ſays, *he was girded with a new* ſword: ——— *Joſephus* (62) ſays only, that he had his ſword by his ſide. Of all the expoſitions we have ſeen, we approve of that moſt, which gueſſes that his ſword was made on purpoſe for him (63), to ſuit his ſtrength, which ſurpaſſed that of an ordinary man.

(55) *Antiq. l.* 7. *c.* 4. (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 297. (57) *See before in the Notes, p.* 353. 355. (58) *i. xviii.* 1. (59) *Joſh. xi.* 22. (60) *Antiq, c.* 10. (61) *See before in the Notes, p.* 355. (62) *Ubi ſupr.* (63) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. xxi.* 16.

obstinately maintained, in spite of the frowns of fortune in three successive conflicts, a before this last [b].

From henceforward the affairs of this people are more slightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that they suffered a decay; and accordingly we are told, that *their horn was broken asunder* by these unfortunate wars with *David* [c], who now made them tributaries to his throne, as we shall see anon (A); though on the other hand it may be also concluded, that having so often, and to so little purpose, engaged themselves in bloody and destructive wars, they grew wiser, and rather applied themselves to commerce and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be, that we find their country open to the *Israelites* in the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, *Achish* the son of *Maachah* then reigning at *Gath*; who, b whether he is the same *Achish* who was so kind to *David*, we must not hope to determine, though commentators are divided upon it, probably he was not [d].

Many years after these wars the *Philistines* were harrassed by *Nadab* [e] king of *Israel*, who laid siege to a city of theirs, called *Gibbethon*; which city was again besieged by *Elah* king of *Israel* [f], some years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the *Philistines* finding it deserted by the *Levites* [g], seized on it, and kept it, notwithstanding these several efforts to tear it from them; the kingdom of *Israel* at this time being in great distraction.

But, notwithstanding this their obstinacy against the kings of *Israel*, they afterwards courted the favour of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, by a voluntary payment of c the tribute [h], which had been, as we may hence conclude, imposed on them by their conqueror *David* (C); and which, it seems, they had neglected to pay to some of *Jehoshaphat*'s predecessors, as this story plainly enough insinuates, and as will be further confirmed by what follows.

For they rebelled against *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage against him, to the cruel butchery of all his house, except *Athaliah* and her son *Ahaziah*, who some how or other escaped. At this time we also gather, that they carried off a great number of captives, some of whom they sold to the *Edomites* [i], next to themselves, the worst enemies the *Israelites* had; d and some to the *Grecians* [k], thereby sending them so far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of seeing their native country again. This their extraordinary success may have been brought to pass either by the conjunctive, or distant co-operation of the *Arabians*, who made war at the same time upon *Jehoram* [l].

Whencesoever their success arose, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who dismantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, and *Ashdod*, and reared cities of strength among them to awe them,

[b] Ibid. xxi. 15 —— 22. [c] See Ecclesiast. xlvii. 7. [d] 1 Kings ii. 39. [e] Ibid. xv. 27. [f] Ibid. xvi. 15. [g] 2 Chron. xi. 14. [h] Ibid. xvii. 11. [i] Amos i. 6. [k] Joel iii. 6. [l] 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.

(A) According to *Josephus* (64), this was the last battle they had with the *Hebrews*, never daring to look them in the face again; which must be one of his mistakes.

(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident, that they had been increased some years ago by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their superiour skill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the *Philistines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them; but it is now likely they applied themselves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Isaac Newton* (66) reckons that they took *Sidon* by the advice and assistance of the *Edomites*, thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by destroying so dangerous a rival. He also (67) supposes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*; for he observes, that in *Solomon*'s reign the *Zidonians*, though settled at *Tyre*, had not yet lost their name. We read in *Justin* (68), that *Sidon* was expugned by the *Philistines*; though he seems to mistake, in saying it was done by the king of *Ascalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any where else. Remembring the story of the *Syrian* goddess *Derceto*, who was metamorphosed here (69), the *Greeks* and *Romans* may have considered the city of *Askalon* as the metropolis of *Palestine*; whence we find the king of *Palestine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Justin* epitomizes.

(C) *Josephus* (70) calls it their accustomed tribute, and it can have been no body but *David* himself that imposed it on them.

(64) *Ubi supr.* (65) *See before*, p. 342. (66) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended*, p. 104, 105. (67) *Ubi supr.* (68) *l.* 18. *c.* 3. (69) *See before*, p. 340. (70) *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 9.

A MAP of the Divisions & Situations of the Tribes of the Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, &c. before & at the time of the Exodus of the CHILDREN of ISRAEL, according to their History

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THE GREAT

OR

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

PART OF EGYPT

PART OF ARABIA PETRÆA

PART of the DESART ARABIA

HIVITES

Sanachonite Lake

BASAN

Sea of Tiberias

Rabbah or Philadelphia

R. Jabbok

Mt. Carmel

Sichem

Hinnith

Gath

Bethel

Jericho

Jebus

CANAANITES

Plain of Moab

AMMONITES

Abel

Rabbah

Aroer or Areopolis

Ascalon

Gaza

PHILISTINES

R. Arnon

MOAB

Dead Sea

HITTITES

Hebron

AMORITES

R. Zered

Zoar

AMALEK

EDOM

Teman

Bozrah

Dedan

Selah or Petra

Elah

Ezion-geber

HEROOPOLITAN GULF of the RED SEA

ELANITIC GULF of the RED SEA

Mount Sinai

Hadyan

32

31

30

29

33

S. W. Sculp.

a them, and keep them in ſubjection [m]; which muſt greatly have broken their ſpirits, and have brought them low.

THEY groaned under this fearful blow all the days of *Uzziah*, we may ſuppoſe, and, perhaps, all the days of *Jotham*; but in the reign of *Ahaz*, they perceived the crazy ſtate of the kingdom of *Judah*; and, obſerving the opportunity to be favourable, they took up arms again. They warred againſt *Ahaz* with a ſucceſs which made ample amends for their ſufferings by *Uzziah* his grandfather; reducing the cities of *Beth-ſhemeſh*, *Ajalon*, *Gedoroth*, *Shocho*, *Timna*, and *Gimzo*, and the ſeveral territories thereunto belonging, and there ſettled themſelves, thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of *Judah* to their own country *.

b THUS did the *Philiſtines* rather more than reinſtate themſelves; but this fine acquiſition was a very ſhort time in their hands. They were immediately after this conqueſt admoniſhed not to rejoice, becauſe the rod of him that ſmote them was broken: *for that out of the ſerpent's root ſhould come forth a cockatrice..... which ſhould diſſolve their whole country* [n]. And this was ſeverely fulfilled on them by *Hezekiah* the ſon of *Ahaz*, whom they had conquered; for *Hezekiah*, as we underſtand it, over-ran their whole country [o], and forced ample retribution of all ſorts from them. This, though it had been, alone, a very grievous oppreſſion on them, they ſaw almoſt at the ſame time the *Aſſyrians* among them, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, who ſent his general *Tartan* to reduce them. Their city *Aſhdod* was be-

c ſieged accordingly, and taken by *Tartan* †; and thus ſucceſſively were they broken, almoſt without any intermiſſion.

AND now the burthen of their final extinction comes heavily upon them. By their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, their liberties departed entirely from them; and, what was worſe, their country became the ſeat of a long and obſtinate war. For *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt* beholding the vaſt progreſs of the *Aſſyrian* power, grew jealous and apprehenſive, that *Egypt* might ſhare the fate of its neighbours; and therefore, to be as timely in his oppoſition as he could, he undertook to drive the *Aſſyrians* out of *Paleſtine*. To this purpoſe he particularly laid ſiege to *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*; but he was twenty nine years before that place ere he could reduce it [p]:

d during all which time it cannot be doubted, but that the country ſighed under all the calamities uſual in ſuch caſes.

FROM henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they ſucceeded each other. In the beginning of this ſervitude they were miſerably harraſſed by the *Egyptians*, who, willing to make their barrier as ſtrong as poſſible againſt the dreaded invader, laid hands on all they could of this country, and, particularly, took *Gaza* from them [q].

AFTER this we read of a king of *Gaza* [r]; concerning which we have nothing to add, nor have we ought elſe to relate concerning this people. What in the end became of them will be beſt learned from the threats of the prophets, and particu-

e larly *Zephaniah*, who paints their deſtruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza ſhall be forſaken, and Askelon a deſolation: they ſhall drive out Aſhdod at the noon day, and Ekron ſhall be rooted up. Woe unto the inhabitants of the ſea coaſts, the nation of the Cherethites: the word of the Lord* is *againſt you: O Canaan, the land of the Philiſtines, I will deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea-coaſt ſhall be dwellings* and *cottages for ſhepherds, and folds for flocks* [s].

[m] Ibid. xxvi. 6. * Ibid. xxviii. 18. [n] Iſa. xiv. 29—31. [o] 2 Kings xviii. 8. † Iſai. xx. 1. [p] HERODOT. l. 2. c. 157. [q] Jerem. xlvii. [r] Zach. ix. 5. [s] Zephan. xi. 4—6. See alſo Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi ſupr.

(D) Here it is worth obſerving, that *Gath* is omitted, as if already deſtroyed, as it doubtleſs was, being moſt obnoxious to the enemy, as it was the royal ſeat of this turbulent people; and as it was a key to, and a curb upon the whole country (71). Hence therefore it muſt have been, that the throne of this kingdom was removed to *Gaza*; but to purſue this point any further were time loſt.

(71) *See before in the Notes, p.* 357.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The History of the ancient Syrians.

SECT. I.

A Description of Syria.

Its names. SYRIA is in *Hebrew Aram*, ſo named from *Aram*, the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*. a This *Hebrew* name is of very wide extent; perhaps, of little leſs than the *Greek* name *Syria*; at leaſt it included what we now call *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, which is the *Aram Naharaim*, or *Syria* of the two rivers [a].

ARAM then is its firſt and genuine name; how it came to be called *Syria* is variouſly ſaid. Some [b] derive it from one *Syrus*, who ſprung from the earth (A). Others [c] from *Syrus*, the ſon of *Agenor*. Other thoughts there are upon this ſubject; but the moſt certain opinion is, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Aſſyria* [d], and that the ancients uſually confounded them together (B).

AUTHORS are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, becauſe they conſider it at different times, when its name was more or leſs famous, and its empire more or leſs ample. But, confining ourſelves to the proper *Syria*, we may b venture to ſet bounds to it, and determine its dimenſions. It lay between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and the river *Euphrates* on the eaſt; and between mount *Taurus* on the north, and *Arabia* the deſert, *Paleſtine*, and *Phœnice* on the ſouth. And this tract extends from the thirty ſecond to the thirty ſeventh degree of north latitude, and from the fifty eighth to the ſixty ſecond degree of longitude. Its length from north to ſouth three hundred ſeventy five miles; its breadth from eaſt to weſt three hundred miles.

Its diviſions. SYRIA, in ancient times, has been very variouſly divided. At firſt, we may be ſure, it was parcelled out into endleſs little kingdoms and juriſdictions. In after-times c it ſeems to have been divided into four principal ones, *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, *Hamath*, and *Geſhur*. Theſe were the principal diviſions; the reſt we find in ſcripture, ſuch as *Beth-rehob*, *Iſhtob*, *Maacha*, were ſubdiviſions, as we think. Afterwards the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Jews*, *Gazites*, and *Azotites*, or the whole country of the *Philiſtines*, were included, which two parts were *Cœle-Syria*, and *Phœnice* [e]. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria* in the great extent of its name was thus divided, *Commagene*, *Seleucis* of *Syria*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice* on the ſea-coaſt, and *Judea* in the Midland. This is *Strabo*'s diviſion; but *Ptolemy* ſubdivides theſe, and in the proper *Syria* only, reckons *Commagene*, *Pieria*, *Cyrriſtica* or *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, *Caſſiotis* or *Caſiotis*, *Chalybonitis*, d *Chalcidice* or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia*, *Mediterranea*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palmyrene*.

Commagene. To follow the diviſion of *Ptolemy*; *Commagene* or *Comagene*, had on the weſt mount *Amanus*; on the north part of mount *Taurus*; on the eaſt it was waſhed by the *Euphrates*; but on the ſouth, whether it was conterminous with *Seleucis*, or *Cyrrheſtica*, or with both, is uncertain. It was the north corner of *Syria*. The chief cities of this province were *Samoſata* upon the *Euphrates*, *Antiochia ad Taurum*, or

[a] See before, p. 163. [b] AFRICAN. apud SYNCELL. p. 150. [c] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 101.
[d] Vide HERODOT. l. 7. c. 63. JUST. l. 1. c. 2. [e] STRABO, l. 16.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an ancient tradition, which ſtill obtains in the country, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Adam* was created in *Syria*.

(B) Mr. *Selden*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Syrian gods*, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We ſhall only add, that *Lucian* (8), who was himſelf a *Syrian* of *Samoſata*, calls himſelf an *Aſſyrian*.

(8) *De Dea Syr. p.* 1.

a or the foot of *Taurus*, and *Germanicia*; these and other cities and eminent places stood within this compass, once flourishing and magnificent, but now obliterated and in ruins.

THE maritime *Seleucis* contained *Pieria* and *Cassiotis*, which were subdivisions thereof; the first lying to the north, and the last to the south. Within these limits stood *Alexandria* upon the *Sinus Issicus*, *Seleucia*, *Pieria* upon the *Mediterranean*, and *Laodicea* upon the same. Seleucis, Pieria *and* Cassiotis.

In the inland or *Mediterranean Seleucis*, stood the famous *Antioch* upon the *Orontes*. These two *Seleucides* are by *Mela* and *Pliny* called *Antiochene*. Seleucis Mediterranea.

APAMENE lay to the eastward of *Cassiotis*, and had *Apamea*, at least half surb rounded by the *Orontes*, for its chief town. Apamene.

CYRRHESTICA was a province upon the *Euphrates*, *Cyrrhus*, or *Cyrus*, was the capital of this part of *Syria*. Here also stood a famous city called *Hierapolis*, *Bambyce*, and, by the *Syrians Magog* [f], where the *Syrian* goddess was worshipped. Cyrrhestica.

CHALCIDINE was wholly an inland province, nor bordered either upon the *Mediterranean* sea, or the *Euphrates*, and had *Chalcis* for its capital. It was surrounded by *Antiochene* or *Seleucis* on the west; by *Cyrrhestica* on the north; by *Chalybonitis* on the east; and by *Apamene* and *Cœle-Syria* on the south. Chalcidine,

ON the east of *Chalcidine* lay *Chalybonitis* on the *Euphrates*; its chief city *Chalybon*. Chalybonitis.

c PALMYRENE was a spacious and fertile province in the midst of a frightful desart to the south of *Chalybonitis*; washed on the east by the river *Euphrates*; once stored with great cities; all of which are quite perished but their metropolis *Palmyra*; which, though now as much a desart as that which surrounds, and divides it from the rest of the nations, is yet deservedly reckoned one of the wonders of our present world. Palmyrene.

THERE is no reconciling the ancient geographers, so as to be able to determine the bounds of what they mean by *Cœle-Syria*; but before all of them we prefer *Strabo*, who tells us, that *Cœle-Syria* was the vale between *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; which, however the name may have been extended, was undoubtedly the proper d *Cœle-Syria* and *Syria Cava*, which we take to have been the same. The principal cities of this part are *Heliopolis*, now *Balbek*, which we shall have occasion to resume hereafter, and *Damascus*, now *Shâm*, as is commonly and inaccurately said, which, lying eastward of *Anti-Libanus*, cannot be immediately reckoned into the proper *Cœle-Syria*. Cœle Syria.

WE know not how to fix the place of *Laodicene*. It may have been a part of the proper *Cœle-Syria*. Its chief city was *Laodicea Cabiosa*, or *ad Libanum*. Laodicene.

OF the *Phœnicia Mediterranea* we shall speak in the next chapter.

UNDER the *Roman* empire, the proper *Syria* was divided into *Comagena* or e *Euphratensis*, *Syria*, *Palmyrena* or *Syria Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libani* or *Libanesia*, *Libanisia*, and *Libanusia*, as we think. The *Arabs* reckon *Palestine* into *Syria*, on the one hand, and even *Cilicia* on the other, and call it *Shâm*, and *Abulfeda* divides the whole into five *Junds*, or provinces, the *Kinnesryne*, the *Hemesene*, the *Damascene*, the *Jordanitic*, and the *Palestine*. *Other Divisions.*

THE climate of *Syria* is happy, if any be so, and its fertility so great, that it may be justly stiled a pleasant garden almost throughout. We shall not here enter into a detail of its productions, which are many, noble, useful, and delicious. It abounds with sufficient of all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is mostly a plain country, and for the most part covered over with a deep and rich soil. In short, it yields to no spot on earth, that lies under the same happy parallel. *Climate and Fertility.*

THE rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of, are the *Orontes* (B), the largest of them all, a turbid, rapid stream, with waters not fit to drink, and fish unfit to eat *; and the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chrysorrhoas*, which rushing from *Anti-Libanus* *Rivers.*

[f] PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 19, or 23. * See MAUNDRELL's Journey from Alepp. to Jerus. p. 4.

(B) This river, according to *Strabo* (2), disappeared at a place called *Charybdis*, between *Apamea* and *Antioch*; and after having run five miles under ground, appeared again. In the same author (3) also there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river, as that *Typhon*, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the canal; that he was thunder-struck at the fountain-head of this river, and that his going down was the cause of the spring which rises there. They feigned him to be a huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of *Typhon*'s exit (4).

(2) *l.* 6. *p.* 275. 3) *l.* 16. *p.* 750. (4) *See before, p.* 244.

Libanus down to *Damascus*, is there divided into endless streams for the supply and a
decoration of that city; whence recollecting at some distance, it soon loses itself in a
bog[g]. The rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* must have been only branches (C) of this.

Natural Rarities.

Things more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of salt, the one within four hours of *Aleppo*[h], the other in the neighbourhood of *Palmyra*[i], which shoot forth that mineral in surprizing abundance; the soil to a considerable depth being strongly impregnated therewith, as is said of the valley near *Aleppo*; and as might, doubtless, have been said of the other, had trial thereof been made. The medicinal waters also in and about *Palmyra*, and in several other parts of *Palmyrene*[k], might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkables of this country we may also reckon the few cedars which are now standing upon *Lebanon*, b
or *Libanus*. They are near a Christian monastery, called *Canobine*, about ten hours journey from *Tripoli*. They stand in the midst of snow (D), near the highest part of *Libanus*, or *Lebanon*. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only sixteen, but young ones of a lesser growth there are in great numbers. One of the largest of the former being measured, was found to be twelve yards six inches in girt, yet perfectly sound, and the spread of its branches was thirty seven yards in circumference: and about five or six yards from the ground it divided itself into five limbs, each equal to a great tree[l]. Another traveller *, who was also on the spot, tells us, that the largest he measured was, towards the middle of the trunk, seven foot wanting two inches round, at the same time that he reckons the spread of its c
boughs one hundred and twenty foot about. In which last dimension, agreeing so nearly with what is said before of the same, there must be a monstrous slip of the pen, or oversight of the press, either in this or the former account; for the difference between seven foot and twelve yards is quite surprizing. But the difference between these travellers goes on: the latter says, the largest of the cedars had not a trunk above six or seven foot high out of the ground, which falls most unaccountably short of what has been just now said upon that point: and yet this author [*De la Roque*] talks of the enormity of the trunks of these trees, and of the prodigious branches which part therefrom; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not most egregiously out in the dimensions he gives us, which are d
so trifling, that they cannot deserve admiration in any degree. This, though a digression of such a kind as is unfit to find a place in a work of this nature, we hope we

g Maundrell's Voyage from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 123. Philosophical Transact. Numb. 217. p. 83. k Ibid. p. 103, 104. h Idem ibid. sub fine. i Philoso-
l Maundrell. ubi supr. p. 142.
* De la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie, Tome* I. *p.* 88.

(C) *Radziville* (2), the *Palatine* of *Wilna*, tells us roundly of the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*, which watered the city of *Damascus*, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago, and that they were unnavigable, but full of fish, and streamed down to it from the mountain *Chrizoroa*, which should have been written *Chrysorrhoas*, the *Greek* name of the river which watered *Damascus*, and not of any mountain there. *Thevenot*, who was so curious and minute an observer of every thing in and about *Damascus*, never once mentions the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*; but tells us (3) of three rivers that water *Damascus*, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls *Baniar*. There is no footstep of the names *Abana* and *Pharpar* * among the best *Arabian* geographers. *Abulfeda* tells us, that the stream which supplies *Damascus*, comes out of a cavern on the west side of the city, and immediately divides; which is so exactly Dr. *Maundrell*'s (4) description of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This last traveller could not so much as find any memory of the names of *Abana* and *Pharpar*, and supposes they must have been branches of this river *Barrady*, which comes out of the rock. And, as he so nicely agrees with *Abulfeda* in the approach of this river to *Damascus*, he does the same with *Thevenot* in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided streams meet again on the other side of the town. Dr. *Maundrell* then in this case may be safely relied on, in what he says of this remarkable stream.

(D) *Rauwolf*, who visited these cedars about midsummer, complains of the rigour of the cold, and the snows here. *Radziville*, who was here in *June*, about five years after him, talks of the snow that never melts away from these mountains. Other travellers talk to the same purpose; among whom our *Maundrell* represents the cedars standing in the midst of snow; but he was there in the month of *May*. From all this we might have formed a judgment, that the cedars stand always in the midst of snow: but we are assured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom the snows here begin to melt in *April*, and are no more to be seen after *July*; nor is, says he, any at all left, but in such clefts of the mountains which the sun cannot come at: that the snow begins not to fall again till *December*, and that he himself, when he was here, saw no snow at all; and, it is probable, that he speaks nothing but the truth.

(2) *Peregrin Jerosolym. Epist.* 2. *p.* 31 3 *Travels to the Levant, Part* 2. *Book* 1. *c.* 4. * *Vide Alber. Schult. Comment. Geograph. in vit. Saladad* *vocem, Damascus.* 4 *Journey from Alep. to Jerus.* *p.* 122. (5) *De la Roque Voyage de Syrie, Tome I.* *p.* 89.

a we ſhall be excuſed in, meaning thereby only to obviate what might be objected, by ſome, to the diſcredit of a very ſincere traveller of our own nation (E). It will not be expected of us to give an accurate deſcription of this noble tree; therefore we ſhall only ſay, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a ſad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker, and of a ſmoother coat. As theſe cedars ſpread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the ſnow that might lodge upon them at certain ſeaſons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themſelves againſt ſo deſtructive a danger, by ſtretching their branches upwards till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the ſmalleſt ſurface b poſſible to the heavens, and by that means, preſerving themſelves from ruin[m]. Theſe cedars of *Lebanon* making ſo noble a figure in the books of the Old Teſtament, and having been anciently the pride of this country, we could not well ſay leſs than we have concerning the few of them left, which are held in ſuch veneration by the inhabitants in theſe parts, that nothing can be added thereto (F).

Artificial Rarities.

As we have been ſo particular in deſcribing the *Egyptian* monuments of antiquity; we cannot paſs over the chief, at leaſt, of thoſe which are to be found in this country, which, in the judgment of many, may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in *Egypt*. Who founded the noble edifices, whoſe remains we ſhall have here occaſion to deſcribe, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable, than that c they were not erected under any of the princes in the enſuing hiſtory, they being in the moſt correct ſtile of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuſe; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well ſpeak of them here as any where elſe.

THOUGH there are many noble veſtiges of the magnificence of *Syria*, ſcattered up and down the country, both Pagan and Chriſtian, we ſhall dwell on two only; *Balbek*, formerly *Heliopolis* as is commonly ſuppoſed, and *Palymyra*, or *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs.

The fine Ruins at Heliopolis, *now* Balbek.

d BALBEK, or *Balbeck*, is mentioned by the *Arabians* as the wonder of *Syria* (G); and ſuch of our *European* travellers as have viſited it, are ſo charmed with what they there behold, that they are at a loſs how to expreſs their admiration. On the ſouth-weſt of the town, which ſtands in a delightful plain on the weſt foot of *Anti-Libanus*, is a heathen temple, together with the remains of ſome other edifices; among the reſt a palace of a true magnificence. Theſe ancient ſtructures have been patched and pieced in latter times, and converted into a caſtle, as it is called. As you draw near

[m] DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 90, 91.

(E) We cannot forbear obſerving, that there ſeems to be almoſt as great a difference, concerning theſe cedars, between *Rauwolf* (6) and *Radzivill* (7); who viſited them about a century and a half ago. The former reckons the largeſt cedars at ſeveral fathoms in circumference. The latter ſays, they were handſome proper trees, with wide ſpreading branches, like the trees the *Poles* call *Biodrzew*; he does not raiſe the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. *de la Roque* muſt be excuſed, if he does deceive us by leſſening the cedars ſo much. It is not his own voyage, though he ſets his name to it, which is ſomewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly Monſ. le Chevalier *d'Arvieux*'s. To prove that it muſt be his miſtake, we ſhall only recur to the *memoirs of the* miſſionaries (8) *in the Levant*, where a jeſuit, who meaſured the largeſt of theſe cedars, tells us it was in girt ſix fathom, which ſquare very well with *Maundrell*'s twelve yards.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largeſt of theſe cedars are four ſtone altars: That upon the *day of the transfiguration*, the patriarch of the *Maronites* repairs to them, attended by a number of biſhops, prieſts, and monks; and followed by five or ſix thouſand of their religion from all parts; and that under theſe trees they celebrate that feſtival, which they miſcal the *feaſt of cedars*. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this ſolemn occaſion; that they are particularly mindful of the bleſſed Virgin upon this day; becauſe the ſcripture compares her to the cedars of *Lebanon*; and that the ſame holy father threatens, with his church thunderbolts, thoſe who preſume to (10) hurt, or diminiſh them.

(G) The *Arabian* geographical lexicographer, cited by *Schultens*, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of *Soltân Salah'addin*'s life, ſays; *Balbek is a city of three days journey from Damaſcus, where are wonderful foundations and magnificent veſtiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, ſuch as in the whole world are no where elſe to be ſeen.* And *Abúlfeda*; at *Balbek are palaces of hewn ſtone with moſt lofty columns; nor is there in all* Syria *any ſtone ſtructure more admirable or magnificent.*

(6) *Ray's Collect. of Voyages ubi ſupra.* (7) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. ubi ſupr.* (8) *Tome IV. p.* 358. (9) *Ibid.* (10) *De la Roque ubi ſupr. p.* 87, 89. (11) *Ad vocem Balbecum.*

The Rotunda. near to these venerable ruins, you meet with a *rotunda*, or round pile of building, a incircled with pillars of the *Corinthian* order, which support a cornish that runs all round the structure; the whole of great elegance and stateliness, but now in a very tottering condition [n]. It is mostly of marble, and, though round on the outside, is an octogon within; being withinside adorned with eight arches, supported by eight *Corinthian* columns, each of one single piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered with a shell, and to have been much embellished with the figures of eagles. The *Greeks*, who have converted this lovely round into a church, have barbarously spoiled the beauty of the inside, by daubing it over with plaster [o]. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, which has the air of an adjectitious work; and through this pile you pass into a noble arched b walk, or porticoe, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The great Temple. This temple has, to a miracle, resisted the injuries of time, and the madness of superstition, being as good as entire. It is an oblong square, in its general form and proportion exactly like St. *Paul's Covent-Garden*; but for magnificence of structure and dimension, there is scarce any comparison, this temple being almost as big again every way. Its length on the outside is one hundred ninety two foot, and its breadth ninety-six [p]. Its length within side is one hundred and twenty foot, and its breadth sixty. The *pronaos*, or anti-temple, took up fifty-four foot of the hundred and ninety, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars which supported it are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now stands, is surrounded with a noble portico, supported by pillars of the *Corinthian* order, six foot three inches in diameter, about fifty-four c in height (H), and each of three stones apiece. Their distance from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine foot. There are fourteen of them on each side of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and cornish, which are supported all round by these pillars, are exquisitely carved. And as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have, overhead, a solid arcade all the way, of great stones hollowed out arch-wise; in the center of each of which is a god, a goddess, or a heroe (I), struck out with that life that is not to be conceived [q]; and all round the foot of the wall of the temple itself is a double border of marble, the lowest parts of which is a continued bass relieve in miniature, expressing heathen mysteries and d ceremonies; where, without any confusion, you see a surprizing mixture of men and beasts, in the most happy composition, and most agreeable variety [r].

Having thus described the outside of this temple, we will proceed to the inside; but let us first take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more august. The ascent to it is by thirty steps, on each side bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedestal, on which formerly stood a statue, as may be safely supposed. The front is composed of eight *Corinthian* pillars, as we have already said, fluted, as are all the rest that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within these eight pillars, at the distance of about six foot, are four others like the two former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate e the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itself. All these form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty four foot, and in breadth sixty odd. Through these pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majesty, and without the least confusion; so nice are the proportions of the pillars, their distance from each other, and the recess of the door itself. The door-case or portal is square, and of marble, in proportion and construction just like the great marble

[n] Maundrell ubi supr. p. 135. [o] La Roque ubi supr. p. 152. [p] Maundrell ubi supr.
[q] Idem ibid. [r] De la Roque ubi supr. p. 138, 147.

(H) These fifty-four are *French* feet, which, according to *Maundrell*, ought to be but forty-five *English*, which is a very great difference. The *French* author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our *English* traveller was scarce here a day; so that the former may be chiefly relied on in most particulars, and accordingly we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, considering, that the one was a transitory, the other a constant observer, as we may call them. Besides, in this case the thing speaks itself; for, according to our mean skill in architecture, a *Corinthian* pillar, whose diameter is six foot, in which they both agree, will require at least fifty foot of height to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

(I) An emperor, or an empress, says *de la Roque* (12); but in this we chuse to rely on *Maundrell's* judgment.

(12) *Ubi supr. p.* 148.

a marble portal at the weſt end of St. *Paul*'s, but far richer in ſculpture, and larger, if we miſtake not. The whole height of it is about forty foot, and its whole width about twenty eight, with an opening of about twenty foot wide[s]. You are no ſooner got under this portal, but, looking up, you ſee the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of ſculpture, which has ſcarce its equal in the world. It is a vaſt eagle in baſs relief, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each hand of him is a fame[t], or cupid[u]. Theſe, each of them, ſupport the one end of a feſtoon by a ſtring or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak on each hand, inimitably fine[w].

When you are got withinſide of the temple, you find it divided into three iſles,
b two narrow on the ſides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted *Corinthian* pillars, of between three and four foot diameter, and in height, including the pedeſtal, about thirty ſix. Theſe pillars are twelve in number, ſix on a ſide, at the diſtance of about eighteen foot from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilaſters one over another, and between each two of the lowermoſt is a round nich about fifteen foot high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the baſes of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a *Corinthian* pedeſtal, and the niches themſelves are *Corinthian* in all their parts, with the ſtricteſt preciſion and niceſt deli-
c cacy. Over theſe round niches are a row of ſquare ones, between the pilaſters of the upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the weſt end of the middle iſle you aſcend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen ſteps, which are the whole breadth of this part in length. This choir is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the temple by two large ſquare columns adorned with pilaſters, which form a noble entrance, exactly correſponding with that of the temple itſelf. Here is a great profuſion of aſtoniſhing ſculpture; but the architecture is the ſame here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedeſtals, and the niches ſtand upon the pavement[x]. The two large ſquare pillars, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh this part of the temple,
d are thought to have ſupported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be ſeen now. In the bottom of this choir, is a vaſt marble nich, where ſtood the principal deity here worſhipped. In this choir are ſeen the moſt finely imagined ſculptures, feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits; and fine baſs reliefs, neptunes, tritons, fiſhes, ſea-gods, *Arion* and his dolphin, and other marine figures[y]. The cieling, or vault, of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this diſtance of time[z]. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the height wherewith all the carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations, where ſuch niceneſs
e is thought unneceſſary, are ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, the whole pile is faultleſs, and without the leaſt blemiſh. The whole ſtands upon vaults of ſuch excellent architecture, and ſo bold a turn, that it is thought they ſerved for ſomething more than meerly the ſupport of the ſuperincumbent weight, and may have been a ſubterraneous temple, applied to ſome particular ſervice in the Pagan worſhip. And, though this temple now ſtands by itſelf, there are evident marks, that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different aſcents to it, one upon each angle, with marble ſteps ſo long, that eight or ten perſons may go up abreaſt[a].

Stones of an incredible ſize.

Within the walls of this caſtle, as it is now called, are alſo great remains of
f what muſt have been a palace, ſcarce inferior to any royal ſeat, that has ever been in the world; but being by no means in ſo perfect a ſtate as the temple, we ſhall ſpeak of it in general terms, and inſiſt only on ſuch parts as deſerve our greateſt attention. But firſt of all it muſt be obſerved, that the old wall, which encloſed both this and the

[s] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 136. [t] Maundrell ubi ſupr. [u] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 137. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 140—142. [y] Maundrell ubi ſupr. De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 143. [z] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 144, 145. [a] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 149, 150.

(K) In the draught *Maundrell* (13) has given us of the inſide of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this is a remarkable difference; but which way to reconcile them we know not.

(13) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ.*

the temple above described, is built of such monstrous blocks of stone, as exceed all a belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty three foot in length, whereof one is sixty three foot long, and the other two sixty apiece. Their depth is twelve foot, and their breadth the same; and, what adds to the wonder, these stones are lifted twenty foot from the ground. The rest of the stones of this wall are of surprizing dimensions, but none quite so large as these [b].

The palace. Going through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a subterraneous passage, adorned with many busts, which for want of light cannot well be discerned, the first object which b strikes the sight is a spacious hexagonal building, or wall, which forms a kind of a spacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and presents you with a terrass, to which you ascend by marble steps. This aperture admits you into a square court, larger than the first, round which are buildings more magnificent than what you see till then. Here, on each hand, you have a double row of pillars, which form porticoes, or galleries, of sixty six fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more sumptuous than the rest and deeper, and seems to have been the body of the palace, fronting east, as all the fronts in this castle do. The columns belonging to this part are of such size, that they are compared with those of the hippodrome at *Constantinople*. Nine of these c columns are standing (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of *Asia*; and, to crown all, each of these nine pillars is but one block. Many considerable and distinct vestiges of the several parts of this palace are still extant. The *Corinthian* order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and scarce is there any where to be found such precious remains of architecture and sculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taste of *Greece*, and the magnificence of *Rome* here meet; statues without number, busts of all sorts, proud trophies, curiously-wrought niches, walls and cielings inriched with bass reliefs, incrustations, and other works of the finest marble; therms and cariatydes judiciously d placed. Underneath the whole are vast vaults; where from time to time you discover, through the ruins, long flights of marble stairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of these vaults are bold and surprizing: and in these subterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich appartments entire, and many marble tombs. The walls here also are adorned with niches, bass reliefs, and inscriptions in *Roman* characters; but these inscriptions are quite effaced by the length of time and the damps. Some of these vaults are quite dark, and must be visited with lights, either because of their great depth, or because the passages, which may have given them light, are stopped up by rubbish; but others receive light by great windows, which e stand on the level of the ground above: and lastly, all these edifices are built with stones of the enormous size already mentioned, without any visible mortar, cement, or binding whatsoever [c]. The temple and these ruins stand in the same inclosure, as we have said, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at *Athens*, or *Rome*, or even in *Egypt*. All over and about the town you, at every step, meet with some melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the stone for these works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in steps something like an amphitheatre, where there lies one stone ready hewn, which seems to surpass what have been already described. It is a notion, it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it is fast to the rock [d]. Such was *Balbek*, which might tempt one to think it to have been once the most considerable place in f *Syria*, and the delight of some mighty prince, who there chose to reside (M).

But

[b] Maundrell ubi supr. p. 138. De la Roque ubi supr. p. 121. [c] Idem ubi supr. p. 124—132. [d] Idem ubi supr. p. 151, 155.

(L) *Maundrell* remembers these pillars in the following words: *About fifty yards distant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornish at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile; but what one now sees of it is but just enough to give a regret that there should be no more of it remaining* (14). He did not visit the palace; not being prepared, we suppose, with the thoughts, that there had been any building of the kind there.

(M) We flatter ourselves, that no antiquary will, according to this description of *Balbek*, allow *Solomon* to have had any hand in what we see there:

(14) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruf.* p. 137.

p. 366.

THE TEMPLE AT BALBECK



THE PROSPECT OF BALBECK

R Simms Sculpt



The ruins of Palmyra.

a But the magnificent ruins of *Palmyra* ſeem equally to claim our admiration. We ſhall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether *Solomon*, or any other before him, nor will we endeavour to inveſtigate to whom we are indebted for what now ſtands of this deſolate and abandoned town. Such diſcuſſions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may ſafely premiſe, that at *Palmyra* we ſee no remains, or next to none, of *Solomon*'s *Tadmor*, this city having been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed ſince his time, as will appear, when we come to mention the viciſſitudes thereof.

Its names and ſituation.

Palmyra, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; in the ſcripture, *Tadmor* in the wilder-
b neſs; by *Joſephus*, *Palmira* and *Thadamor*; by the ſeptuagint copies, *Theodmor* and *Thedmor*; and by the *Arabs* and *Syrians* at this day, *Tadmor*, *Tadmur*, and *Tatmor*; was once a noble city in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of *Syria*. The origin of theſe names is dark and uncertain (N). It ſtood on a fertile iſland, if we may ſo call it, ſurrounded on all ſides by a thirſty and barren deſart. The firſt object, that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a caſtle of mean architecture and uncertain foundation, though impregnably ſituated, as we ſay, about half an hour from the city. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the city, and from thence you deſcry *Tadmor*, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; but to the ſouth is a vaſt plain, which ſtretches away out of ſight. The air is exceeding good; but the ſoil is bar-
c ren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm trees in the gardens, and a few more ſcattered up and down. The city muſt have been of large extent by the ſpace now taken up by the ruins; but there are no veſtiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its ancient form. It is now a deplorable ſpectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miſerable families, who have built them poor huts of dirt within a ſpacious court, which once encloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

The great court and temple.

To begin the deſcription here; this court, which ſtands about the ſouth end of the city, is two hundred and twenty yards on each ſide, with a high and ſtately wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters within and without, to the number, as near as could

there; and yet prince *Radziville* (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it paſt diſpute, that it is the work of *Solomon*. He imagines it to be the houſe he built for *Pharaoh*'s daughter, and that it moſt exactly anſwers the deſcription of that palace in the book of *Kings* (16), and indeed we cannot ſay there is no ſimilitude in the caſe. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent obſervation, as he tells us; and adds as a further proof of it, that the buildings have not ſuffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by meer length of time. He muſt have minded theſe ruins in general; he cannot have deſcended to particulars; or he had never been ſo egregiouſly overſeen as he ſeems to have been.

(N) The author of the deſcription of *Palmyra* (17) calls it *Palmira*, which he derives from the palms about it, and ſuppoſes it to be the tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word, importing a palm. *Halley* (18) derives it from Παλμυς *Palmys*, which *Heſychius* interprets a king or father, or from Παλμύτης, *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god, according to the ſame *Heſychius*. *Seller* (19) is of another mind, he cannot think of deriving it from *Palmys*, a king or father, or from *Palmytes* an *Egyptian* god: for what, ſays he, had the gods of *Egypt* to do ſo near the banks of *Euphrates*? He derives it therefore from Πάλμη, *Palme*, a *Perſian* ſhield, or *Parma*, as the *Latins* render it. This he ſupports with ſome authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantaſtic etymology of *Malela* (20), who will have it called *Palmira*, διὰ τὸ πάλαι μοῖραν γενέσθαι τὴν χώραν τῷ Γολιαθ, becauſe *David* ſlew *Goliath* there, which few or none will be willing to allow. The etymology of *Tadmor* is ſtill darker, if poſſible; but, as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquiſitive reader with the thoughts of *Shultens*, in his geographical commentary (21), upon both the names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra*. He obſerves, that in the text it is written תמר *Tamor*, and in the margin תדמר *Tadmor*. *Tamor* he reckons to have become the uſual name of this place, for ſoftneſs ſake, and to refer to תמר *Tamar* the palm; with which in the next note this place will be ſeen to have abounded. He ſuppoſes alſo, that originally in *Arabic* they did not ſpell it تدمر *Tadmor*, but تتمر [תתמר] *Tatmor*, and thus he accordingly finds it in his *Arabic* geographical Lexicon; as if you ſhould ſay *palmiferous*, or palm-bearing, the *T* for ſound ſake being changed into *D*. The alteration of this name he aſcribes wholly to the *Romans*, who upon finding the place called *Tadmor*, or *Tadmur*, may at firſt have corrupted it into *Talmura*; but that ſoon after, underſtanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted *Talmura* into *Palmura*, whence *Palmyra*.

(O) Not that it had always the ſame ſterile appearance. *Abulfeda*, who, though he calls *Tadmor* a ſmall city in the deſart of *Syria*, yet places it in *Arabia*, writes, that *Palmyrene*, for the moſt part, abounded in ſalt; and that the palm and olive flouriſhed there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be ſeen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruits and corn. Upon this occaſion it may not be amiſs to refer you back to what we have conjectured concerning the preſent ſterility of the land of *Edom* (22).

(15) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. Epiſt.* 2. *p.* 27. (16) 1. vii. 8——13. (17) *Philoſoph. Tranſact. Numb.* 217. *p.* 85. (18) *Ibid. Numb.* 218. *p.* 161. (19) *Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Appendix, p.* 177. (20) *Par.* 1. *p.* 182. *Par.* 11. *p.* 153. (21) *Invit. Salad. Ad vocem Tadmora.* (22) *See before in the Notes, p.* 309.

could be judged, of ſixty two on a ſide. The beautiful corniſhes have been purpoſely a beaten down by the *Turks*, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the fineſt works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever ſeen, as here and there a fragment, which has eſcaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The weſt ſide of this court, by which you enter it, is moſt of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old caſtle, built by the *Mamlûks*, as is ſuppoſed, out of part of the ruins which are here in ſuch abundance. This caſtle ſhrouds the remains of an ancient fabrick of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, being two ſtones of thirty five foot in length, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes, exceeding bold and to the life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears, that the door or gate was fifteen foot wide. In this great court b are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty ſeven foot high, with capitals of the fineſt carved work; and the corniſhes muſt have been of equal beauty, though quite deſtroyed by the relentleſs ſuperſtition of the *Mohammedans*. Of theſe pillars fifty eight are entire. They muſt have been many more in number; for, by what appears, they went quite round the court, and ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza, or cloiſter. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been the moſt ſpacious and ſtately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for ſtatues at their full length, with their pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, and canopies, carved with the greateſt artifice and curioſity. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure is conceived to have been an c open court, as we have already called it, in the midſt of which ſtands the temple, incompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimenſions, being fifty foot high. Of theſe, ſixteen are now ſtanding; but there muſt have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or ſupported the roof of a cloiſter, is utterly uncertain. One great ſtone lies down, which ſeems to have reached from theſe pillars to the walls of the temple; ſo that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole ſpace contained within theſe pillars is one hundred and ſeventy ſeven foot in length, and in breadth eighty four. In the midſt of this ſpace is the temple, extending ninety nine foot in length, and in breadth, about forty. It has a ſumptuous entrance on the d weſt, exactly in the middle of the building, and, by what remains, ſeems to have been one of the moſt glorious edifices in the world. You here ſee vines and cluſters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can juſt trace out a ſpread eagle, as at *Balbek*, which takes up the whole width; with ſome angels, or cupids, accompanying it on the ſame ſtone, and ſeveral eagles are ſeen upon ſtones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is ſtanding but the walls, in which it is obſervable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with ſculpture. It has been aukwardly patched up to ſerve for a moſque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques; which, whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what uſe elſe they ſerved, e is not eaſy to conjecture. They are beautified with the moſt curious fret-work and ſculpture; in the midſt of which is a dome, or cupola, ſix foot diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the ſolid rock, or molded of fine cement, or compoſition, is made a doubt.

Promiſcuous ruins.

Leaving this court and temple your eyes are accoſted with an amazing ſight of marble pillars, ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile of ground; but in ſuch lamentable confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what ends they were framed. But, to paſs by the ruins of a moſque, as not worth our obſervation, and not bewilder your eye with the ſad confuſion which here preſents itſelf, we will proceed to particulars as they occur after, or correſpond with, each other. f

Obeliſk and two pillars.

Advancing towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and ſtately obeliſk, or pillar, before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones, beſides its capital. It has a wreathed work about it; the ſculpture here, as every where elſe, extremely fine. It exceeds fifty foot in height, is twelve foot and a half in compaſs juſt above the pedeſtal, and a ſtatue is conceived to have once ſtood upon it. On the eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, which ſeem to have correſponded with each other. And there is a piece of another near to the eaſtern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eaſtern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty foot. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a *Greek* inſcription in commeg moration of two patriots, by a grateful order of the ſenate and people, which, with the others of the ſame and other kinds, we may hereafter meet with, we ſhall paſs over

a over for the preſent, that we may not break in upon the thread of this deſcription. The weſtern pillar has another inſcription of the like ſort; but not quite ſo perfect as the former.

PROCEEDING on from the obeliſk, or pillar, laſt mentioned, at the diſtance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vaſtly large and lofty, and for workmanſhip nothing inferior to any piece hitherto deſcribed; but unhappily it has ſuffered the ſame fate with the reſt. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long and forty foot broad, formed by two rows of ſtately marble pillars twenty ſix foot high, and eight or nine about. Of theſe pillars one hundred and twenty nine are ſtanding; but, by a moderate calculation, they cannot have been b fewer at firſt, than five hundred and ſixty. Covering over them, there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be ſeen. Upon moſt of theſe pillars are inſcriptions in *Greek* and *Palmyrene* characters; ſo that it ſeems to have been a much frequented, and the moſt conſpicuous part of the city, and moſt proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of ſuch as had deſerved well of their fellow citizens, or friends, and relations. And, as if inſcriptions were not ſufficient, it ſeems, as if here they fixed the ſtatues alſo of the perſons celebrated; there being pedeſtals jetting out from theſe pillars, ſometimes one way, and ſometimes more, whereon muſt have ſtood ſtatues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the *Mohammedans*; and upon theſe pedeſtals are inſcriptions, even when none are c on the pillar they belong to, and ſometimes even when there are. The upper end of this ſpacious piazza was ſhut in by a row of pillars, ſtanding cloſer together than thoſe on each ſide, and perhaps a banquetting-houſe ſtood upon them, though no ſign of it be ſpared. But on the left hand, a little further, appear the ruins of a very ſtately pile, which may have been of ſuch a kind; of finer marble than is obſerved in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far ſurpaſſing what is obſerved in the piazza itſelf. The pillars, which ſupported this laſt pile, are all of one ſtone, twenty two foot long and eight foot nine inches round. Among theſe ruins is found the only *Latin* inſcription that was ſeen in this place.

The great piazza.

Banquetting Houſe.

IN the weſt ſide of the above piazza are ſeveral openings, ſuppoſed to have been d for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of theſe gates look as if they had been the moſt magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the ſtately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not ſtanding in a line with thoſe of the wall, but placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. Of theſe porphyry pillars, there are but two entire, and but one of them ſtanding in its proper place. They are about thirty foot in length, and nine in circumference, and of ſo very hard a conſiſtence (P) that it is a very difficult matter to injure them. Theſe, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the moſt beautiful. The palace itſelf is ſo compleatly demoliſhed, that e there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majeſty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which, together with the length of time, has quite defaced and obliterated this once noble pile, there being only a broken piece of its walls left ſtanding here and there. But, it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was ſurrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are ſtill ſtanding, ſome plain, and ſome wrought and channelled, as thoſe immediately encompaſſing the temple. To theſe pillars alſo there are pedeſtals with inſcriptions on them.

Porphyry pillars and palace.

ON the eaſt ſide of this ſame piazza is, if the expreſſion may be uſed, a wood of marble pillars, ſome perfect, ſome deprived of their beautiful capitals, but ſo f ſcattered and confuſed, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what uſe they formerly ſerved. In one place are eleven together, forming a ſquare in this diſpoſition, ⋮ ⋮ ⋮ paved at the bottom with broad flat ſtone, but without any manner of roof.

Great numbers of marble pillars.

AT a little diſtance from hence, is a ſmall ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, muſt have been a very curious piece. The entrance into this temple looks to the ſouth, and before it is a piazza of ſix pillars, two on one hand of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedeſtals of thoſe in the front have been filled up with inſcriptions, both in *Greek* and the other characters, g but ſcarce intelligible.

The little temple.

(P) This our author ſays, ſuppoſing porphyry to be factitious, which is diſputed.

The ſepulchres. BUT of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their coſtly ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on each ſide of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may anciently have extended farther. At a diſtance they look like the ſteeples of decayed churches, or the baſtions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have proved faithleſs to their charge; having ſunk under the weight of years, or ſubmitted to the inexorable malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different ſize, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was entirely marble, were found the pieces of two ſtatues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a ſitting, or rather leaning, poſture. By theſe it is diſcovered, that their Habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the *European*, than the preſent eaſtern faſhions; whence they are conjectured to have been *Romans*. Of all theſe ſepulchres, there are two, which ſeem to be more entire than the reſt. They are ſquare towers, five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within, of good marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced. Under them, or on one ſide, are *Palmyrenian* characters, which are thought to be the names of the perſons there depoſited. To judge of the Conſtruction of the reſt of theſe ſepulchres, by what is obſerved in one of them; they had a walk quite a-croſs them from north to ſouth, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below, was divided in the ſame manner, and the diviſion on each hand ſubdivided by thick walls into ſix, or more or leſs, partitions, each big enough to receive the largeſt corpſe, and deep enough to contain at leaſt ſix or ſeven piled one upon another. In the loweſt, ſecond, and third Stories, theſe partitions were the ſame, excepting that the ſecond had a partition, anſwering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a ſtair-caſe. Higher up this method was diſcontinued; becauſe the building growing narrower towards the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermoſt rooms, it is likely that no bodies were depoſited, except that of the founder himſelf, whoſe ſtatue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying poſture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, ſo as to be viſible both within and without. Here is a *Greek* epitaph [f].

SUCH were once the magnificent abodes, and ſuch the noble ſepulchres of the *Palmyrenians*; enough to evince, that the world never ſaw a more glorious city; the pride, it is likely, of ancient times, and the reproach of our own: a city, not more remarkable for the ſtate of her buildings and unwontedneſs of her ſituation, than for the extraordinary perſonages who once flouriſhed here, among whom the renowned *Zenobia* and the incomparable *Longinus*, muſt for ever be remembred, with admiration and regret.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Syrians.

Antiquity. THE ancient *Syrians*, or *Aramites* (A), ſcarce ſubmitted to any other nation under the ſun, in point of antiquity, being the firſt that inhabited the fertile and well ſituated region of their abode after the general deluge, as we have already obſerved [a]. This is indiſputably the caſe, and therefore there may be no need of expatiating thereon. But the Poſterity of *Shem* by *Aram*, did not poſſeſs this country wholly to themſelves; their relations of *Canaan*'s line, being ſtraitned for want of room in the places where they ſettled at firſt, encroached upon them by degrees, and ſeized on a portion of their lot, and kept the ſame, till one common deſtruction and captivation involved them both. To uſe many words in proof of this twofold deſcent of the *Syrians*, from the righteous line of *Shem*, and the unrighteous line of *Ham*, is needleſs, ſince we find a very noted portion of the country of *Aram*, or *Syria*, denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven ſons of *Canaan*, who may have even ſettled

[f] Philoſophical Tranſactions, Numb. 217.

[a] See before, p. 163.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks*. *Strabo* calls them *Aramæi*; for thoſe, ſays he (1), whom we call *Syrians*, call themſelves *Aramæans*. Hence, the *Arami*, *Arimi*, and *Erembi*, and the like names.

(1) *Geograph. l. i. p. 42.*

here

a here in perſon. The ſame we might here ſay of the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite*, though indeed we have not ſuch poſitive aſſurances thereof, as of what we ſay of the *Hamithite*. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that theſe *Canaanite* families did moſt, if not all of them, fix their abode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or leſs divided between the *Aramites* and *Canaanites*, we forbear to enquire into, ſince we have little or no authority to build upon. The antient *Syrians* then were partly deſcended from *Ham*, and partly from *Shem*, and both of nearly equal ſtanding in this country, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; but, if we believe a tradition current among the preſent inhabitants, it muſt be called the oldeſt country in the World (C).

Government.

b THAT they were antiently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain; and that they continued under the ſame government, in part, even to the days of *Saul*, is plain by the kings of *Zobah*[b]; and by the petty kings in *Meſopotamia*, who were ſummoned to attend *Benhadad* in his wars, no fewer than thirty two. Seeing therefore, that this moſt ſimple and natural form of government, obtained in *Canaan* on the one hand of them, and in *Meſopotamia* on the other, and that even we find veſtiges of the ſame in *Syria* itſelf, down to the days of *Saul*, we cannot doubt, but that they were at firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that ſeems to have taken place; for as *Gibeon* in *Canaan*, in the days of *Joſhua*,

c ſeems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; ſo *Damaſcus* in *Syria* ſeems to have been the ſame in *David*'s time. What we have to offer in ſupport of this opinion, is not indiſputably clear; but *Damaſcus* is ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people, in *David*'s time. It is ſaid, that the *Syrians* of *Damaſcus*[c], not their king, ſent an army of upwards of twenty thouſand to the relief of *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, which ſeems to imply, as if they were ſomething like what we call a republic. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of *Zobah*, we pretend not to ſpeak of; but that of *Damaſcus*, which roſe upon its ruins, as *Zobah* did upon the ſubverſion of the ſmaller principalities, ſeems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom

d of *Damaſcus* was eſtabliſhed in violence, by a ſtrong hand, and the conſtitutions thereof muſt, one would think, have been of a piece with its foundation; haughty; uncontroulable, and ambitious to ſubdue its neighbours; and, in truth, it roſe to the univerſal monarchy of all the parts on both ſides of the *Euphrates* under *Hazael*, as will be ſhewn in its due place. This may be ſaid of the kingdom of *Damaſcus*, which ſupported itſelf with various fortune, till *Syria* changed both inhabitants and maſters, which it did upon the firſt riſe, as it were, of the *Aſſyrian* power.

Their laws.

WE have no Syſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them, but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their

e religion.

Their religion.

THE ancient State of their religion, indeed, we are wholly at a loſs for, nor will we dwell on the obſcurities thereto relating. It is certain they had many idols among them of very ancient repute; among the reſt *Rimmon* (D) may be reckoned, whoſe

[b] See 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [c] 2 Sam. viii. 6.

(B) The *Arabs* have a tradition there were *Canaanites* very anciently in *Syria*, for they talk of *Dimaſhc* (2) the ſon of *Canaan*, who built the famous city of *Damaſcus* (3).

(C) For here they particularly pretend that *Adam* was formed (4), and that *Cain* ſlew *Abel* *; both which places they ſhew to travellers that viſit *Damaſcus*, for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which *Radziville* adds, that hollow groans are ſometimes heard under ground, in teſtimony of the innocent *Abel*, as they told him; that the place is held in deep veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing ſuch as labour under any violent diſeaſe, if they but lie down naked thereon, reſtoring them immediately to their priſtine health.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Teſtament, ſignifies a *pomegranate*: whence this deity, whether god or goddeſs, is thought to have born ſome relation to *Venus*. *Selden* (6) is moſt inclined to derive it from רום *rum*, *high*, or *lofty*. We forbear to ſpeak of *Gad*, and refer you to this laſt author. The *Syrians* had a deity alſo, called *Babia*, a goddeſs from whom the children and young people were called *Babias* (7). They may have eſteemed them under her tutelage, and our *Engliſh* word, *babes*, ſays one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(2) *Vide* SCHULTENS, *Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damaſcus.* (3) *See before*, p. 136. (4) *See* THEVENOT, MAUNDRELL, *&c.* * *See before in the notes*, p. 74. (5) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. epiſt.* ii. p. 30. (6) *Vide* SELDEN *de Di Syr. Syntag.* ii. c. 10. (7) *Damaſc. vit. Iſidor. apud Pho. c. cxlii.* (8) PURCHAS's *Pilgrim, Book i. ch. xx. at the end.*

temple

temple ſtood at *Damaſcus*: He ſeems to have been, at leaſt, the principal God of a *Damaſcene*, which is all we ſhall venture to ſay concerning him.

THIS ancient god in time gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king *Ben-hadad* II, under the ſtile of *Adad*, or *Ader* [d], he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god (E). This fancied god, and others of the ſame ſtamp that may have ſucceeded him, flouriſhed as long, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, as the ancient *Syrians* poſſeſs'd this their ſeat, or were maſters thereof. But both they themſelves and their gods, in great meaſure, ſubmitted to fate, when *Syria* was conquered and tranſplanted by *Tiglath-pileſer*.

HEREUPON the religion of the country may, without ſtraining the point, be ſaid to have changed face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old were brought in, by the new inhabitants, who were ſent hither by the *Aſſyrian*; and now the religion of *Aſſyria* prevailed chiefly all over the country. That this is true, will be pretty evident from ſome arguments you will find in our chronology of *Aſſyria*. What changes and alterations this ſyſtem ſuffered under the *Babylonians* firſt, and the *Perſians* afterwards, and laſtly under the *Seleucidæ* and *Romans*, we cannot preſume to ſay; but ſuch as it was, in the ſecond century of the chriſtian æra, we ſhall borrow from *Lucian*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he ſays for the moſt part, and the reſt he received from the prieſts.

AT *Hierapolis*, or the holy city, or *Magog*, as the *Syrians* themſelves are ſaid [c] to have called it, in the province of *Cyrrheſtical*, ſtood the temple of the great *Syrian Goddeſs* (F). It was upon an eminence in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by a double incloſure or two Walls, the one old, the other new. At the north ſide it had a court, or porch, before it, of about five or ſix hundred foot in circumference, where ſtood the *priaps*, of three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both theſe meaſures, but both exceedingly too large, to our apprehenſion. Theſe obſcene images, or rather columns, were but ſlender, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the ſubject of much fable. The front of the temple itſelf ſtood eaſt, and before it was a tower raiſed upon a terraſs, about twelve foot high; which was no ſooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the *Ionian* temples; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air about it was inchanting, nothing inferior to the ſweeteſt of *Arabia*, and ſo ſtrongly perfumed the garments of all that viſited it, that they were ſcented for a conſiderable time.

[d] JOSEPH Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

[c] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. ubi ſupr.

(E) *Adad* is called alſo *Adod* the *king of the gods* (9), and *Adad* is interpreted *One* (10); and where we have this interpretation we are told, he was their greateſt god. *Selden* (11) and *Iſaac Voſſius* (12), are very nice in deducing the true import of this name, which we ſhall for this once paſs over, becauſe it appears to us, that according to the ſcripture orthography, it ought to be ſpelt *Hadad*, as is plain from *Joſephus* (13), who, in ſpeaking of the ſcripture kings of *Syria*, calls them *Adad*, or *Ader*; and particularly writing of the great *Ben-hadad*, the ſecond of that name in ſcripture, he tells us he was deified or honoured with divine worſhip, as was alſo his ſucceſſor *Hazael*. Here we have the firſt account of their deifying of *Adad*, or, as the ſcripture ſtiles him, *Ben-hadad*, who, if we except his ſucceſſor *Hazael*, was the greateſt prince the ancient *Syrians* can boaſt of; and we are clearly of opinion, that this great god *Hadad*, or *Adad*, is no other than the deified *Ben-hadad*; and from thence it appears, that there were *Syrian* princes of the name of *Adad*, before they had any god ſo called. By *Adad* they meant the ſun, and pictured him, with rays darting downwards, to expreſs his beneficence, and to ſhew that the chief influence of the heavens is in the beams of the ſun (14). This high compliment might have ſuited better with *Hazael*, whoſe reign was a continued ſeries of proſperity, than with *Ben-hadad*, who was ſeveral times unfortunate; but, as *Joſephus* tells us, they were both deified, and as *Adad*, or *Hadad*, was a name common to all the kings of *Syria*, as appears both by ſcripture and *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (15), it may have been the *Hazael* of ſcripture, who was ſo highly revered.

(F) It is impoſſible to ſay who they meant by this *Syrian Goddeſs*; but we find a ſtory in *Juſtin* (16), which we ſuppoſe to be borrowed from *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*; that a king from whom *Damaſcus* derived its name, had a queen called *Arathis*; whoſe ſepulchre was religiouſly frequented by the *Syrians*, who eſteemed her as their principal deity: and this queen, according to our author's account, was older than *Abraham*, whom he reckons among the kings of *Damaſcus*, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve again hereafter.

(9) SANCHON. *apud* EUSEB. *Præper. Evangel. lib. i. p.* 38. (10) MACROB. *Saturnal.* I. *c.* 18. (11) *Ubi ſupr. Syntag.* I. *c.* 6. (12) *De Idololatria, l. i. c.* 22. (13) *Antiq. l. ix. c.* 2. (14) MACROB. *Saturnal. ubi ſupr.* (15) *Apud* JOSEPH. *Antiq. l. vii. c.* 6. (16) *L. xxxvi. c.* 2.

THIS

Idols, ſtatues, &c. in and about the temple.

a THIS temple was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts, as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within the ſanctuary, which was always open, were the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the *Greeks* were ſo complaiſant as to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author aſſures us, had other names for them. But ſince we have not their true names, we muſt be contented with the *Greek*. Theſe ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were of gold. *Juno* ſat upon lions, and *Jupitr* was ſupported by bulls, being in looks and poſture like the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; but the ſtatue of *Juno* was contrived ſo as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*,
b according to the view you had of her. In one hand ſhe had a ſcepter, in the other a diſtaff. On her head ſhe had rays and a tower, and ſhe was girt with the *ceſtus*, or girdle, of the celeſtial *Venus*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her, by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. But of all theſe, the moſt remarkable was the *Lychnis* ſhe wore at her ſide. This ſtone is ſaid to ſhine moſt by candle-light. With this *Lychnis* therefore ſhe illuminated, ſays our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable luſtre, and only looked of a fiery aſpect. It was wonderful of this ſtatue, that though a perſon ſtood either on one ſide or before it, ſtill it looked at him. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another
c gold ſtatue, but with no characteriſtics, or peculiar enſigns, and only called the *Sign*. It was uncertain who they pointed at by this ſtatue; but becauſe it had a golden dove on its head, ſome were willing to think it was *Semiramis*. Twice every year it went in proceſſion to the ſea-ſide. On the left hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the Sun, but it had no ſtatue in it; for they held it abſurd to make ſtatues either of the ſun or moon, who were ſo reſplendently viſible to mortal eyes; but no more than right, to form the ſtatues of ſuch as were inviſible. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of *Apollo*, not a ſtripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addreſſing themſelves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they did put cloaths on this idol, which
d was done to no other. Next to *Apollo* ſtood *Atlas*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*, all which made the ſide furniture of the temple. On the right hand as they entred the temple, ſtood *Semiramis* pointing to *Juno*; for that empreſs had had the arrogance to claim ſupremacy to herſelf, in the adoration of mankind, not excepting even *Juno*; whereupon being ſeverely puniſhed by the gods, who perſecuted her with diſeaſes and various calamities to humble her pride, ſhe at laſt ſubmitted to the goddeſs; and for this reaſon was figured as pointing to *Juno*, in perpetual acknowledgement of her arrogant error; and to direct people that the ſaid goddeſs was to be worſhipped, not herſelf. Next to *Semiramis* ſtood *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus* the ſon of *Aglaia*, *Philomel*,
e and *Progne*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another ſtatue of *Semiramis*, *Combalus*, *Stratonice*, a beautiful piece, *Alexander*, done after the life, and *Sardanapalus*, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they ſhewed the cleft where the waters drained off at *Deucalion*'s floold: on this place, ſaid they, did *Deucalion* erect an altar to *Juno*, and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we ſhall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but ſmall when our author ſaw it. We had almoſt forgotten, that on the right hand of the temple, there was a little brazen man, with privities far beyond their due proportion.

FINALLY, within the incloſures of the temple, they kept oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles, all which were no way noxious to men, but all ſacred and tame.

The ſacred lake.

f ADJACENT to the temple was a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names given to them, and came when called. One of theſe our author particularly obſerved had golden fins. The lake itſelf was deep, two hundred fathom, the prieſts reported; and in the midſt of it ſtood a ſtone altar, which ſeemed to ſwim, as moſt thought it did; for the pillar, or what elſe ſupported it, was not eaſily to be diſcerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and recking with incenſe, and daily frequented, as we ſhall ſee anon. Without the temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts almoſt innumerable.

Oracle.

g THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince, how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the miſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that would move, ſweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noiſes were often heard in the temple, when it was ſhut up. *Apollo*, as we underſtand our author, was

was the chief Oracle. Other idols delivered their anſwers by their prieſts: This *Syrian Apollo* did all himſelf. He, as we have already obſerved, was the only god that had cloaths put on him; the reaſon of which, to our apprehenſion, was, that a living perſon might the more ſpeciouſly be ſubſtituted to act the part of the ſtupid block. However this were, this *Apollo*, when he was inclined to make anſwer upon any conſultation, began firſt to move himſelf; upon which the prieſts immediately ſtept up to him to lift him, or elſe he fell into great agonies, ſweating, and beſtirring himſelf after a furious rate. But with the prieſts, who came to his aſſiſtance, he behaved in a very unruly manner, toſſing and tumbling them about from place to place as he pleaſed; till the high prieſt, coming up to him, propoſed his queſtion. If the queſtion was unacceptable to him, he retired; if otherwiſe, he drove his ſupporters onwards. He had the direction of all matters ſacred and civil, being upon all occaſions conſulted, and always declared the time when it was proper for the image, we have called the *Sign*, to make its proceſſion to the ſea. In fine, our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air.

The revenues and treaſure of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor, to the great majeſty of the goddeſs, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Babylonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, paid their liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn, in garments and other things of ineſtimable price, which were very carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very *Loretto*.

Riches of the temple.

Now for the prieſts. There were ſeveral ſorts of them, each aſſigned to particular taſks. Some killed the ſacrifices, ſome bore the drink-offerings, ſome carried fire, and ſome waited at the altar; and of theſe above three hundred, in white habits, and with caps, or bonnets, on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. And beſides them, there were other conſecrated orders; as of minſtrels, ſkilful in the touch of ſeveral inſtruments, *Galli*, or eunuch prieſts, and to conclude, mad and frantick women. The office of high prieſt was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other ſorts of holy perſons there were of the ſeveral nations, who held the *Syrian Goddeſs* in veneration, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct their countrymen, who from time to time reſorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and cuſtoms of this holy city. They were called maſters, or inſtructors.

It is remarkable of their eunuch prieſts, that they were emaſculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural cuſtom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following ſtory. *Stratonice*, who built this temple, having been admoniſhed by the goddeſs, to undertake the work to no purpoſe, till ſhe forcibly brought her to obedience by a violent procedure againſt her, the king her husband conſented to let her go and take in hand the building; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth named *Combabus*. This *Combabus*,

The ſtory of Combabus.

no way fond of his commiſſion, but dreading the conſequences of being ſo much alone with the beauteous queen, deſtroyed his ſex, and left the ruins of it, carefully embalmed and ſealed up, with the King. He departed with the queen *Stratonice*, was after ſome time ſollicited by her, and convinced her of his inability. But nevertheleſs, it came to paſs, either through malice or envy, that *Combabus* was clearly convicted of adultery, infidelity, and impiety to the goddeſs. As he was leading to execution, he called out for the treaſure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended puniſhment was converted into the moſt tender embraces in the arms of his prince. The king now raiſed him to the higheſt degree of riches and honour, and he was famed for the wiſeſt and happieſt man living. *Combabus* deſired leave to finiſh the temple; which being granted, he paſſed the remainder of his life there. And there ſtood his ſtatue in braſs, as we have already ſaid, the work of *Hermolaus* the *Rhodian*. And becauſe it was induſtriouſly reported, that ſome of his deareſt Companions reſolved to undergo his calamity for his ſake, or that *Juno* inſpired ſeveral with a rage of unmanning themſelves, that he might not be ſingle in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of *Combabus*, or to pleaſe *Juno*, performed the hated operation on themſelves every year in the temple, as we ſhall hereafter relate. Furthermore, theſe *Galli*, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women, becauſe *Combabus* had been fallen in love with by a ſtrange woman, who knew not the violence he had done to his ſex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman. Such were the *Galli*, their inſtitution, and their patron.

Sacrifices.

a We come now to ſpeak of the ſacrifices, ceremonies, and peculiar cuſtoms pertaining to this holy city. They ſacrificed twice a day, to *Jupiter* in ſilence, to *Juno* with great noiſe of minſtrels and ſingers. Every ſpring they celebrated an extraordinary ſacrifice; for felling ſome great trees, in the court of the temple, they garniſhed them with goats, ſheep, birds, rich veſtments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and ſilver: they then carried the ſacred images round theſe decorated trees, and ſet fire to them, and all was conſumed. At this ſacrifice there was always a great concourſe of people from all parts, every one bringing his ſacred images with him, made in imitation of thoſe in the temple. There was alſo a private ſacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to this city of *Hierapolis*. The b pilgrim killed a ſheep, cut it up in joints, and feaſted on it, ſpreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this poſture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and beſought the goddeſs to accept his ſacrifice, and vowed her a better. To theſe may be annexed the offerings made upon the following occaſion. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, and there continued ſeven days. He let down a chain, by which to draw up what ſhould be given to him; for many upon theſe occaſions brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man ſitting above, who thereupon began a prayer, ſtriking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally they had, ſometimes, a way c of ſacrificing which was truly ſhocking and barbarous. They firſt crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one ſide of which was an abrupt ſteep, where falling, they periſhed. Nay, ſome were ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame ſteep, reproaching them as not children, but beaſts.

Feſtivals.

Some of their feſtivals, if ſo they may be called, were obſerved in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood. Twice a year they went to the ſea-ſide, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour, not only the prieſts were employed, but alſo all *Syria* and *Arabia*, ſays our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This d they did by a pretended command of *Deucalion*'s, as our author, like a meer *Greek*, calls him. What ceremonies they practiſed at the ſea-ſide, we are not told; but it ſeems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their veſſels full of water and ſealed up, they carried them firſt to a ſacred perſon called *Aleƈtryo*, who receiving the ſaid veſſels of water, examined the Seals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untyed the ſtring, took off the ſeal, and returned his burthen to each, who carried it into the temple for the purpoſe before-mentioned. This *Aleƈtryo*, whoever, or whatever, he was, received a conſiderable revenue for holy uſes upon theſe ſolemn days. They had another kind of feſtivals, which in our language may be called their *deſcenſion days*. For upon theſe days did their gods and their other fine things make a viſit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. *Juno*, or the *Syrian Goddeſs*, herſelf went down firſt, for the preſervation of her favourite fiſh, who, if they had ſeen *Jupiter*, would have died. Upon theſe occaſions a notable farce was acted between the ſaid goddeſs and god. He was wont to advance to go down firſt; whereupon ſhe interpoſed, and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back again. But of all their holy-days the *great burning*, as we may call it, was the moſt conſiderable. Upon this occaſion, there came people from all parts to aſſiſt at the great ſacrifice we have already deſcribed, and the other religious duties of the ſeaſon. This feſtival was of ſome days continuance, as we apprehend our author; and at particular times while it laſted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the prieſts ſtood without, ſome of them mangling their bodies, ſome thumping violently againſt each other, while others beat upon tabrets or drums, and ſounded with muſical inſtruments, and ſang out aloud, and propheſied. And now it was, that, amidſt all this uproar, the frenzy of caſtrating themſelves ſeized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their ſwords, performed the operation, and devoted themſelves to the goddeſs.

Miſcellaneous matters.

The religious cuſtoms, and laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing elſe we have hitherto ſeen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the *priaps*, as we have ſaid, and there remained ſeven days. His e manner of getting up was thus. He ſurrounded the *priap* and himſelf with a chain, and aſcended by the help of that and certain pegs or pins, which ſtuck out of the ſides of the *priap* for that purpoſe, lifting the chain up after him at every

ry ſtep he mounted. Here we cannot but obſerve, that our author ſays, That thoſe a
who had ſeen them climb up the palm trees in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, might readily
underſtand him; whence we gather theſe *phalli*, or *priaps*, ſo monſtrouſly high as
he ſays, were ſo ſlender that a man might graſp them. Whether we reckon the
height he gives them, at three hundred fathom, which is monſtrous, or even at three
hundred cubits, which is ſomewhat more credible, they were about as high as
our * monument. How ſo ſlender a body could be reared to ſuch a height, we
leave to thoſe who are better ſkilled in ſuch matters than ourſelves, and proceed.
When the perſon had got up, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up all man-
ner of neceſſaries for himſelf, and therewith made him a commodious ſeat, a
kind of a neſt. It was given out, that, during the ſeven days, he had a more in- b
timate intercourſe with the great goddeſs; and alſo that this was done in memo-
ry of *Deucalion*'s flood, when the men clomb up the mountains and trees to ſave
themſelves from periſhing. During theſe ſeven days, the perſon never ſlept, and
if at any time he happened to doſe, a ſacred ſcorpion, ſaid they, went up and
awakened him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him
from ſleeping.

EVERY day many people ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

THEY ſacrificed oxen, ſheep, and the like, but ſwine they held to be unclean.

BUT the ſacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only c
preſented at the altar. The reſt was done at home.

FISH and doves, or pigeons, were accounted holy, the former to *Derceto*, the latter to *Semiramis*; in memory of their different transformations.

THEY fed many doves in and about their houſes[f], and if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of that day, as holy as they eſteemed them.

AS ſoon as any man had commenced *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, 'till at length, throw-
ing it into ſome houſe, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time for- d
ward wholly addicted himſelf to a feminine way of life.

THE eunuch prieſts, notwithſtanding, entertained a flame for the women, and the women for them, which, far from being thought ſcandalous or portentous, was eſteemed pure and holy.

IT was unlawful for any *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, to enter into the temple.

WHOSOEVER took on him the pilgrimage to *Hierapolis*, this holy city, firſt ſhaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a ſheep in the manner already men-
tioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, or drink of any thing elſe, or lie upon ought but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

THE pilgrims being arrived were entertained at the publick charge, and e
lodged with people of their reſpective countries, here called inſtructors or maſters, who were paid by the publick for informing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

THE pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wriſts.

THE young men and boys conſecrated the firſt fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which, being ſhaved or clipped in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, or other veſſel, with the name of the perſon it belonged to inſcribed, and kept in the temple.

WHEN any of the *Galli* died, their funeral was not after the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the ſuburbs, where ſetting them f
down, they hurlded ſtones at them, and left them lying upon the bier; where they lay the ſpace of ſeven days, and then were conveyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been prophane.

HE that had ſeen a dead perſon, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was abſolved from his uncleanneſs, if he purified himſelf.

ALL the Family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple thirty days, and ſhave their heads.

THUS much we have thought neceſſary to ſay, concerning the great *Syrian Goddeſs* and her worſhip, all which is very unhappily diſguiſed in a *Greek* dreſs. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of the doctrines and g
practices of the ancient *Syrians*, though blended and confounded with many addi-
tional ſuperſtitions.

[f] See before, p.

* The monument on *Fiſh-Hill* near *London* Bridge, 202 foot high, erected in memory of the great fire in the year 1666.

FOR

a For the preſent we ſhall add no more concerning the religions of *Syria*. The ſuperſtitions at *Antioch*, under *Seleuciaæ*, we ſhall enlarge on in the hiſtory of thoſe princes. We are not ſure, that *Plutarch* means this *Syrian* goodeſs; for hereafter you will ſee, that ſhe was not the only idol that ſeems to have born the title; when he ſays that ſhe puniſhed thoſe, who eat of two certain ſorts of fiſh, with ulcers and boils all over their bodies, with ſore ſhins, and with a diſſolution of the liver [g]. They are ſaid to have expiated this crime, by putting themſelves in a ſack, and rolling themſelves in the dirt [h]. But, as we have obſerved, we are not certain, that what is here ſaid refers to this goddeſs; though it is likely it may.

Their Temper.

b We learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Syrians*, of his time at leaſt, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun, in caves or other obſcure places, many days together. This mournful, tender, effeminate temper of mind, may have always been one of the characteriſtics of the *Syrians*, as it ſtill is.

Their Learning and Art.

c We can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the ancient *Syrians*, their civil concerns, or of their arts and learning. They were by ſome * anciently joined with the *Phœnicians*, as the firſt inventers of Letters; but however true or falſe this may have been, certain it is, that they ſubmitted to no nation that flouriſhed with them, in degree of human knowledge and ſkill in the fine arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may, almoſt, be ſaid to have been in the center of the old world; and as in the ſunſhine of their empire they were enriched by the ſpoils, and tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of ingenuity and induſtry. The altar at *Damaſcus*, which ſo raviſhed *Ahaz* king of *Judah* [i], may ſerve as a noble ſpecimen of ſkill of their artificers.

Their Language.

d Their language is one of thoſe kindred dialects we commonly call the *Oriental* tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; concerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we muſt refer the readers to what we have already ſaid [k]. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*, for what his father-in-law and uncle, *Laban* of *Padan-aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, calls *Jegar-ſahadutha*, is by *Jacob* himſelf called *Galeed* [l]. The *Syriac* was not only the language of *Syria* but alſo of *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*; for there is no more difference between the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, than between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*; *Aſſyria*, and, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, of *Paleſtine*.

There are three dialects of the *Syrian* tongue. 1. The *Aramænian*, or *Syriac* properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, and uſed in *Meſopotamia*, and by the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Edeſſa*, and *Harran*, and the outer *Syria*. 2. The dialect of *Paleſtine*, ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, mount *Libanus*, and the inner *Syria*. 3. The *Chaldee*, or *Nabathæan* dialect, the moſt rude and unpoliſhed of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of *Aſſyria*, and in the villages of *Irâk*, or

e *Babylonia* [m].

The *Syriac* character is very ancient, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in uſe above three hundred years before the birth of Chriſt [n]. There are two ſorts of this character; the *Eſtrangelo* (G), which is the more ancient and rude, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the *Fſhito*, the ſimple or common character, which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project ſet on foot, by *Paul* of *Antioch*, for adding the letters that are wanting in the *Syriac* alphabet, as the *Greeks* had done; which he recommended to the thoughts of *James* of *Edeſſa*, who declined it, becauſe he feared, that the books, wrote in the imperfect character or alphabet, might, by ſuch an innovation, come to be loſt [o].

[g] Περι δεισιδαιμονίας p. 170. [h] Menand. apud Porphyr. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλ. p. 113. * Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 1. p. 307. [i] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [k] See before, p. 152. [l] See Geneſ. xxxi. 47. [m] Abulfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11. [n] Bernard. Tab. Alph. [o] Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Tom I. p. 479.

(G) This name is generally derived from the *Greek* word στρόγγυλος, *round*, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather ſquare; wherefore, if it muſt be derived from that word, we ſhould rather chooſe to take it in *Theophraſtus*'s ſenſe, who uſes στρόγγυλα ξύλα (17), for rough unhewn timber, by reaſon of its rude and unpoliſhed form.

(17) *De Plantis.*

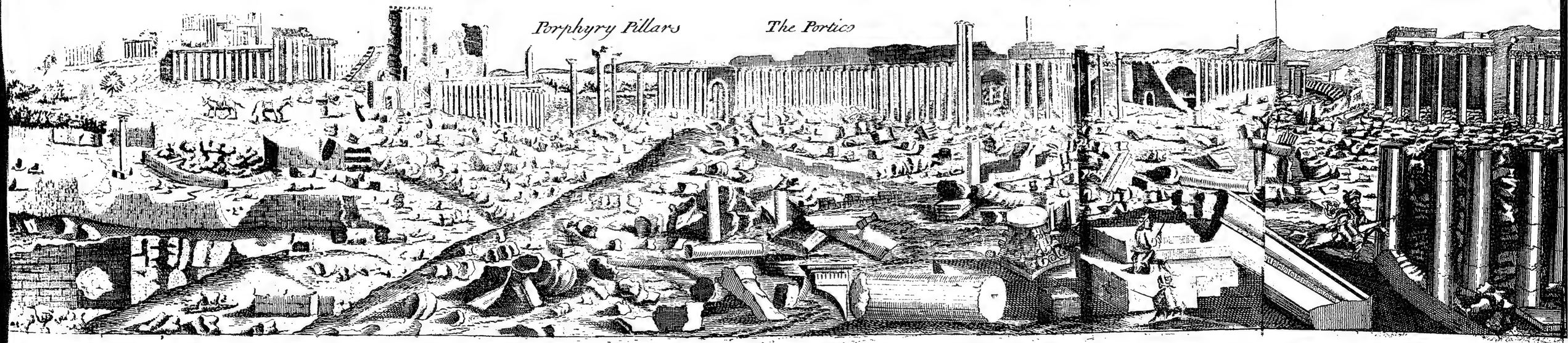
The SYRIAC ALPHABET.

Power.	*The Common Character.* Figure. Joined both to the following and preceding	Joined to the preceding Letter only.	Joined to the following Letter only.	Single.	*The Estrangelo.* Names.	Figure.
The Support of a Vowel.					*Olaf.*	
B.					*Beth.*	
G.					*Gomal.*	
D.					*Dolath.*	
H.					*He.*	
W.					*Waw.*	
Z.					*Zain.*	
Hh.					*Hheth.*	
T.					*Teth.*	
Y.					*Yûd.*	
C or *Kh.*					*Cof.*	
L.					*Lomad.*	
M.					*Mîm.*	
N.					*Nûm.*	
S.					*Semach.*	
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.					*E.*	
F. or *P.*					*Pe.*	
S { glofly pron.					*Sode.*	
K.					*Kof.*	
R.					*Rîſh.*	
Sh.					*Shîn.*	
T. or *Th.*					*Tau.*	

THE *Syriac* writing, like that of the other eaſtren tongues, was deſtitute of vowels, till towards the latter end of the eighth century, when they were introduced, as is generally ſuppoſed, by *Theophilus* of *Edeſſa*, chief aſtrologer to the *Khalîf al Mohdi*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and firſt made uſe of them, to diſtinguiſh the *Greek* pronunciation of the names and *Patronymics*, in his *Syriac* tranſlation of the works of *Homer* [f]. The marks to expreſs theſe vowels are ſtill nearly in the form of five of the *Greek* vowels; for they reject *Epſilon* and the *Omicron*, there being no ſhort vowels in their tongue. But *James* of *Edeſſa*, who flouriſhed about a century before *Theophilus*, invented ſeven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels; which he did, at the deſire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he ſent them. They are ſtill extant [g].

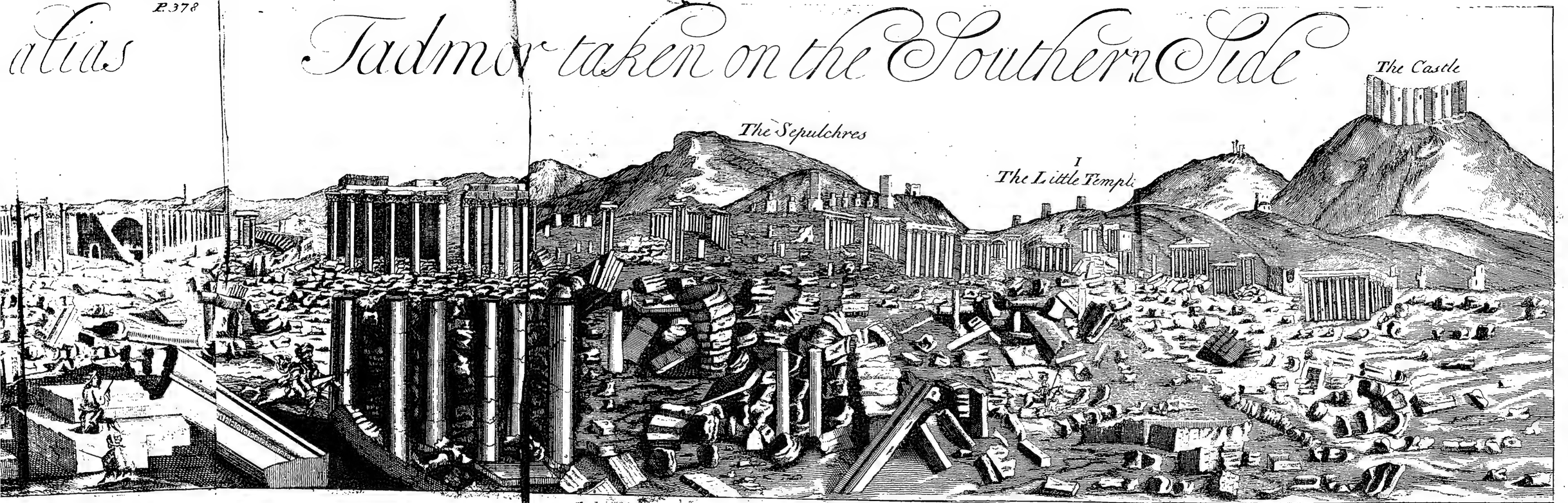
[f] ABU'LFARAG. ubi ſupr. p. 147. ECHELLENSIS in not. ad Catal. Ebedjeſu. p. 180. ASSEMAN. ubi ſupr. p. 522. [g] Apud BAR HEBR. (vel ABU'LFARAG.) in Libr. ſplendor. Vide ASSEMAN. ubi ſupr. p. 479.

A View of the Ruines of Palmyra alias Tadmo



P. 378

alias Tadmor taken on the Southern Side



P. Sluyter. Poulnt

Chap. 5.

THE *Syriac* is ſaid to have much degenerated, till *James* of *Edeſſa* reſtored it to its ancient purity. He was the firſt that wrote a grammar in *Syriac* [r]. It is an eaſy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the *Seleucidæ*. There is a number of books in the *Syriac*, very little known to the *Europeans*, of which a late writer [s] has given an ample account; but what this tongue is moſt to be valued for, are the excellent tranſlations therein of the old and new teſtament; which equal, if they do not ſurpaſs, thoſe in any other language.

Their trade.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more conſiderable trade than the ancient *Syrians*. We cannot doubt, but they had ſhips on the *Mediterranean*, as ſoon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river *Euphrates*, it is paſt diſpute, that they traded with the eaſtern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The eaſy and ſafe navigation of the *Euphrates*, when compared with that of the ſea, would tempt one to conſider them as older merchants than the *Phœnicians*, or even the *Edomites*; who muſt have made very early attempts upon the *Arabian* gulf, in compariſon of which the *Mediterranean* was a main ocean. We the rather inſiſt on the trade of this ancient people, becauſe we do not know, that it has yet been fully handled, or profeſſedly, by any body. *Herodotus* [t] indeed reports, that the *Phœnicians* were much older navigators than either the ancient *Syrians* or *Egyptians*; ſaying, that they carried on the commerce of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt* by their ſhipping. Here, by the way, is a further proof than we have hitherto given, that *Syria* and *Aſſyria* were confounded together by the ancients. For how ſhould the *Phœnicians* have ſailed to the coaſts of the proper *Aſſyria*, an inland country; a country they could not poſſibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of *Good-hope*, and entring the *Perſian* gulf? A voyage which could have anſwered no end, ſeeing they might have ſupplied that country, and have been ſupplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours the *Syrians*, who navigated the *Euphrates*; and who, it cannot well be diſputed, were the firſt that brought the *Perſian* and *Indian* commodities into the weſt of *Aſia*. *Syria* was therefore the moſt ancient magazine for ſuch commodities, and chiefly ſupplied all the weſtern parts; nor can we think otherwiſe, than that the *Midianitiſh* merchants [u], who bought *Joſeph*, had loaded their camels in *Syria*, with the aromatics and other precious things they were carrying into *Egypt*. Among which it is no unlikely matter that they had commodities of other countries beſides thoſe of *Syria*. Till interpreters can agree upon the genuin explication of the text, we have liberty to think as largely this way as we pleaſe.

NOW becauſe the *Syrians* engroſſed this lucrative commerce, they may have been in great meaſure negligent of the *Mediterranean* navigation, chiefly intent upon their eaſtern trade, which drew merchants from all the weſtern parts to trafic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; and particularly the *Phœnicians*, their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours. So that *Herodotus* [w] may be much in the right, when he talks of the trade they anciently carried on for *Aſſyria* [*Syria*] and *Egypt*. We might draw ſome natural parallels of this caſe, ſo as to leave it almoſt indubitable. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, who have engroſſed all the wealth, as it were, of the *Weſt Indies*, make little or no uſe of ſhipping, if compared with the two trading nations, *England* and *Holland*, who may be ſaid to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their bottoms. The *Syrians* then, it is likely, neglected ſea affairs, and therein fell much ſhort of the *Phœnicians*.

THIS was the ſtate of the ancient *Syrian* trade and navigation, which we may ſafely ſuppoſe encreaſed from time to time, till their king *Hazael*, as you will ſee in his reign, graſped at the whole trade of both eaſt and ſouth, by ſeizing on the famous emporium, *Elath*, on the *Red-ſea*. The *Syrians* now had a commodious outlet to the ſouthermoſt parts of *Arabia*, *Ethiopia* and the more ſouthern ſhores of *Afric*, not to mention *Egypt*, who could not be very fond of her new neighbours, and may have been ſhy of them, and that, upon very juſt grounds. But this *Syrian* monopoly was of ſhort duration. They had ſcarce ſettled themſelves on the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulf, but their king *Hazael* died, and they loſt *Elath*: which, however, they recovered again under their laſt king *Rezin*; but their empire was ſoon after extinguiſhed, together with his life; and therefore, though the *Syrian* colony remained afterwards at *Elath*, we ſhall purſue their commerce no further, it being foreign to our

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] l. 1. c. 1. [u] See before, p. 301. [w] Ubi ſupr.

our preſent purpoſe; but we ſhall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time let any one conſider the ſtate of trade in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*, before the diſcovery, or re-diſcovery as ſome * would have of it, of the cape of *Good-hope*, and, poſſibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but, as we are not diſpoſed to give much credit to his author *Cteſias*, we ſhall make no uſe of his hint, thinking it of no ſervice to us.

SECT. III.

Of the Chronology of the ancient Syrians.

BEfore we proceed to the little we can ſay upon this obſcure ſubject, we will exhibit a ſeries of the races of the ancient kings of *Syria*, according to different writers.

The Kings of *Zobah*, or *Sophene*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Joſephus*.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - -	*Arach* - - -	*Saul.*
Hadadezer, or *Hadarezer* (A) -	*Adrazar* - -	*David.*

The Kings of *Damaſcus*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Nic. Damaſc.*	According to *Joſephus*.	Contemporary with
* * * *	*Adad* I. - - -	*Adad* - - - -	*David.*
Rezon - - -	*Adad* II. - - -	Uncertain - - -	*Solomon.*
Hezion - - -	*Adad* III. * * *	* * * *	*Rehoboam.*
Tabrimon - -	*Adad* IV. * *	* * * *	*Abijam.*
Ben-hadad I. -	*Adad* V. - - -	*Adad* - - - -	*Aſa.*
Ben-hadad II.	*Adad* VI. * *	* * * *	*Jehoſhaphat and Jehoram.*
Hazael - - -	*Adad* VII. * *	* * * * *	*Ahaziah and Joaſh.*
Ben-hadad III. -	*Adad* VIII. * *	* * * *	*Amaziah.*
* * * * *	*Adad* IX. * *	* * * * *	*Uzziah.*
Rezin - - -	*Adad* X. - -	*Raſes*, or *Araſes*.	*Jotham and Ahaz.*

The Kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Joſephus*.	Contemporary with
Toi * * * *	*Thanus* * *	*David.*
Joram, or *Hadoram* - - -	*Joram* * * * * * *	
* * * * * * *		

The Kings of *Geſhur*.

According to Scripture.		
Ammihud -	Contemporary with - - -	*Saul.* - - -
Talmai - - - - - - -		*David.* - - -
* * * *		

WE have not minded the ſeniority of theſe kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or ſucceſſive order; but have given the ſecond place to *Damaſcus*, becauſe it roſe upon the ruins of *Zobah*, though *Hamath* and *Geſhur* were kingdoms before it (B).

WE

* V. HUET Hiſtoir. du Com. et de la Navigat. des Anc. Cap. 8.

(A) The difference between the *Hebrew* ד *D* and the *Hebrew* ר *R*, is ſo little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name ſpelt theſe two ways.

(B) Not that we imagine it had never been a kingdom before. *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (1) writes, that *Abraham* was king there, which we may

(1) *In Excerpt.* VALES.

a We have no positive assurance, that *Zobah* coalesced under one king in the days of *Saul*, or, consequently, that *Rehob* was their first king; we only build upon what we apprehend to have been the case. Their king had been beaten by *Saul*, and they thereupon may have come to the resolution of setting up one supreme, perceiving the *Israelites* to prosper so under their new monarchy. The *Philistines* seem to have done the like[y], at the same time, and for the same reason. If this be granted, none is so likely to have been the first king as *Rehob*, the father of the great *Hadadezer*, who in the days of *David* was so firmly seated in the newly-erected throne of *Zobah*, that he aspired at the universal monarchy of *Syria*, and in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as you will see in the history of his reign; as also that b if he was not the second, he was certainly the last king of *Zobah*; for we hear no more of the kingdom.

The kingdom of *Damascus* rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobah*. It was founded by *Rezon* in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign[z]. That *Rezon* seized on *Damascus*, while *David* was alive, or during the best days of *Solomon*, cannot be reconciled with scripture, as you will see in the history of those two kings; and that he deferred it till the reign of *Rehoboam* is very improbable; it may be doubted whether he lived so long: for, supposing him to have been but thirty years of age, which is the least we well can, when he served under *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* against *David*, he must have been about one hundred years of age when *Rehoboam* began to c reign. It is most likely then, that *Rezon* erected the kingdom of *Damascus*, while *Solomon* was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himself and his people.

Josephus, as may be observed in the table, makes one *Adad* king of *Damascus* contemporary with *David*, in which he is a strict follower of *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, whom in the next reign he drops. *Josephus*[a], instead of allowing *Rezon* to have made himself king at *Damascus*, seems to insinuate, that he made *Hadad*, the *Edomite*, king there, or some where else in *Syria*. We know there are those who in this matter think along with him. Perhaps the best argument that can be brought in proof, that the fugitive king of *Edom* was established on the throne of *Syria*[b], may be, that his successors possessed themselves of part of the *Edomitish* dominions, d and particularly *Elath* upon the *Arabian* gulf: but this argument will have but little weight with those, who consider that ambition and avarice may have had as large a share in that acquisition, as any conviction of an inherent right. But we forget, that our intention was only to prove, that the kingdom of *Damascus* commenced in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign.

Nicolas of *Damascus* seems to agree well enough with the scripture accounts of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly, if we suppose his first *Adad* to have been *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*; and that he was so, is pretty plain: nor is it any wonder, that he should have made the city of his birth the seat of a kingdom, only one reign longer than he ought to have made it. Besides, he may not be altogether mistaken, e in calling his first *Adad* king of *Damascus*; for, as may be observed hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not there reside. By calling his first *Adad* the *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*, we bring him to quadrate very well with the scripture.

It is impossible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned, wherefore we have only placed them over-against the princes of *David*'s line, or the kings of *Judah*.

We have on purpose avoided a dry discussion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the succession of these kings, and the length of their reigns.

f The kingdom of *Hamath* rose together with that of *Zobah*, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But we must observe, that it is at a venture we have placed *Joram* as successor to his father *Toi* in the kingdom.

The kingdom of *Geshur* seems to have risen together with *Zobah* and *Hamath*. We are not sure, that *Ammihud* preceded his son *Talmai* in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

[x] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [y] See before, p. 355. [z] See 1 Kings xi. 24. [a] Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.
[b] See before, p. 315.

may consider in the life of that patriarch. And from the same author, we suppose, *Trogus* borrowed the kings of *Damascus* he mentions to have reigned there, both before, and after, *Abraham*; as *Damascus*, *Azelus*, and *Adores* before him, and *Israhel* after him, as well as all the rest of his mistaken history of the *Jews*, who, according to him, are originally of *Damascus*.

SECT. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of the ancient Syrians.

The KINGS *of* ZOBAH.

Rehob. REHOB we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, and to have laid the foundations of his ſons grandeur.

Hadadezerr. HADADEZER, or *Haderezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king *David*. He had warred with advantage againſt the king of *Hamath*; aiming at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, we imagine; but when he oppoſed *David*'s progreſs towards the reduction of the land, which had been promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed, quite to the *Euphrates*[a], his good fortune left him. In the firſt battle he fought with *David* he loſt one thouſand chariots, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand Foot. The *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* then ſent their army to reinforce him. In the ſecond battle *Hadadezer* loſt two and twenty thouſand men. Thus beaten out of the field, the conqueror poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part of *Syria*, and particularly *Damaſcene*. *Hadadezer* now loſt his golden ſhields; for ſuch he had in his treaſury, we ſuppoſe; his two cities *Betah* and *Berothai*, exceedingly rich in braſs, were plundered[b], and his dominion was conſiderably diminiſhed and impoveriſhed. But it is likely nothing perplexed him more than the defection of *Rezon*, afterwards king of *Damaſcus*, who, leading the forces ſent him from that province, or *Hadadezer*'s own, uncertain which, deſerted him in the midſt of his adverſe fortune, and, gathering a band of men about him, lived an outlaw, and upon the ſpoil[c].

Year of the Flood, 1955, Year before Chriſt, 1044.

IT is not expreſſed, that *Hadadezer* became tributary to king *David*, nor indeed is it likely that he did, by what follows. For he furniſhed *Hanun* king of *Ammon* with twenty thouſand men againſt *David*; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a ſhameful flight by *Joab*[d]. Though he was paid for theſe twenty thouſand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet the next year he ſeems to have made himſelf ſo[e]. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; and every where elſe, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he got together a very conſiderable army, which he committed to the conduct of *Shobach* his General, to aſſiſt *Hanun* againſt *David* a ſecond time; or rather to make a deſperate effort to retrieve his own honour and dominion, or to humble *David*, if poſſible. But this great hoſt alſo miſcarried, being routed with the loſs of many thouſands, and *Shobach* himſelf was ſlain on the ſpot. The battle was fought at a place called *Helam*; about forty thouſand of the *Syrians* were ſlain, and among the reſt *Shobach*, as we have ſaid. The petty princes, that ſerved *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries[f], as *Hadadezer* himſelf did, as is very likely; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobah*, we find no further account.

The KINGS *of* DAMASCUS.

THE kingdom of *Zobah* being undone, that of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of it. REZON was the firſt king, the ſame who deſerted from *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*. He ſeized on *Damaſcus*, and was the founder of this noble kingdom, and he abhorred *Iſrael*, to whom he was a very troubleſome, inveterate enemy, taking advantage of *Solomon*'s neglect[g].

Hezion. HEZION ſucceeded *Rezon*; but whether he was his ſon, or any otherwiſe related to him, we know not (A). He lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*[h].

[a] See Geneſ. xv. 18. [b] 2 Sam. viii. 3—9. [c] 1 Kings xi. 23, 24. [d] See before, p. 297. [e] See before in the notes, p. 297. [f] 2 Sam. x. 15—19. [g] 1 Kings xi. 23—25. [h] Ibid. xv. 18.

(A) It is the joint opinion, of Sir *John Marſham* (1), Sir *Iſaac Newton* (2), and archbiſhop *Uſher* (3), that *Rezon* and *Hezion* are different names for the ſame king. It is impoſſible for us to declare ourſelves, either for or againſt it.

(1) *Canon. Chronic. Secul.* 13. (2) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p.* 221. (3) *Annal.*

TABRIMON

a TABRIMON (B) the ſon of *Hezion*. He, as well as his father, had no miſunderſtandings with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [i].

BEN-HADAD the ſon of *Tabrimon*. Ambaſſadors came to him with large gifts from *Aſa* king of *Judah*, by whom he was tempted to make war upon *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*; from whom his army took *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-beth-maachah*, all *Cinneroth*, and all the land of *Naphtali* [k], and, in the end, extended his power to the city of *Samaria* itſelf, as we ſhall ſee anon.

Ben-hadad I. Year of the Flood, 2059 Year before Chriſt, 940.

BEN-HADAD the ſon of *Ben-hadad*. He vigorouſly proſecuted the enmity his father had ſo ſucceſſively begun againſt *Iſrael*, but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interpoſition of heaven. When he firſt marched againſt *Iſrael*,

b we underſtand it to have been with mighty parade, he having no leſs than thirty two kings over his chariots [l], and a vaſt army of both horſe and foot. He proceeded, and ſat down before *Samaria*, and ſtrait ſummoned *Ahab* the king to ſurrender himſelf as his vaſſal; to acknowledge himſelf to be his creature; and that all belonging to him was at his ſervice and diſpoſal. To this he received as ſubmiſſive an anſwer as he could wiſh for. But his arrogance ſwelled to that pitch, that a bare verbal ſubmiſſion would not ſerve his turn. He ſent into *Samaria*, therefore, to admoniſh *Ahab*, that he intended the next day to ſend ſome officers to ſearch his palace and the city, for all the riches, women, and fine children (C), that they might ſeize on them, and bring them away. The king of *Iſrael* boldly refuſed to ſubmit

c to ſo unparalleled an indignity, which *Benhadad* little expecting, was highly exaſperated. He ſent a third time to *Ahab*, to try whether he could not threaten him into ſo baſe a compliance, wiſhing himſelf in a worſe condition than *Ahab*, if he did not bring ſuch an army before *Samaria*, that every ſoldier taking but a handful of it (D), there ſhould be no ſigns of it left. He received a ſtubborn reply to this vain menace, *Ahab* adviſing him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them.

Ben-hadad II. Year of the Flood, 2098. Year before Chriſt, 908.

THE *Syrian* army, which had hitherto been in looſe array, was now ordered to inveſt the city of *Samaria* in form, and get all ready for the aſſault. While this was doing, *Ben-hadad*, who ſeems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, betook himſelf to his pleaſure, fearleſs of all danger, for he could apprehend

d none. As he was in the midſt of his ſecurity and carouſals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at firſt cauſed a ſmall alarm in the camp, and diſturbed *Ben-hadad* himſelf. But when he underſtood what the matter was, he commanded, that they ſhould be brought before him alive, whether their deſigns were for peace or for war, and then returned to his cups. The party which was coming out of the city was, in fact, *Ahab* and a choice company with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged to fall upon the great hoſt of the *Syrians*. The *Syrians* on the other hand, dreaming of nothing leſs than an aſſault, thought they ſhould have nothing to do, but to conduct them to their king. But when *Ahab* and his followers were come up, and all at once laid about them furiouſly, the *Syrians*

e fled, and a pannic fear ſpread itſelf all over the camp, ſo that there was no one that thought of any thing elſe but ſaving himſelf; and particularly *Ben-hadad* mounted a horſe, and rode away with the reſt as faſt as he could, inſtead of rallying and confirming his people. They all fled, and the *Iſraelites* purſued them with a very great ſlaughter.

[i] 1 Kings xv. 18. [k] Ibid. ℣ 20. [l] Compare ibid. xx. 1. with ibid. xxii. 31.

(B) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (4) reckons him to have been ſubject to the *Egytians*, who under *Seſac*, or *Sciſhak*, conquered *Syria* (5), in this king's reign according to his hypotheſis; and that his ſon *Ben-hadad* ſhook off the yoke.

(C) This laſt particular is aggravated by ſome (6) into a great piece of inſolence and brutality; as if he ſent to *Ahab* for his moſt beautiful male children, to ſin againſt nature with them.

(D) This proud meſſage is very variouſly interpreted. The words of the text itſelf are: *The gods do ſo unto me, and more alſo, if the duſt of Samaria ſhall ſuffice for handfuls, for all the people that follow me* (7): or as it is in the margin, are *at my feet*. This, according to *Joſephus* (8), means no more, than that he had ſo numberleſs a multitude with him, that each taking but a handful of ſoil, could encompaſs *Samaria* with works that ſhould over-top the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of *Samaria*, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again ſuppoſe his meaning to have been, that he would return with ſuch an army, that if each ſoldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it ſhould be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and paſſionately ſpoken to ſet off the greatneſs of his kingdom.

(4) *Ubi ſupr.* (5) *See before in the Notes, p.* 249. (6) *Vide* CLERIC. *in* 1 *Reg. xx.* 3. (7) 1 *Kings xx.* 10. (8) *Antiq. l* 8. *c.* 8. (9) CLERIC. *in* 1 *Reg. ubi ſupr.* (10) PATRICK *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 10.

THE *Syrians* were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that, the gods of the *Iſraelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder, that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the *Iſraelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline, and deſired, that truſty ſkilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and never doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects could for him. And when the ſeaſon of the year came about, he marched towards the king of *Iſrael* with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boaſted towards the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Aphek*, in a plain we may be ſure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over-againſt the deſpicable numbers of the *Iſraelites* (F). Upon the ſeventh day it came to a battle between them, and that day the *Syrians* loſt of foot only one hundred thouſand. This ſlaughter ſo confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of *Aphek* itſelf, which was near, where twenty ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G).

Year of the Flood, 2099. Year before Chriſt, 900.

BEN-HADAD now gave all over for loſt, and was not a little ſurprized, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In deſpair therefore he concealed himſelf in the city of *Aphek*; but his officers reminding him, that the kings of *Iſrael* had been generous enemies, adviſed him to throw himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, and offered themſelves to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, with ſackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble diſguiſe they accordingly went and accoſted *Ahab*, intreating him in behalf of their king. *Ahab*, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and in a kind of tranſport called *Ben-hadad* his *brother*, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful *Syrians* caught at the word *brother*, and made the beſt uſe of it they could for the ſervice of their diſconſolate king. *Ben-hadad* then was brought to *Ahab*, who deſired him to ſtep up into his chariot. While he was thus in the chariot with *Ahab*, he made many proteſtations and promiſes to him. He promiſed to deliver up all his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*, and not only that, but to allow *Ahab* great authority in his capital *Damaſcus*, even the ſame his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria* (H). By theſe fair ſpeeches he ſo wrought upon the mind of *Ahab*, that he was immediately reſtored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded [m].

HOW ſtrictly ſoever *Ben-hadad* adhered to his word with *Ahab* in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war, wherein he was

[m] 1 Kings xx.

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worſhipped them. However, they muſt have known, that the *Jewiſh* law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Iſraelites* were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhipping *in high places*. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the *Syrians*, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well aſked, why the *Syrians*, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But it may be anſwered, that the *Iſraelites* were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chooſing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well aſked how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were beaten down upon them by the *Iſraelites*, or ſhook down by an earthquake (11). In a word, that God was immediately concerned in this deſtruction (12). It need not be ſuppoſed they were all deſtroyed, but partly killed, and partly wounded or diſperſed.

(H) What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad* promiſes to *Ahab* is very doubtful. What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad*'s father enjoyed in *Samaria*, is a queſtion we ſhould be glad to clear up, were it poſſible. *Joſephus* (13) has it, that *Ahab* ſhould have as free liberty in *Damaſcus* as his father had had in the city of *Samaria*, which was built but a few years before by *Omri* king of *Iſrael*. It is moſt likely, according to the *LXX* and the *Vulgate*, that he promiſes *Ahab*, the *Iſraelites* ſhould live free in *Damaſcus*, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they ſhould have free ingreſs and egreſs [Ἐξόδου], according to the former, or build them ſtreets to live together, by their own country laws, according to

(11) PATRICK *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 30. (12) CLERIC. *in* 1 *Reg. xx.* 30. (13) *Antiq. ubi ſup.* invaded

a invaded by *Ahab*, who alſo prevailed on *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Judah*, to be his confederate. The two kings led their forces againſt *Ramoth-gilead*; where they found the *Syrians* prepared to receive them; but *Ahab*, having ſufficient reaſon to fear that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of *Judah* put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions of *Ahab* were not without foundation; for the king of *Syria* commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only againſt the king of *Iſrael*. This had like to have proved fatal to *Jehoſhaphat*, who had inevitably been ſlain, had not the officers ceaſed their purſuit of him, when they diſcovered that he was not the perſon they had in commiſſion to deſtroy. But *Ahab*'s

b precautions could not ſave him from the fate he endeavoured to evade; for one of the *Syrians* (I) drew a bow at a venture, and ſmote him between the Joints of his harneſs: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. But whether the *Syrian* chiefs had any knowledge of this accident, and, giving over their ſearch, joined in the aſſault, we cannot pretend to ſay; but it appears, that the battle was fierce and obſtinate, and that it laſted till night; under the covert of which each ſide drew off, with equal loſs and doubtful victory [n].

The Story of Naaman's Leproſy.

Now the general, who commanded the *Syrians* in the laſt battle, was called *Naaman*; and, for his behaviour and conduct upon that day, his maſter beheld him as the deliverer of his country, and received him into higheſt favour as ſuch: and indeed he ſeems to have been a very excellent perſon; but, unfortunately, he was a

c leper, which drew him to *Samaria*, hoping there to be cleanſed, as he was. For the *Syrians*, it ſeems, continuing at enmity with *Iſrael*, made frequent inroads into their country, and, at times, carried off great booty, and numbers of captives. It happened, that a captive among the reſt, a *little maid*, as ſhe is called, ſerved in the houſe of *Naaman*; and obſerving her maſter to be a leper, would wiſh him at *Samaria*, where was a prophet who could relieve him. Thus was ſhe wont to expreſs herſelf to her miſtreſs; and at laſt it was reported to *Naaman* himſelf, that ſhe had ſaid ſo and ſo. *Naaman* then told it to *Ben-hadad*, who was for embracing any opportunity to procure him relief, and with that intent wrote a letter to the king

d of *Iſrael*, to recommend *Naaman* to him, and to entreat, that he would cure him of his leproſy. With this letter *Naaman* departed, taking with him ten talents of ſilver, ſix thouſand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment, that he might reward the perſon that ſhould cleanſe him, in proportion to his own elevated rank, and in proportion to the value of ſo great a bleſſing. He mounted his chariot, and went, attended by a number of horſemen, and delivered his letter to the king of *Iſrael*. *Jehoram* miſtook *Ben-hadad*'s meaning, and thought he wanted him in perſon to cure *Naaman*, an impoſſibility for him to do, and fancied, that he only ſought thereby an opportunity to wage open war with him. *Naaman* in this comfortleſs dilemma, received a meſſage from *Eliſha*, who promiſed to help him. He therefore

e went to the prophet's houſe, and ſtopped at the door with all his train. Here he waited ſome time, and at laſt a ſervant came out to him from the prophet, with orders, that he ſhould waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river *Jordan* (K). This direction,

[n] 1 Kings xxii. 3, 30—35.

to the latter; and the ſame, it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the *Syrians* in *Samaria*: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. "Some think by *ſtreets*, he means "market-places where commodities were ſold, "the toll of which ſhould belong to *Ahab*. "Others think he means *courts of judgment*, "where he ſhould maintain a juriſdiction over "*Ben-hadad*'s ſubjects: others, that we now "call a piazza, of which *Ahab* ſhould receive "the rents. But commonly interpreters think "he means *fortifications*, whereby he might "bridle the chief city of the kingdom of *Syria*; "that they might not make irruptions into the "land of *Iſrael*. Citadels, as we now ſpeak, "to keep them in awe, and to be a check to "them, if they attempted any thing againſt the "*Iſraelites*: yet, after all, *Gotf. Vallandus* hath "laid a great deal to prove, that the *Hebrew* "word ſignifies *Palaces*; which he being allowed "to build, was a great token of ſubjection (13). We muſt here obſerve, that we read of no cities *Ben-hadad*'s father took from *Ahab*'s. What he took was from *Baaſha*. However, he may have made other incroachments upon the kingdom of *Iſrael*, which are omitted.

(I) The *Syrian* who drew this bow is, by *Joſephus*, called *Aman*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Ben-hadad* was in this battle himſelf; to us it ſeems, that he did not command in perſon, but committed the conduct of this war to *Naaman*.

(K) It is obſerved, that by the laws of *Moſes* lepers were ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed, that there was ſomething peculiarly efficacious in a ſevenfold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within ſeven days (15); that accordingly it was enjoyned in honour of god, and being performed, had its proper effects.

(13) PATRICK *upon* 1 *Kings* xx. 34. (14) *Levit.* xiv. 7. (15) CLERIC. *in* 2 *Reg.* v.

after so patient an attendance, provoked him to disdain. He thought he was derided. He expected the prophet to have appeared in person, in a formal manner, to call upon the name of GOD, and apply his hands to the afflicted parts. If washing could be of any avail, he thought the streams of *Abana* and *Pharpar* at *Damascus*, far beyond any waters of *Israel*: in short, thus disappointed, as he thought, he gave vent to the keenest resentment. But his attendants, much grieved to observe him in such disorder, begged him, in the most discreet and affectionate terms, to consider how easy a matter it was to follow the prophet's directions, whether any good came of it or not; and he, being a man of sense, hearkned to them, and drove to the river, and dipping himself seven times therein, was perfectly changed (K).

HE returned to the prophet with inexpressible joy, renounced all Idolatry, and would gladly have forced a present upon him; but his endeavours this way were to no purpose. He entreated the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, it being his design to worship or sacrifice to none other but GOD. He then consulted *Elisha*, whether or no it might be lawful for him to attend on his king in the temple of *Rimmon*, his office requiring him to support his prince at his devotions, so that he could not avoid bowing down when he did. As for the earth, it is not said that the prophet granted him any (L); and as for his scruple of conscience we have not the prophet's decision thereon; he left it, perhaps undecided, as a matter of indifference in *Naaman*'s case, and dismissed him in peace.

NAAMAN, thus purified both in body and mind, departed; but, being on the road, was circumvented by *Gehazi* the prophet's servant, who accosted him with a forgery in the prophet's name, whereby he got from him one talent of silver, and two changes of raiment; wherefore his leprosy became entailed upon *Gehazi* and his posterity; which is said to have given this generous *Syrian* an opportunity of displaying a noble instance of his generosity, the good effects of which are said to subsist at this very day (M).

SOON after *Naaman*'s return to *Damascus*, *Ben-hadad* began to execute some private designs against *Jehoram* king of *Israel*; whence it is natural enough gathered, that *Naaman* either died, or resigned, or was discarded, very soon after his return home (N). It was not an open war that *Ben-hadad* meditated against the king of *Israel*, but all was secret, and mysterious, and stratagem (O). But *Ben-hadad* was continually frustrated in all his aims, and began to suspect the fidelity of some about him. To remove so dangerous a suspicion from his breast, he was told, that it must certainly be *Elisha* who disconcerted all his measures, he being indued with such a degree of omniscience that nothing could be concealed from him, though transacted

(K) This, says bishop *Patrick* (16), was the only cure of a leprosy we read of, till CHRIST, the great prophet, came into the world. It was, and still is, in those parts, as loathsome a disease, as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leprosy which is seen among us. It defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wrists and ankles, which swell out with a gouty scrophulous substance, very loathsome to look on; the legs of those afflicted with it look like those of old battered horses: in short, it may pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave (17).

(L) It is not said, in the text, that *Elisha* granted this his request; but our translators, in their argument to the chapter, where this whole story is found, imagine that he did. From the words which follow, it appears, that he wanted this earth to raise an altar with it, a pious motive, though mistaken.

(M) This is said by a meer tradition, no doubt, but we do not know how to pass it over. At *Damascus*, just by the city walls, is an hospital richly endowed for the reception of lepers; said to be the same built by *Naaman* for *Gehazi*, servant to *Elisha* (18).

(N) A late writer (19) tells us, without hesitation, that *Naaman* lost his great office of General for refusing to worship *Rimmon*; but the argument he builds on, which is the next thing we shall consider, seems to be but weak.

(O) The words of the text (20) itself are; *Then the king of* Syria *warred against* Israel, *and took counsel with his servants, saying, in such and such a place* shall be *my camp*; and by what follows, he enjoyned them strict secresy. From hence the late writer (21), we just now touched on, affirms that *Naaman* was displaced; for which reason the king of *Syria* now commanded his army in person, and being not used to such exercises, he on all occasions consulted his general officers. Did not *Ben-hadad* command his army twice in person before; once at *Samaria*, and once in the fatal day of *Aphek*? why then should he not command it a third time? and why must he be so ignorant in military affairs? if he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, must it be thought he did it always? Finally, what wise king was there ever who did not on all occasions consult his general Officers? It is certainly wrong in an historian to be positive in matters of palpable darkness, to be fond of an hopothesis, that is, to write by the Spirit.

(16) *Upon* 2 *Kings* v. 14. (17) MAUNDRELL's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerus. in the Append. Letter* II. (18) THEVENOT's *Travels into the Levant*, *Par.* II. *Book* I. *Cap. iv.* (19) BEDFORD's *Script. Chron. p.* 627. (20) 2 *Kings* vi. 8. (21) BEDFORD *ubi supr.*

in the greateſt privacy imaginable. *Ben-hadad* had heard enough concerning that prophet, from *Naaman*, to incline him to believe as much; and therefore, by a ſtrange abſence of thought, reſolved to lay hands on him in the firſt place; and to that purpoſe, detached a ſtrong party to *Dothan*, where he underſtood him then to be. They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight, that they ſuffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their right ſenſe returned to them, that they might behold their ſituation. Here, inſtead of being made priſoners of war, they were hoſpitably entertained, and generouſly diſmiſſed; and making their report to *Ben-hadad* of all that had happened, the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a ſtop was put to the war (P).

THIS peaceable diſpoſition ſubſiſted not long, and in the concluſion *Ben-hadad* marched againſt *Samaria* [p] once more. The city he beſieged with his whole force, reduced it to the greateſt ſtraits, and was on the point of taking it by famine; ſo that either the ſiege was long and obſtinate, or elſe the place was poorly ſtored. He, as we have ſaid, was on the point of taking the city, when he was alarmed in the night, by a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing in upon him; and preſently it came into his head, that *Joram* had hired the kings of the *Hittites* (Q) and *Egypt* to come to his relief; the apprehenſion of which ſo terrified him, that he raiſed the ſiege with unſpeakable precipitation. His army would not ſo much as take time to mount, but left every thing ſtanding in the camp juſt as it was, when they took the alarm, and dropped every thing that was in the leaſt cumberſom to them as they went along. They might have tracked them by the cloaths and veſſels they threw away from them in their haſte [q].

BEN-HADAD muſt at this time have been well advanced in years, and whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his ſurprize, or whether his ſpirits were broken by ſo repeated a ſhame, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick it was told him, the prophet *Eliſha* was coming to *Damaſcus* (R); whereupon he ſent *Hazael*, with forty camels load of the choiceſt productions (S) of *Damaſcus*, to conſult the prophet concerning his indiſpoſition. *Hazael* then went to the prophet, whom he accoſted in the moſt reſpectful manner on the behalf of *Ben-hadad*. The anſwer he received was, that *Ben-hadad* might recover, but would not. The prophet having expreſſed himſelf in this dark manner, fixed his eyes upon *Hazael*, till he put the man out of countenance (T), and ſuddenly burſt into tears. *Hazael*, amazed at this, and humbly deſiring to know what might be the cauſe of it, was told, That he was to ſucceed *Ben-hadad*, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*; that he would ſet their ſtrong holds on fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up their women with child. *Hazael* profeſſed to underſtand not what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how ſo mean a perſon as himſelf could ever have it in his power to commit ſuch outrages (U): whereupon he received a further confirmation, a confirmation from God himſelf, that he was to be king of *Syria*. With this he returns to his maſter, who, by this ſollicitous meſſage to the prophet, unknowingly ſhortened the term of

[p] 2 Kings vi. 8—29. [q] Ibid. vii. 6, 7.

(P) According to *Joſephus* (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private deſigns, and ſtrait reſolved, in ſtead thereof, to wage open war with *Jehoram*.

(Q) Who theſe kings of the *Hittites* were is very uncertain. *Joſephus* (23) calls them the kings of the iſlands. That any remnant of the *Canaaniti/h Hittites* ſhould at this time be formidable in any of theſe parts, is paſt our underſtanding, though ſome think that way (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſervitude by *Solomon* (25).

(R) By *Joſephus* (26), the prophet was not yet arrived at *Damaſcus*, and *Hazael* was ſent out to meet him. Some (27) ſuppoſe he was juſt coming into the city.

(S) By the largeneſs of this preſent, it is thought *Eliſha* was accompanied by many of the ſons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been ſufficient (28).

(T) This ſeems to be the moſt natural explication of the text. *Hazael* beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his ſuperior, and therefore was abaſhed when *Eliſha* fixed his eyes ſo ſtedfaſtly upon him.

(U) The text runs; *But what is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?* Whereby moſt have underſtood, that he diſclaimed ſuch barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this paſſage is, *but what is thy ſervant, a dog?* alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirm'd by the prophet's anſwer, that he was to be king of *Syria*; which comes in very naturally.

(22) *Antiq. l.* 9. *c.* 2. (23) *Ubi ſupr.* (24) PATRICK *upon* 1 *Kings x.* 29. CRERIC *in* 2 *Reg. vii.* 6. (25) *See before, p.* 337. (26) *Ubi ſupr.* (27) PATRICK *upon* 2 *Kings viii.* 7. (28) CLERIC. *in* 2 *Reg. viii.* 9. (29) *See* PATRICK *upon* 2 *Kings viii.* 13. *Vid. etiam* CLERIC. *in* 2 *Reg. viii.* 13. *& Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupr.*

his

Hazael.

his days. *Hazael* flattered him with hopes of recovery, but the next day ſtifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water [r]. So ended the reign of the great *Ben-hadad*, who, having adorned *Damaſcus* with fine ſtructures, as is ſaid, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was advanced to be a god (X) [t].

Year of the Flood, 2115. Year before Chriſt, 884.

Hazael, having thus murdered his ſick lord, aſcended his throne. He had, by the wiſe providence of God, been nominated to the diadem of *Syria* ſome years before, and the prophet *Elijah* had orders to anoint him [u]. He was a ſcourge in the hand of God, to chaſtiſe the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and under him the *Syrian* monarchy aroſe to its meridian. However, he ſeems to have ſat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*, who leagued againſt him to wreſt *Ramoth-gilead* out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of *Ben-hadad*; and ſo it happened, that *Hazael* either could not, or would not prevent them from poſſeſſing themſelves of that city, as we apprehend, though *Joram* was dangerouſly wounded in the attempt. But *Hazael* made himſelf ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and purſuing them almoſt to deſtruction. He began with *Jehu* king of *Iſrael*, and ſubdued to his dominion, all in general that belonged to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, the countries of *Gilead* and *Baſhan*, the two tribes *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* [v]. In the proſecution of this conqueſt he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, all the things the mournful prophet had foretold of him, in the remarkable converſation they had together (Y).

Year of the Flood, 2150. Year before Chriſt, 850.

With the ſame fury and ſucceſs he waged war upon *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, till he had left him but fifty horſe, ten chariots, and ten thouſand foot; for the reſt had periſhed in battle againſt *Hazael*, who, as it is ſtrongly expreſs'd, *made them like the duſt by threſhing*; and, to conclude, he oppreſſed *Iſrael* all his days [w].

Hazael, having thus chaſtiſed *Iſrael*, turned his arms againſt the kingdom of *Judah*, for they had both confederated againſt him; ſo that he had a fair pretence for aſſiſting them both. He croſſed the *Jordan* therefore; and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful attempts upon other places, as we may ſuppoſe, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and royal city of *Gath*, which had been the ſeat of the *Philiſtine* kings, but was now poſſeſſed by the houſe of *David* [x]. His next thought was to attempt *Jeruſalem* itſelf; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted therefrom by the rich gifts of the weak and apoſtate *Jehoaſh*, who then reigned at *Jeruſalem*; and who, dreading the *Syrian* power, ſent *Hazael* all the treaſure and rich moveables that had been ſet apart, and dedicated by his father for ſacred, and other uſes. *Hazael* was pacified with ſo noble a preſent, and deſiſted from his deſigns againſt *Jeruſalem* [a] for a while.

But he was ſoon ſtirred up again to war upon *Jeruſalem*; he had not yet been the inſtrument of ſufficient judgment upon that diſtracted city. Wherefore towards the end of the ſame year, as we apprehend, he detached a party from his army to ſerve againſt that city, and to make good his firſt intentions on it. This party is expreſly remarked to have been very ſmall; but yet it prevailed againſt the great hoſt of *Jehoaſh* king of *Judah*, ſacked *Jeruſalem*, ſlew all the princes of the people there, and ſent their ſpoil to *Hazael* at *Damaſcus* (Z). And by this expedi-

[r] Ibid. viii. 7—15. [t] Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. [u] 1 Kings xix. 15. [w] 2 Kings x. 31—33.
[x] Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. [v] Ibid. xii. 17. [a] See before in the Notes, p. 357, 359. [a] 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

(X) We are almoſt tempted to think, that *Hazael* may have been the chief promoter of this deſolation, to cover his own guilt. He ſeems to have been afraid it ſhould be known he was the murderer of his maſter, by his manner of diſpatching him. *Joſephus* calls this *Ben hadad*, by the names of *Adad*, *Adar*, and *Ader*; which difference ariſes from the near ſimilitude of the *Hebrew R* and *D*, as we have already (30) noted. The former number being printed off and diſperſed, we cannot otherwiſe correct a fault in the liſt of the *Damaſcene* kings, according to *Joſephus*, where his *Adad*, which now ſtands oppoſite to *Ben-hadad* I, according to the ſcripture account, ought to be brought down to a line with *Ben-hadad* II. According to Sir *Iſaac Newton* (31), the *Damaſcus* and *Arathes* we formerly mentioned (32), were this *Ben-hadad* and his queen, who were worſhipped in their ſepulchres or temples. But by this ſuppoſition it ſhould ſeem, that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the *Syrians*, whereas *Joſephus* (33) talks of ſtately temples erected by *Ben-hadad* in his life-time (34).

(Y) *Joſephus* (35) aſſures us he did; that he neither ſpared man, woman, or child, wherever he came, but put all to fire and ſword.

(Z) *Joſephus* (36) makes but one expedition of theſe two. According to him, *Hazael*, having taken *Gath*, ſtrait beſieged *Jeruſalem*; whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the great bribes mentioned in ſcripture. But it is impoſſible, that

(30) *See before in the Notes*, p. 380. (31) *Short Chron.* p. 32. (32) *See before in the Notes*, p. 372. (33) *Ubi ſupr.* (34) *See Sir* Isaac Newton's *Chron. of anc. kingd. apud* p. 222. (35) *Ubi ſupr.* c. 8. (36) *Ibid.*

a tion did *Hazael* alſo make himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the red ſea, as appears, and as we ſhall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the hiſtory of *Rezin*, the laſt king of *Syria*. *Hazael* having thus ſubdued, and tyrannized over the kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, died, and was deified (A).

HE left behind him a ſon and a ſucceſſor, called *Ben-hadad*, who ſuffered a total reverſe of his father's fortune, e'er he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by *Johoaſh*, the ſon of *Jehohaz* king of *Iſrael*, whereby he loſt all that his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*. Nothing more is ſaid of this obſcure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely, than that this *Ben-hadad* was ſubdued to a tribute by *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Johoaſh*, king of *Iſrael*, who kept *Syria* b in the ſtricteſt ſubjection, during all his long reign. *Ben-hadad* III. Year of the Flood, 2163. Year before Chriſt, 836.

THE *Syrians* recovered themſelves again, amidſt the diſorders which raged in the kingdom of *Iſrael* upon *Jeroboam*'s death; but not ſo perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we are apt to think they were under conſiderable acknowledgments to the newly-erected empire of *Aſſyria* (C). But not to dwell on this uncertainty, *Rezin* was their laſt king. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*. They were ſtirred up by heaven to puniſh *Ahaz*, and their deſign was to dethrone him, and make room for a ſtranger to *David*'s line, called *Tabael*[b]. With this intent they beſieged *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem*, but without effect. *Rezin*, however, that he might not c be wholly a ſufferer by this diſappointment, marched his army into *Edom*, and, whatever elſe he did there, made himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the red ſea, which he annexed once more to the dominion of *Syria* (D), and there he planted a colony of *Rezin*. Year of the Flood, 2257. Year before Chriſt, 742.

[b] Iſa. vii. 1—6.

what is ſaid of *Hazael*'s war with *Judah*, as it is repreſented in the ſecond book of *Kings* (37), and in the book of *Chronicles* (38), ſhould have been otherwiſe than we have repreſented. Nothing is plainer, than that thoſe two books ſpeak of two very widely different events.

(A) It is no wonder, conſidering the blindneſs of the times, that they deified ſo fortunate and ſo great a prince as *Hazael*. He, as well as his predeceſſor *Ben-hadad*, adorned *Damaſcus* with temples, and their ſtatues were carried about in proceſſion in the days of *Joſephus* (39), the *Syrians* boaſting their antiquity. From hence there is is room to imagine theſe two to have been their primary deities, and that the temples they are famed for building, were no more than noble ſepulchres for themſelves (40); but we forbear to expatiate hereon, and, having given the hint, ſubmit it to better judgments.

(B) It is ſaid (41), *The anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and Ben-hadad the ſon of Hazael, all their days.* Whence it might be imagined, that *Ben-hadad* kept *Iſrael* under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original, and by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no ſuch thing, referring only to the days of *Hazael* himſelf. To ſolve this matter, however, it is likely, that *Ben-hadad* was taken into the government by his father as his colleague; and that as long as they reigned together,, they kept *Iſrael* under. St. *Jerome* (43) writes, that all the ſubſequent kings of *Syria* were called *Ben-hadad* from this prince, the third of the name according to ſcripture. This we take notice of, as it is apparently a great miſtake. This prince borrowed the name of *Ben-hadad* from the firſt race of the *Damaſcene* kings, to which his father was an alien. The names *Hadad* and *Ben-hadad* were affected, as it ſeems, by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadezer of Zobah* downwards. *Ben-hadad* ſignifies only the ſon of *Hadad*. The father of the firſt prince of this name is called *Tabrimon*; but by his ſon's name it may to ſome appear, that he was alſo ſtiled *Hadad* (44). *Joſephus* calls him *Adad*, and we muſt deſire the reader once more to excuſe an omiſſion in the liſt of *Damaſcene* kings, according to that hiſtorian, and to write *Adad* under *Hazael*.

(C) This is a conjecture which we apprehend to have ſome tolerable foundation. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* had been broken and enervated by ſervitude under *Iſrael*; and when *Pul* king of *Aſſyria*, was ſtirred againſt *Menahem*, the third that bore the title of king in *Iſrael* after *Jeroboam*, we cannot conceive, but he muſt have marched through *Syria*, and have made himſelf maſter there in the firſt place. It is plain he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing *Iſrael* before he had ſecured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that *Syria*, invited him, ſubmitted to him, and joined him, and that it now firſt became a province of *Aſſyria*.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he *recovered* Elath *to* Syria; ſo, ſays the vulgate; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin rex Syriæ, Ailam Syriæ*. Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he ſent a part of his army againſt *Jeruſalem* (45). *Ben-hadad* II. his predeceſſor, had no war that we read of with and king of *Judah*, and after *Hazael*'s death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah* king of *Judah* reſtored it to *Judah* (46), and drove out the *Syrians* (47), when they were ſubdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*. *Le Clerk*, in his verſion will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from לארם *Laaram*, to לאדים *Leedom*. It had been but common juſtice in *Rezin* to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *le Clerk*'s notion that he did it, becauſe the place was

(37) *xii.* 17, 18. (38) *xxiv.* 23, 24. (39) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 2. (40) *See Sir* ISAAC NEWTON's *Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. p.* 222. *See before, p.* 372. (41) 2 *Kings xiii.* 3. (42) ℣ 22. (43) *Amos* i. (44) *See before, p.* 382. (45) *See before, p.* 388. (46) 2 *Kings xiv.* 12. (47) *See* PATRICK *upon* 2 *Kings xvi.* 6.

his own (E), which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom itſelf
Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt, 741. of *Syria* [c].

The next year *Rezin* and *Pekah* proſecuted the war againſt *Ahaz*, and, to diſtract him the more, divided their power into three bodies, that they might invade him in three different places at once. *Rezin*, for his part, ſucceeded well by this diviſion; for he loaded his army with ſpoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to *Damaſcus* [d].

But this acquiſition proved fatal to *Rezin* and his kingdom: for *Ahaz*, grown deſperate, and bent upon revenge, ſent all he had to *Tiglath-pileſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, therewith to bribe him againſt *Rezin*. Hence it was (F), that *Rezin* was invaded by *Tiglath-pileſar*, who ſlew him, and carried *Damaſcus* (G) away captive to *Kir*, whi-
Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt, 740. ther they were tranſplanted [e]. Thus was the empire of the ancient *Syrians* aboliſhed according to the prophets; *Behold Damaſcus is taken away from* being *a city* ---- *and the kingdom* ſhall ceaſe *from Damaſcus, and the remnant of Syria* [f] --- *I will ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, which ſhall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. I will* ---*cut off* ---- *him that holdeth the ſcepter from the houſe of Eden: and the people of Syria ſhall go into captivity unto Kir, ſaith the* Lord [g].

The KINGS *of* HAMATH.

We have but a very ſhort, and imperfect account of theſe kings, whether as to their firſt ſetting up, or their continuance; and there is ſome doubt as to the ſituation of their city (H). They ſeem to have been raiſed by the *Syrians* of the *Canaanitiſh* blood (I); at the ſame time the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, who we think were *Aramites* erected their kingdom. And this they did perhaps to defend themſelves againſt the ambitious views of that new monarchy, and to keep themſelves in one diſtinct and entire body. But however this was, for we are perfectly in the dark concerning it, thus far is certain, that *Toi* (K), their firſt king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with *Hadadezer*, the great king of *Zobah*; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing elſe, but his refuſal to ſubmit to the power of that ambitious prince. In all probability, he was on the verge of ſubjection, when *Hadadezer* bowed under the
Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt, 1044. ſuperior might of *David*; who had humbled the pride of *Zobah*, *Toi* beheld him in a double light, as his preſent deliverer, and his future protector. *Toi* therefore, to ſecure his people in their rights, and himſelf on the throne, ſent his ſon *Joram* with a coſtly

[c] 2 Kings xvi. 5. [d] See 2 Chron. xviii. 5—7. [e] 2 Kings ubi ſupr. ℣ 9. [f] Iſa. xvii. 1, 3. [g] Amos i. 4, 5.

was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of *Judah*, and might upon that account have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the vulgate agree, that *Rezin* having ſubdued this place, the *Edomites* took poſſeſſion of it. But it is not to be imagined, that *Rezin* could ſo eaſily part with ſo fine an acquiſition. If any heed may be given to *Joſephus* (48), he agrees with our reading and tranſlation, ſaying, that *Rezin* planted a colony of *Syrians* in *Elath*.

(F) Not for this reaſon only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that *Rezin*, being a turbulent enterprizing prince, gave umbrage to *Tiglath-pileſar*, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under ſome other obligation. For *Tiglath-pileſar* had warred in theſe parts before, with great ſucceſs againſt the *Iſraelitiſh* dominions (49). He may have been prompted to deſtroy *Rezin*, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn *Ahaz*'s bribe, who promiſed to become his tributary into the bargain.

(G) *Joſephus* (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(H) This city was called *Hamath*, and ſometimes *Hamath the great* (51): whence ſome have conceived there were two *Hamaths*, or cities ſo diſtinguiſhed; but for the ſame reaſon they ought to think there were two *Sidons*, which was ſometimes called plain *Sidon*, and ſometimes *Sidon the Great* (52). *Joſephus* (53) places *Hamath* to the north of the land of *Canaan*, and *Abulfeda* (54), who reigned in *Hamath*, and, who being ſo learned a prince as he was, ſhould know at leaſt as well as any body, places *Hamath* upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*, that river ſurrounding it on the eaſt and north. There was a country of *Hamath*, ſurnamed *Zobah*, which lay to the eaſtward of the land of *Canaan*, about *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor* (55); ſo that here may have been another city of the name, whence, after all, may have been derived the diſtinction of *Hamath the Great*.

(I) We have already offered ſomething from the orientals, in proof, that ſome of *Canaan*'s deſcendants did ſettle themſelves in *Syria* (56); to which we will now add from *Abulfeda* (57), that this whole country was called *Shâm*, becauſe many of the ſons of *Canaan* فتشاءموا *Taſhâmu*, or travelling towards the left hand in migrating thither; for *Syria* lies to the left of the *Caaba* at *Mecca*. This is one way of accounting for the name of *Shâm*, there are others which may be remarked hereafter.

(K) *Joſephus* writes him *Thœnus*;

(48) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 12. (49) *See* 2 *Kings xv.* 29. (50) *Ubi ſupr.* (51) *Amos vi.* 2. (52) *Joſh. xi.* 8. (53) *Antiq. l.* 9. *c.* 11. (54) *Vid.* Schult. *Comment. Georg. in. vit.* Salad. *ad voces* Fulvius Orontes & Hamata. (55) *See* 2 *Chron. viii.* 3, 4. 1 *Kings ix.* 18. (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 371. (57) *Vid.* Schult. *ubi ſupr. ad vocem* Syria.

a a coſtly preſent in veſſels of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, therewith to conciliate the fortunate conqueror, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him [a]. All this, to our apprehenſion, implies, that *Toi* became thereafter the creature of *David*, and tributary to his throne.

WHOEVER ſucceeded *Toi*, whether his ſon *Joram*, or *Hadoram*, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at *Jeruſalem*, till *Rezon*, the founder of the *Damaſcene* kingdom, aroſe. At this time it is likely the king of *Hamath* ſubmitted to a new maſter, or protector. To conclude; this kingdom was moſt certainly ſubject to the king of *Damaſcus*, as was the reſt of *Syria*, till *Jeroboam* king of *Jeruſalem* prevailed againſt it [i], when he reduced *Damaſcus*. Upon the b diſſolution and captivity of *Damaſcus* it may have lifted up its head a little [k]; but the *Hamathites* were in their turn conquered, and tranſplanted, by *Sennacherib* and *Eſarhaddon* [l], kings of *Aſſyria*. So ended the ancient kingdom of *Hamath*.

The KINGS *of* GESHUR.

THE kings of *Geſhur*, if compared with thoſe of *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were far more conſiderable for the alliance *David* made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families, which in ancient times divided the whole country of *Syria* between them. The firſt of them we meet with is c called AMMIHUD, who being the father of *Talmai* [m], who is expreſly ſaid to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the ſame title.

TALMAI. He had a daughter named *Maacha*, who was wife to *David* [n], and the mother of *Abſalom*, whom he ſheltered three years [o], when he fled to him for the murder of his brother *Amnon*. To conclude; we cannot doubt, but that *Geſhur* bore the *Damaſcene* yoke, till they finally changed it for the *Aſſyrian*, and were tranſplanted, as were all the other *Syrians*. Year of the Flood, 1969. Year before Chriſt, 1030.

CHAP. VI.

The History of the PHOENICIANS.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of PHOENICE.

THE tract we commonly call *Phœnicia* is, more accurately *Phœnice*; which being ſufficiently known to the learned, we ſhall not multiply words about it, d but haſten to what is more material.

WHENCE it borrowed this name of *Phœnice* is not determined. Some [a] derive it from one *Phœnix*: others [b], from the *Greek* word *Phœnix*, ſignifying a palm, or date; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: ſome [c] again ſuppoſe that *Phœnice* is originally a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* word *Edom*, from the *Edomites* who fled hither [d] in the days of *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan* (for it was a part of that land) it was alſo called *Chna* [e]. Anciently it was alſo called *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis* [f] (A). The *Jews* were wont to call it *Canaan* [g], though ſome part of it at leaſt

[a] 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10. [i] 2 Kings xix. 28. [k] 2 Kings xviii. 34. xix. 11, 13. [l] Compare Ezra iv. 2. with Kings xvii. 24. [m] 2 Sam. xiii. 37. [n] Ibid. iii. 3. [o] Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xvi. 8.
[a] SYNCELL. p. 152. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 158. [c] Sir ISA. NEWT. Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend.
[d] See before, p. 314. [e] See before in the Notes, p. 88. [f] STEPH. BYZAN. ad vocem. Φοινίκη.
[g] Vid. Matt. v. 1.

(L) *Joſephus* (59) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

(A) This laſt name is a tranſlation of the firſt: רבוטן, *Rabbotſen*, is in *Hebrew* a great gulph or bay. From *Rabbotſen*, by changing the *Hebrew* *TS* into the *Greek* *T*, comes *Rabboten*, and with a little variation *Rhabbothin*. Κόλπος, *Colpos*, is *Greek* alſo for a bay or gulph; whence it appears, that *Colpitis*, or *Colpites*, is a tranſlation of *Rhabbothin*. *Bochart* (1) therefore is of opinion, that theſe names did not properly belong to the eaſtern *Phœnice*, or the country properly ſo called, but to the *Phœnician* colonies in *Africa*, whoſe principal cities ſtood upon great and deep gulphs or bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow, that theſe names may have diſtinguiſhed a part of the proper *Phœnice* near *Libanus*, as he expreſſes himſelf, becauſe it had a deep gulph or bay, according to *Mela*. *Tripoli* ſtands in the deepeſt bay, at preſent, on this coaſt.

(59) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 8.* (1) *Geogr. ſacr. l. 2. c. 13. col. 746.*

leaſt they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice*[h] (B). Theſe were the names peculiar to the ſmall country before us, though of them *Phœnice* was ſometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judæa*; and *Canaan* to the *Philiſtines*[i], and even the *Amalekites* (C). On the contrary, theſe two names, and the reſt, were moſt generally ſwallowed up by thoſe of *Paleſtine*[k] and *Syria* (D).

THE proper *Phœnice*, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the thirty ſecond and thirty fifth degrees of north latitude. It took up no great ſpace of longitude; but whether more or leſs we ſhall paſs it over, being quite in the dark as to that. This, as near as we can gather, was the extent of this kingdom, and its ſituation. In general we may ſay, it was bounded by *Syria* on the north and the eaſt; by *Judah* on the ſouth; and by the mediterranean on the weſt.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime and the mediterranean, or the coaſt and the country[l].

AND theſe two general diviſions were ſubdivided into diſtricts depending upon the more remarkable towns and cities, and ſo on. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that this country was partitioned into ſeveral kingdoms.

ON the coaſt are the famous cities of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Tripoli*, *Byblus*, and *Berytus*. *Sidon* we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Phœnice*, ſince it ſeems to have been the eldeſt city of this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, by whom they[m] pretend it to have been built, and it is not unlikely. But all are not agreed in the derivation of that name from *Sidon* (E).

THIS city was ſeated on the ſea-ſide, and is ſaid to have had a ſummer and a winter harbour[n] (F), or one much more land-locked or encloſed than the other, which we take to be a miſtake (G) in the relator, which how it came to paſs may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called *Seyde*.

TYRE,

[h] Vid. Mark vii. 27. [i] Zephan. xi. 5. [k] See before, p. 338, 360. [l] See before, p. 361. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [n] ACHILL. TAT. apud RELAND. Paleſt. Illuſtr.

(B) *Bochart* (2) clears up this matter thus. He ſuppoſes, that the borderers, both upon the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* ſide, were called by the common name of *Syrophœnicians*, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it, that the *Phœnicians* of *Aſia* in general were called *Syrophœnicians* diacritically to diſtinguiſh them from the *African Phœnicians*. Others (4) take the *Syrophœnicians* and *Cœleſyrians* for the ſame people.

(C) Accordingly *Philo* (5) includes the *Amalekites* under the denomination of *Phœnicians*.

(D) Or rather *Phœnice*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, were promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and particularly the two former. *Phœnice* and *Paleſtine*, ſays *Stephanus Byzantinus* (6), were the ſame. As for *Syria*, we have already obſerved, that in its largeſt extent (7), it ſometimes comprehended *Phœnice* and *Cœleſyria*. *Herodotus* plainly confounds theſe three names, we mean, uſes one for the other indifferently. Firſt, he ſays, the *Phœnicians*, coming into *Syria* from the red ſea, ſettled in the maritime parts of *Syria*, and that the *Phœnicians* dwelt in *Syria* (8). In the next place, he ſays, that *Phœnice* was a part of *Paleſtine*, which, according to him, ſtretched along the ſea ſhore quite to *Peluſium* in *Egypt* (9). Thirdly, he places *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, in *Syria* (10), and *Aſcalon* in the *Paleſtine Syria*; but yet its inhabitants he calls *Phœnicians* (11). In a word, we could wiſh, that the geography ſince *Herodotus*'s time had been leſs indiſtinct than his in many caſes.

(E) *Trogus* (12) derives the name from a *Phœnician* word, as he calls it, *Sidon*, ſignifying a fiſh. And this *Bochart* (13) gives into; for *Seid*, the name of this city at preſent, is, as we may render it, a fiſhing-place. The ſame *Bochart* (14) ſeems to doubt, whether or no *Canaan*'s eldeſt ſon was called *Sidon*, as we read in the writings of *Moſes* (15), which he interprets to be meant of the city itſelf, which is uſed inſtead of the name of the father of the *Sidonians*, or the founder of that city, whatſoever his name was: but why the name of the eldeſt ſon ſhould be paſſed over, and the reſt ſpecified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from *Sida*, the daughter, as they pretend, of *Belus*.

(F) This we imagine, becauſe we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the moſt accurate travellers and geographers: whereas, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, there are ſtill viſible marks of this at *Tyre*. This city had a mole, till *Faccardine*, the *Emir* of the *Druzes*, demoliſhed it, to free himſelf from the viſits of the *Turkiſh* gallies; ſo that now the ſhipping have no other ſhelter, than a ſmall ledge of rocks, about a mile diſtant from the ſhore on the north ſide of the city (17).

(G) It is obſerved, that *Sidonian* and *Tyrian* were ſynonimouſly uſed (18). Whether or no the ſeeming miſtake here noted may not have ariſen from ſome ſuch uſage; we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its ſplendor, as appears from the veſtiges of the ancient city that are left (19).

(2) *Geogr. ſacr. p.* 349. (3) *Apud* BOCHART *ubi ſupr. p.* 350. (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *l.* 1. *p.* 636. (6) *Ad vocem* Ἰόππη. (7) *See before, p.* 360. (8) POLYHYMNIA, *c.* 89. (9) *Ibid.* & EUTERPE, *c.* 104. (10) *Ibid. c.* 157. (11) CLIO. *c.* 105. (12) JUST. *l.* 18. *c.* 3. (13) *Geogr. ſacr. p.* 302. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *See before, p.* 322. (16) *Vid.* SAND. TRAV. *p.* 163. (17) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 45. (18) *Vid.* REL. *Pal. Illuſtr. p.* 956. (19) MAUND. *ubi ſupr.*

TYRE, anciently *Sor* (I), is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, and ſtood *Tyre.*
a alſo upon the ſea, two hundred ſtades or furlongs to the ſouthward of *Sidon*. *Tyre* muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time [q]: as *Tyre* on the continent, or *Palæ-Tyrus* [old *Tyre*], *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the Peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main land (K). It had two havens (L), the one looking towards *Sidon*, and the other towards *Egypt* [r]. This city, including *Palæ Tyrus*, was 19000 paces in circumference (M); but the city itſelf was only twenty two furlongs about, or not quite three of our miles [s], which is allowing it conſiderably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears, that this famous emporium was never of very great bigneſs. It could ſpread out its walls no
b farther than the margin of the iſland. For this reaſon it muſt have been, that they built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, as we are told, than the houſes had at *Rome* [t]. The buildings of this city in general were ſpacious and magnificent, and above the reſt appeared the temples built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Aſtarte* [u]. Its walls were one hundred and fifty foot high, and proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of ſtone, bound together with white plaſter [x]. It is now called *Sûr* (O).

ARADUS (P) was not ſtrictly ſpeaking a city of *Phœnice*. It was an iſland *Aradus.*
city like *Tyre*, and ſtood oppoſite to the ſouthern limits of the ſea coaſt of *Syria* [y].

[q] Vid. Reland. Paleſt. Illuſtr. vol. 2. ad vocem TYRUS. [r] STRAB. l. 16. p. 757. [s] PLIN. Hiſtor. Natur. l. 5. c. 17. [t] STRABO ubi ſupr. [u] MENAND. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. & apud eund. contr. AP. l. 2. [x] ARRIAN de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2. [y] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

(I) From hence this city came to be called *Sarra* by the *Latins*, and not from *Sar* a fiſh, as *Servius* upon *Virgil* intimates (20). From hence alſo, ſay they, is derived (21) *Tyre*, it being the *Syrian* way to convert the *T S*, or *S*, into *T*. So that the *Syrians* pronounced it *Tor*, *Tur*, *Tyr*; and hence the *Greeks*, adding their termination, formed Τύρος, in *Latin Tyrus*. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of *Syria*, and that *Syria*, *Tyria*, and *Assyria*, were indifferently uſurped for each other (22); to which we cannot aſſent. This name ſignifies a rock (23); for it ſtood upon little better.

(K) There were four different places in *Phœnice*, which bore the celebrated name of *Tyre* (24).

(L) Theſe were formed by the Iſthmus, which joined the iſland to the main. Theſe harbours were called, the one *Open*, and the other *Cloſe*. The former looked towards *Egypt*; it was the ſouthermoſt of the two; and was accordingly called the *Egyptian* port (28). The *Sharîf Edryſy* ſays, that one of theſe ports had an arch over the entrance of it, through which the ſhipping paſſed, and that it was fortified with a chain which ran a-croſs it (29). Theſe bays, or ports, are ſtill pretty large, and in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, reſembling a mole, ſtretching directly out on both ſides, from the head of the iſland; but whether theſe ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (30); it is moſt likely, however, that they are walls.

(M) From hence it ſeems plain, that *Tyre* on the iſland, and old *Tyre* on the main, were conſidered as but one city, after the Iſthmus was thrown up between them; and poſſibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If *Pliny*'s numbers are right, the old city muſt have been by much the moſt extenſive part of the whole, and eſpecially as the place appears at this Day. According to *Pliny* (25) the iſland was but ſeven hundred paces from the continent; according to *Strabo* (26), it was thirty ſtades, or ſomewhat better than three of our miles from *Palæ-Tyrus*; and according to the ſame geographer (27), *Tyre*, was wholly an iſland, after the ſame manner as *Aradus*, excepting the artificial Iſthmus, which formed it into a Peninſula. Not to loſe time upon ſo obſcure a ſubject, as whether *Tyre* and the old town were joined by buildings a-croſs the Iſthmus; we ſhall only repeat what we advanced at firſt, and which we ſhall endeavour, to make out in the next Note, that old *Tyre* was much larger, that is, ſtood upon more ground than the new, if *Pliny*'s circumference be allowed of.

(N) By them, it appears, that *Tyre* itſelf was but a ſmall city in extent, though it covered the whole iſland to the very waſh of the ſea; and the ſcantyneſs of their ground was doubtleſs, what induced them to raiſe their buildings ſo high as they did; a method they would otherwiſe have avoided for fear of earthquakes, which had threatned them with deſtruction (31). At preſent the iſland appears to have been, in its natural ſtate, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground, and the foundations of the wall which ſurrounded it, are ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land (32). If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new *Tyre* was nineteen thouſand paces, or nineteen *Roman* miles (33); and that they were diſtant from each other but thirty ſtades, or three of the ſame miles and three quarters (34); it muſt be evident, that the old city ſtood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the iſland was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a mere *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no ſuch thing as one entire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing (36).

(P) *Bochart* (37) takes this, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, to be the ſeat of the *Canaanit ſo*

(20) *Vid.* BOCHART. *ubi ſupr. p.* 735. (21) *Vid.* CELL. *Geogr. Antiq. Tom.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 12. *p.* [illegible]. (22) *See Sir* ISAAC NEWTON's *Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend.* (23) *Vid.* BOCHART *ubi ſupr.* (24) *Vid.* SCYL. *Peripl. in minor. Hudſon, vol.* 2. (25) *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 17. (26) *L.* 16. *p.* 758. (27) *Ibid. p.* 756. (28) STRAB. *ubi ſupr. p.* 757. (29) *Vid.* ALBERT. SCHULT. *Ind. Georg. in vit. Saladin. ad vocem Tyrus.* (30) MAUND. *ubi. ſupr.* (31) STRABO *ubi ſupr.* (32) MAUND. *ubi ſupr. p.* 50. (33) PLIN. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 19. (34) STRAB. *ubi ſupr. p.* 758. (35) MENAND. & DIUS, *apud* JOSEPH. *l.* 8. *c.* 2. (36) MAUND. *ubi. ſupr. p.* 48. 49. *De* BRUYN. *Voy. au. Lev. Tom.* 2. *in* 4. *to p.* 341. (37) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 36. *col.* 305

That the *Phœnicians*, however, reckoned this city as a part of themſelves, is plain by ſeveral good authors [x]. There are ſome remains of it extant (Q).

Tripoli. TRIPOLI, on the ſea-coaſt of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities above-mentioned, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*. Accordingly it was at firſt three diſtinct cities at a furlong diſtant from each other, inhabited by three different draughts, or colonies, but all within one common encloſure or wall [y]. It is ſtill a conſiderable place (R), and it bears its old name.

Byblus. BYBLUS is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country [z]; but whether we are here to underſtand the *Byblus* which ſtood on the ſea, or the old *Byblus*, [*Pale-Byblus*] which was farther up within land, may be a needleſs enquiry (S).

Berytus. BERYTUS muſt not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity, ſince it is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus* [a]. It is now called *Barût*, or *Beroot* (T). Theſe were the chief cities of the maritime *Phœnice* [b].

Phœnicia Mediterranea. WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the *midland Phœnice*. *Ptolemy* reckons it on the following towns: *Arca*, *Palæbyblus* [old *Byblus*], *Gabala*, and *Cæſarea Paniæ*. This province was conſiderably extended in the times of Chriſtianity, when, being conſidered as a province of *Syria*, it included not only *Damaſcus*, but *Palmyra* alſo [c].

Soil and Climate. THE ſoil of this country is good, and productive of many excellent neceſſaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholſome. The climate is of the beſt. It is plentifully watered by ſmall rivers, which, running down from mount *Libanus*, are ſubject to ſwell to an immoderate degree, either encreaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon theſe occaſions they overflow the country, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among theſe rivers is that of *Adonis*, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention, upon another occaſion, preſently.

Natural Curioſities. THE ſea on this coaſt formerly abounded with ſuch fiſh, as in an extraordinary manner redounded to the honour and profit of *Tyre* in particular. Therewith they died the choiceſt purple. And on the ſhore there was a ſand, wherewith the firſt and beſt glaſs was made (U), a ſtaple manufacture of this ancient country. To theſe we ſhall add a remarkable property of the river *Adonis*. At certain ſeaſons, and upon certain occaſions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at leaſt, that extraordinary ſuperſtition in memory of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, *yearly wounded*. The cauſe of this red face of the river was anciently known, and declared by thoſe who were not ſo ſuperſtitious as the reſt of their contemporaries and countrymen, and who attributed it only to a kind of *minium*, or red earth, which this river brought away when it ſwelled to unuſual heights [d]. It is ſtill ſubject to the ſame appearance in the time of floods (W).

[x] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. POMP. MEL. l. 2 c. 7. STRAB. l. 16. p. 753. STEPH. BYZANT. ad vocem Ἀραδος. DIOD. SIC. l. 16. c. 41. PLIN. ubi ſupra, &c. [z] See before, p. 135.. [a] See before, p. 138. [b] See before, p. 392. [c] Vide Reland Palæſt. Illuſt. p. 217. [d] Vide Luc. de De a Syr.

anitiſh tribe, called *Arvadites* (38); and we are very much inclined to ſubſcribe to his judgment upon this head. The iſland of *Aradus* is about twenty ſtades, or two *Roman* miles and a half, from the ſhore, and about ſeven eighths of a *Roman* mile in circumference. The buildings were, like thoſe of *Tyre*, of many ſtories high (39). By the ſame pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the *Aradians*, when beſieged, could by the help of long tubes, draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea (40).

(Q) It ſeems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filled up with tall buildings, like caſtles. The *Turks* call it *Ru-ad* (41).

(R) And there are ſome remains of the ancient city or cities, which you will, ſtill to be ſeen, in the fields near the ſhore; many heaps of ruins and Pillars of granate (42).

(S) *Byblus* was the city and ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition, in memory of *Adonis*. It is pleaſantly ſituated; but at preſent it is but ſmall; though, ſmall as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to ſpare (43).

(T) "At preſent it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, except the ſituation; and in "that particular it is indeed very happy. It is "ſeated on the ſea-ſide, in a ſoil fertile and "delightful, raiſed only ſo high above the ſalt-"water, as to be ſecure from its overflowings, "and all other noxious and unwholſome ef-"fects of that element. It has the benefit of good "freſh ſprings, flowing down to it from the adjacent hills (44).

(U) There anciently went a ſtory, that this ſand could be melted no where but at *Sidon* (45).

(W) ... "We ſaw ..... the water [of the "river *Adonis*] ... ſtained to a ſurprizing red-"neſs; and ... obſerved ... *it* had diſcoloured "the ſea a great way into a reddiſh hue (46).

(38) *See before, p.* 322. *and in the Notes. p.* 330. (39) STRAB. *l.* 16. *p.* 753, 754, *&c.* (40) *Idem ibid. Vid. etiam* PLIN. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 2. *c.* 103. *l.* 5. *c.* 31. (41) MAUNDR. *ubi ſupr. p.* 19. (42) *Idem ibid. p.* 31. (43) *Idem ibid. p.* 33. (44) *Idem ibid.* (45) STRABO *ubi ſupr. p.* 753. (46) MAUND. *ubi ſupr. p.* 34.

THERE

Artificial Curiosities.

THERE are ſtill ſome few remains of the ancient ſplendor of this now deſolate land. *Thevenot* [e] tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at *Tyre*, but does not ſpecify them. *Sandys* [f] could diſcover nothing there but a heap of ruins. The more modern travellers [g] are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unuſual dimenſions, which one [h] repreſents as a triple; another [i], as a double column only, or two joined together. This laſt [k] informs us, that it is of granate, of one block only, and fourſcore foot long. Beſides this, there are many columns entire, and many broken [l]. But nothing in, and about, this ruined city demands our attention more deſervedly than a place the *Turks* call *Roſclayne*; where are ſeen, what are vulgarly called *Solomon*'s ciſterns, or wells. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a ſubterraneous river, which that wiſe king, by his great ſagacity, knew to run under ground here; and which made him undertake ſo admirable a work. The country people ſay, that nobody ever could reach the bottom of theſe wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reaſon for the fruitleſſneſs of theſe attempts, by ſuppoſing the current or ſpring to be ſo very ſtrong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking the ground [m]. All this is rejected, and confuted by another traveller [n]; who ſuppoſes theſe wells cannot have been built before the days of *Alexander*; becauſe the aqueduct which conveys the water from them to *Tyre* is carried over the Iſthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himſelf maſter of *Tyre*: and, as theſe ciſterns cannot be ſuppoſed to be ancienter than the aqueduct, ſo we may be ſure, ſays he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it ſtands upon. Of theſe ciſterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half diſtant from the ſea, the other two a little farther up. The firſt is an Octogon in form, twenty yards in diameter. On the ſouth ſide it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but ſix: and, as unfathomable as it is reported to be, ten yards of line confuted the opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated with a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an entire veſſel of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight foot in breadth: from whence, deſcending by one ſtep on the ſouth ſide, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, twenty one foot broad. All this ſtructure, though ſo very broad at top, is hollow, ſo that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole veſſel contains a vaſt body of excellent water, and is ſo plentifully ſupplied, that, though there iſſues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim-full. On the eaſt ſide of this ciſtern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raiſed about ſix yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eaſtward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other ciſterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one twelve, the other twenty yards ſquare. Theſe have each of them a channel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of theſe three noble ſprings being thus joined ran together to *Tyre*. The aqueduct is now gone to decay, but may eaſily be traced out. It goes about an hour northward, and, then turning to the weſt, proceeds over the *Iſthmus* into the city.

SOME footſteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be ſeen among the gardens without the walls of the preſent city [o]; ſuch as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to ſhew a monument of high antiquity, no leſs than the tomb of *Zebulun*. It ſtands within a ſmall chappel in a garden [p], and is deeply revered by the *Jews* [q]. This tomb is made of two ſtones only; the one ſuppoſed to be at the head, and the other at the feet of the deceaſed. Their diſtance is better than ten of our feet, which they give out to have been the ſtature of this patriarch [r].

AT *Byblus* alſo are many heaps of ruins and fine pillars ſcattered up and down in the gardens near the preſent town [s]. Finally, on the continent, a little ſouthward of the iſle of *Aradus*, whereon the city of that name anciently ſtood, are ſeveral antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The *firſt* is a dyke, thirty yards over

[e] Travels into the Lev. Part I. Book ii. c. 60. [f] l. 3. p. 168. [g] DE BRUYN Voy. au Lev. Tom II. 4to. p. 338, 339, &c. De la ROQUE Voy. de Syr. et M. Lib. Tom. I. p. 17, 18, &c. MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 48, 49, &c. [h] DE BRUYN ubi ſupr. [i] De la ROQUE ubi ſupr. [k] Ibid. [l] DE BRUYN ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] MAUNDREL ubi ſupr. [o] Idem ibid. p. 44. SANDYS Trav. l. 3. p. 164. [p] Idem Ibid. THEVEN. Voy. au Lev. Part II. l. 1. c. 3. [q] SANDYS ubi ſupr. [r] THEVEN. ubi ſupr. [s] MAUND. ubi ſupr. p. 33.

at top, cut into the firm rock. Its ſides go ſloping down, with ſtairs cut out of a the living rock, and deſcending gradually from top to bottom. This dyke ſtretches in a direct line, eaſt and weſt, more than a furlong, bearing continually the ſame figure of ſtairs running in right lines all along its ſides. It breaks off at laſt at a flat marſhy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the ſea. Our obſerver thinks it hard to imagine, that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without ſuppoſing that, to deviſe why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after ſuch a faſhion. *Secondly*, A little to the ſouthward of this dyke, there is a court of fifty-five yards ſquare, cut alſo in the natural rock; the ſides of the rock ſtanding round it are about three yards high, and ſupply the place of walls. On three ſides it is thus encompaſſed; but to the northward it lies open. In the b center of this area, a ſquare part of the rock is left ſtanding, being three yards high and five yards and a half ſquare. This ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones, two at the ſides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal or canopy. This whole ſtructure is about twenty foot high, and faces towards the open ſide of the court. The ſtone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare, and adorned with a handſome corniſh. At the two innermoſt angles of the court, and likewiſe at the open ſide, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

About half a mile to the ſouthward of this court, and this throne, there are c in each two towers. They are ſepulchral monuments, and ſtand over an ancient burying-place. They are about ten yards diſtant from each other. The one is in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and is in all thirty-three foot high, including the pedeſtal, which is ten foot high, and fifteen ſquare. The other is a long cone diſcontinued at about the third part of its height; and, inſtead of ending in a point, is wrought into a hemiſpherical form. This is its general conſtruction. It ſtands upon a pedeſtal ſix foot high, and ſixteen foot ſix inches ſquare, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a ſitting poſture, pretty much defaced; though at beſt the ſculpture of them appears to have been but bad. This is all that is viſible of theſe ſepulchres, as well as of a third and others near, above ground. d But under ground there are ſquare chambers of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out therefrom, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were depoſited. Theſe ſubterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock [a]: but becauſe a bare deſcription of them would communicate but an imperfect idea of them to the mind, by reaſon of the variety and irregularity of their diſpoſition, we ſhall inſiſt no farther on them; but refer you to the draught of them.

SECT. II. e

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Phœnicians.

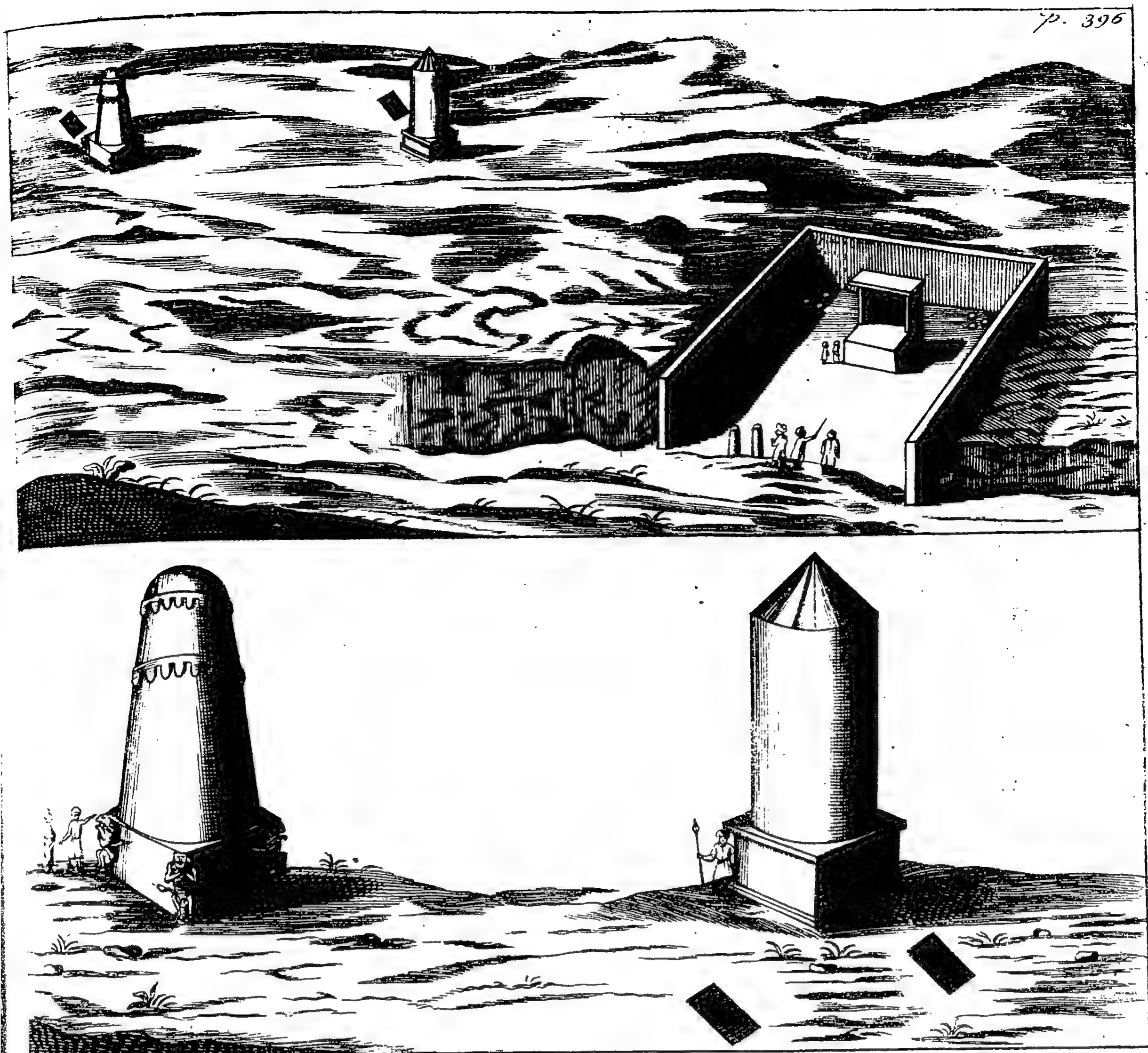
Antiquity. IT is univerſally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by deſcent; nothing is plainer, or leſs conteſted; and therefore it were time loſt to go about to prove it. We ſhall only add, that their blood muſt have been mixed with that of foreigners in proceſs of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many ſtrange families muſt have ſettled among them, who could conſequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much ſoever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the ancient proprietors.

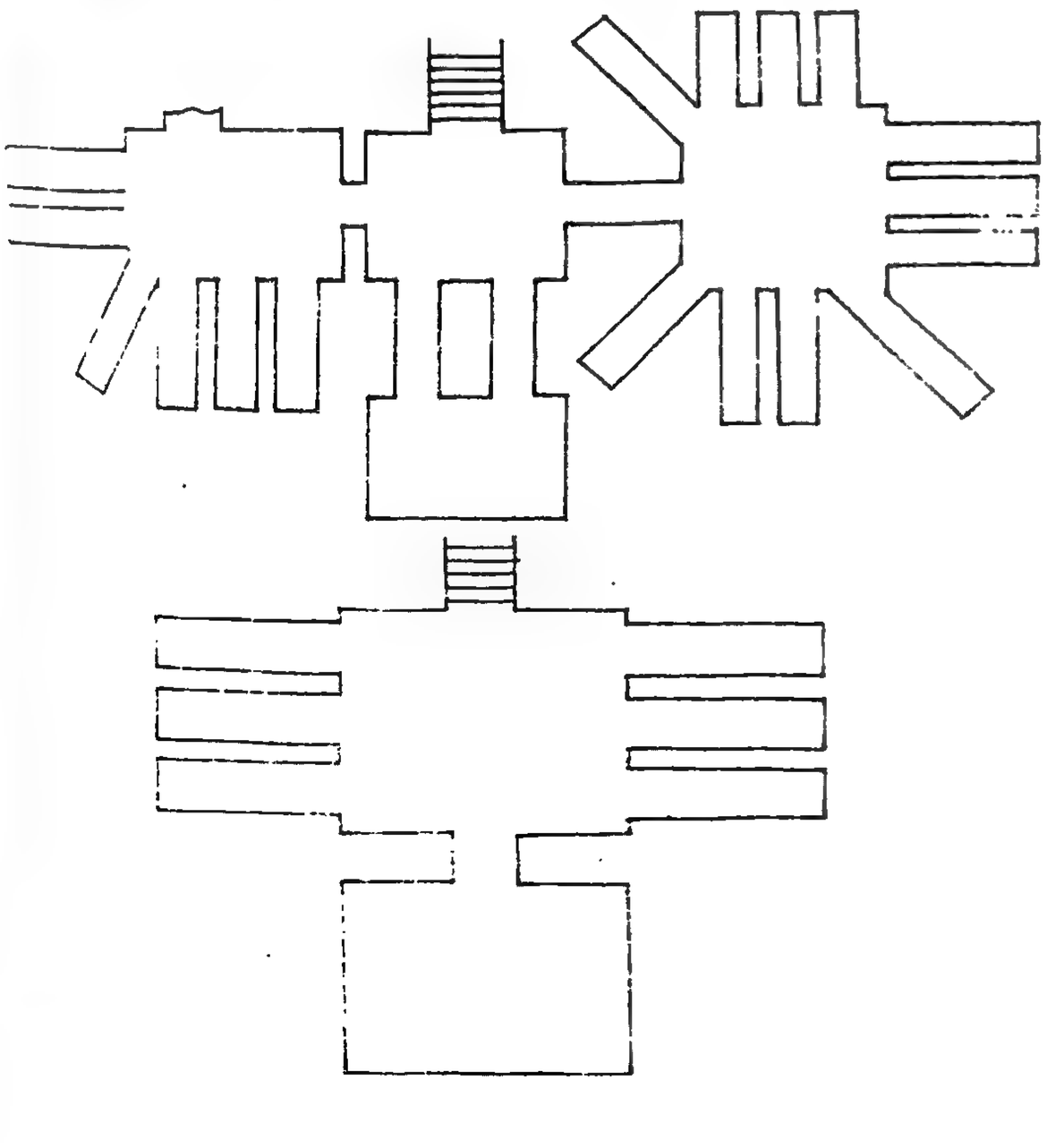
[a] Maundr. Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

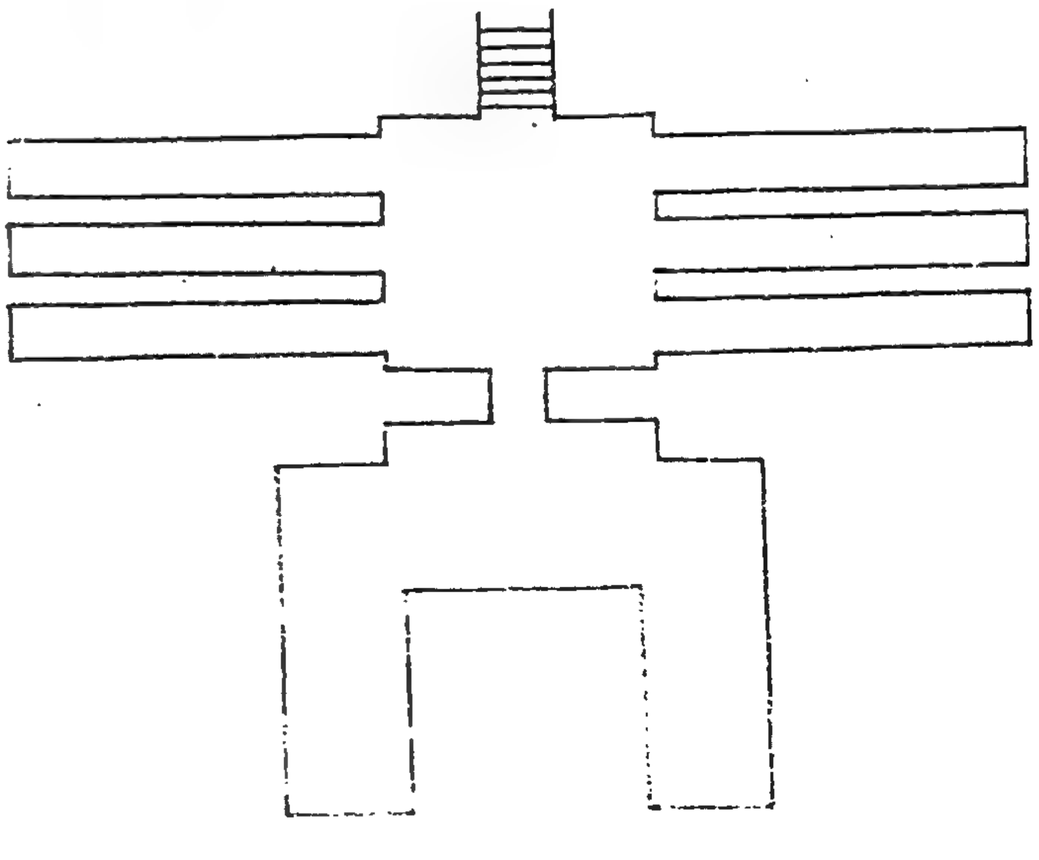
(A) *Bochart* (1) inſinuates, that the *Canaanites* were aſhamed of their name, on account of the curſe denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars ſo vigorouſly, and ſucceſsfully waged on them by the *Iſraelites*, purely becauſe they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophœnicians*, and *Aſſyrians*. *Heidegger* (2) conjectures alſo, that they were aſhamed of their anceſtor *Canaan*. We can think no ſuch thing. It ſeems unnatural. It may be combated by many ſolid Objections; but, becauſe they would draw us into too great a length, we forbear to make them.

(1) *Phaleg. l. 4. c. 34. col.* 301. (2) *Hiſt. Patriarch Exerc.* 23. § 2. *p.* 491.

The







THE *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as small a slip as it was, included several kingdoms, as those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated, and adhered to the primitive government of their forefathers, who, like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their history, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrolable by the subject. *Government.*

WE have no particular system of their civil laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

THE *Phœnicians*, being originally *Canaanites*, must once, as well as the rest of their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true GOD, whom they, as is most likely, called *Baal*, or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, translation, and worship of such as, by their own confession, were once mortals like themselves, they became perverse and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities in order, as we find them in their own records, are these. *Beelsamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *Lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the sun [c]: *Cronus*, or *Baal* [d], who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* anciently worshipped at *Berytus* [e]: *Astarte* [f], *Cronus*, or *Baal* the second, *Zeus Belus*, or *Baal* (B), *Apollo*, *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* [g]. These are the gods of this people we shall chiefly take notice of here, the rest we have treated of amply enough, in the antiquities and mythology of this people. We will only add one observation, which is; That it is almost certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and superstition is not all their own; and that their subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Persians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole system of what was taught and practised among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* *, upon its being subdued, to be fully convinced of this. *Religion.*

HOW far they retained, or how far they lost, a due sense and notion of the true GOD in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through these low disguises and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at GOD himself, is hard to say. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that, amidst all their endless polytheism, they still acknowledged one supreme GOD [i]: and since, as we shall see, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in substance hardly different from that of the *Egyptians* (C), as has been formerly observed [k]; it is very probable, that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

HOW they pictured *Beelsamen* we no where find; but we apprehend, that they did not represent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more especial manner the sun, whom they had so daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely, they made their addresses immediately to him, according to the ancient rite [l]. There were many *Baals* [m]. The *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *Thalassius*, or the *Sea Baal* [n]. There was *Baal-berith* (D), and others, each represented under proper attributes, we may suppose; but

5 H

[a] See before, p. 326. [b] Vide SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. [c] See before, p. 86.
[d] See before, in the Notes, p. 134. [e] Ibid. [f] See before, p. 36. [g] See before, p. 137. [h] See before, p. 86—89, 133—139. * See before, p. 372. [i] See before, p. 204. [k] See before, in the Notes, p. 88. [l] See before, p. 86. [m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] HESYCH.

(B) Here we have no less than three *Baals*, who are said to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are mistaken in supposing the *Phœnician* God *Baal*, of every sort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to represent, the sun (3).

(C) Bishop *Cumberland* (4) draws the following parallel between them, to shew how nearly they were related. "1. *Plutarch* (5) makes *Osiris* "the son of *Rhea*, a wife of *Cronus*: so our au"thor [*Sachoniatho*] owns *Rhea* married to *Cronus*. "2. *Plutarch* makes *Isis* to find, at *Byblus*, a king "called *Melcander*, and that name is plainly de"rived from the *Hebrew Melec*, or *Moloch*; which "title, *the Bishop thinks*, was appropriated emi"nently to *Cronus*, or *Ham*, in old times. 3. The "Queen whom *Isis* found at *Byblus*, *Plutarch* tells "us, is by some called *Astarte*, [or *Asparte*, "as it is in the *Greek*] which is the name of "one of *Cronus*'s wives in *Sachoniatho*. 4. *Plu*"*tarch* makes *Typhon* a contemporary with *Cro*"*nus* and his children; so doth *Sachoniatho*." When the whole is weighed on each side, it must be allowed, that the ancient mythology of both was derived from the same source; but that the gods of the *Phœnicians* were so ancient as they made them, and as we commonly take them to be, is what we shall occasionally dispute hereafter.

(D) This is a farther proof with us, that all the *Baals* of the *Phœnicians* were not intended for the sun: we here see one denominated from the sea. A Lord of the sea, as well as a Lord of heaven; which seems to distinguish them into two very widely different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of, all their *Baals*. This appears from

(3) *Vide* SELD. *de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c.* & BOCHART. *Geogr. Sacr.* (4) *on* SANCH. *p.* 107. (5) *See before, p.* 241.

but we know nothing particular (E) of their idols. *Baal* is called sometimes a god, and sometimes a goddess; and reversly, *Astarte* is sometimes termed a goddess, and sometimes a god (F): but by the *Phœnician* mythology she was wholly a goddess; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children [o]. She is particularly called the goddess of the *Sidonians*, and in *Hebrew Ashtareth* (G). Some [p] will have it, she was so called because she was represented in the form of sheep. But this is rejected as a meer notion. She was certainly represented as *Isis* was [q], with cows horns on her head [r] (H), and for the same reason; that is, to represent the moon's

[o] See before, p. 136. [p] R. Cimch. apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. [q] See before, p. 205. [r] See before, p. 138.

from what we have observed in the note above the last. We see they were procreated successively from father to son; and it is hard to suppose, that they had the same stories of, and the same dependance on, them all: however, we will not answer for all the inconsistencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous *Phœnicians*, nor examine into the pretences, that the partisans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity, or pre-eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the first honour, and, consequently they might have each translated their *Baal* into the sun, or bright God of heaven; so that all their superstition may indeed have centered in him. We are very much inclined to think, the Sun and Moon were the two great objects of their worship; and these we take most generally to have been stiled *Baal* and *Astarte*; and that they sometimes addressed themselves immediately to those great luminaries and rulers of the night and day, and sometimes obliquely, by repairing to the images of their own fancy. For though they had translated them into those lights, yet they remembered perhaps, that they were once mortals and benefactors, and therefore may have adored them under their human form, as well as in their celestial dignity, being taught perhaps, or taking it into their heads, that their worship would be imperfect if they did not thus divide it.

(E) *Fuller* (6) ventures to picture *Baal* in general as a royal heroe, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a sword in his hand, in act to strike.

(F) The *Hebrews* knew no distinction of sex in the gods; whence this arose. There are many instances to prove this; but we shall only produce one, where in one verse only, with reference to *Baal*, he is both masculine and feminine. Καὶ καλαλείψω ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαὰλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ (7). In other copies however it is τῷ Βααλ: but the same do in other places make him feminine, as well as here masculine. *Bochart* (8) will have *Baal-berith* to have been a goddess, because *berith* in *Hebrew* is feminine; but, as it is most likely, that thereby is meant no more than the *Baal* of *Berytus* (9), we do not see how this conjecture will stand. *Astarte* was called a god by the *Hebrews*, they having no name in their tongue for a goddess (10).

(G) *Ashtareth*, which signifies flocks of sheep or goats. It is conjectured, that men in ancient times being chiefly addicted to a pastoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their most favourite similies of beauty from thence. This is supposed to have been the reason why *Astaroth*, or *Astarte*, was so called (11). It was first started by Bishop *Cumberland* (12), that her first name was *Naamah*. His lordship tells us, that he could not think of *Plutarch*'s *Nemoun*, *Cronus*'s wife, but *Naamah* came into his mind. A late author has taken up this, and pushed it as far as it can possibly go. He finds, that *Naamah* signifies the *fair one*. He finds also, that she was the wife of *Ham*. That he, carrying her about with him, "changed her name to one that "in another language had the same significa- "tion, and called her *Astarte*, as it is in the "*Greek*, or *Ashtaroth* in the *Hebrew*; which word "signifies in *Hebrew* flocks of cattle, sheep or "goats." According to these interpretations we do not perceive the exact similitude of these two names, *Naamath* and *Astarte*. There is an allusive one, if you will. A *fair woman* was a beauty, so was a *flock of cattle* in ancient days; *ergo Naamah* and *Astarte* are translations of each other. However, our author brings us back again to his *fair one*; for *Lucian*, in his most inaccurate and unsatisfactory account of the *Syrian* goddess, happening to say a priest assured him, that *Astarte* was *Europa*, the sister of *Cadmus*; it is sufficient for our author to believe they really were but one; and so he comes round to *Naamah* his *fair faced one* again: for *Bochart*, searching after the etymology of *Europa*, finds, that אור אפא *Ur-appa*, in the *Phœnician* tongue, is, in *Greek*, λευκοπρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered *fair of face*; wherefore our author calls *Bochart* in to his aid, and discovers self-evidently, that *Europa* is *Astarte*, and *Astarte Naamah*. *Q E D*. The inconnection and presumption in all this, are too glaring for us to animadvert upon them. Nor should we have taken any notice at all of this passage, had it not been delivered as from the Tripos. Nor should we have taken notice of this one, had it been the only piece of the kind in the work. As some of the *Jews* absurdly derive her name from being represented under the form of sheep (14): others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they sacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) *Astarte*, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her sovereignty; but *Mercury* claps on a bull's or ox's head upon *Isis* to supply the place of her diadem, which the enraged *Orus* had torn off (17). We may see by both these stories, that the ox's head was esteemed an ensign of supreme dignity; and that *Astarte* and *Isis* were names for one person. *Bochart* (18) observes, that the word *Astaroth* may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to the smaller cattle only; and insinuates, that she may be the *Grecian Io* turned into a cow. It is also held that she was the great *Juno*, as we shall see anon. Whence, by the way, we may seemingly account for the epithet *Homer* so often bestows upon *Juno*, Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the *ox-eyed Juno*. Doctor *Clerk* in his notes upon *Homer* (19), thinks that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is used only to express the majesty

(6) *Pisgath-sight*. (7) *Reg. xix.* 18. (8) *Canaan l. 2. c. 17. col.* 775. (9) *Vide* Cumberland *on* Sanchon. *p.* 151. (10) *Vide* Boch. *ubi supr.* (11) *Vide* Bedford's *Script. Chron. p.* 234. (12) *Ubi supr.* (13) Bedford's *Script. Chron. ubi supr.* (14) *Vide* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2.* (15) Scalig. *apud eund.* (16) *See before, p.* 138. (17) *See before, p.* 245. (18) *Canaan l. 2. c. 3. col.* 709. (19) *Il. ix.* ℣ 441.

a moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet[s], and adored under the ſtile of *Queen of heaven* (I). She was alſo the *Phœnician Aphrodite*, or *Venus* (K).

As there were many *Baals*, ſo alſo there were many *Aſtartes* (L). She went under different names, and was doubtleſs very variouſly repreſented (M). She is ſaid to have conſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there [t] (N). We have little or nothing to ſay of their *Apollo* (O). He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moſes*, and *Put* [w], whence the *Pythius* [u] of the *Greeks*; but as we have occaſionally conteſted the

[s] See before, ibid. [t] Suid. ad vocem Ἀστάρτη. [u] See before, in the Notes, p. 137. [w] Vide Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3. col. 11.

jeſty of her countenance, and cities *Libanius*, who ſays as much, Ὅμηρος ἐνδείξασθαι ἐθελήσας, ὡς μεγαλόφθαλμοι τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοί τε μεγάλοι τε, "βοῶπιν" αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε· which is, that *Homer* only underſtood ſhe had a large fine eye.

(I) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe this. It appears ſufficiently from her horned front. *Lucian* (20) took her for the Moon. *Herodianus* (21), miſtaken in her name, calling her *Aſtroarche*, ſays, that the *Phœnicians* would have her to be the Moon. *Selden* (22) thinks it indubitable, that ſhe was the *Baliſama*, corrupted from *Baleth-Samain*, the *Queen of heaven*, as alſo *Baaltis*. Some (23) ſay on the contrary, that ſhe was worſhipped in the ſtar called *Lucifer*; but the ſame conſider her under the name of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, which alſo ſhe bore; ſo that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this caſe, as well as her name. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this again a little farther.

(K) *Cicero* (24) is very explicit upon this. Enumerating the ſeveral *Venus's*, the fourth, ſays he, was a *Syrian* of *Tyre* called *Aſtarte*; who, as the tradition goes, married *Adonis*. That ſhe was a *Venus* we underſtand from ſeveral other writers; but for the preſent ſhall content ourſelves with this one very plain teſtimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. *Cicero* places her the fourth in order, which we apprehend he does, as ſuppoſing the three, that precede her in his account, to be older than ſhe. Again, ſhe marries *Adonis*, who is univerſally allowed to be an *Aſſyrian* by deſcent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it ſeems apparent enough, that the ſuperſtition in honour of *Adonis* was introduced by the *Aſſyrians* when they conquered *Phœnice*, and that *Aſtarte* was his contemporary. This ſeems to take off conſiderably from her great antiquity. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (25) reckons that the *Baalim* and *Aſhtaroth* came originally from the banks of the *Tygris*, whence they migrated into *Phœnice*. Hence he derives all the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*: the *Tyrian*, *Syrian*, and *Aſſyrian Belus*, ſays he*, were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our ſentiment on this head, we would add, that the greateſt part of what we know of the *Phœnician* religion is of *Aſſyrian* origin, and that it was impoſed on them together with the *Aſſyrian* yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of theſe fabulous deities very low. We know how the *Syrians* boaſted the antiquity of their great *Adod*, or *Adad*, the king of gods, as *Sanchoniatho* (26), in this *Phœnician* Antiquities, ſtiles him: we know alſo how vainly they did it, and how falſely (27). If then there be ſuch a flaw to be found in the pretended age of *Adod*, the ſame muſt affect *Cronus* and *Aſtarte*, his contemporaries and confederates (28). They are certainly of late date, in compariſon of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have ſufficiently inſinuated already. We have already ſeen her, *Venus*, *Juno*, and the *Moon*. The LXX more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church (29) obſerves, that *Juno* was undoubtedly the *Aſtarte* of the *Pœni*, and conſequently of the *Phœnicians*; and that ſhe was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many ſtatues of her; and that as each ſtatue was called a *Juno*, thence came many *Juno's*, or *Aſtartes*. To this we will add, that *Aſtarte* was poſitively the *Grecian Io* (30).

(M) We cannot doubt, but ſhe was pictured as variouſly as the characters ſhe bore, and the attributes beſtowed on her required. As much a *Venus* as ſhe was, it ſeems ſhe was pictured with arms, as the goddeſs of war (31). She was far otherwiſe repreſented in the temple, on mount *Libanus*, where ſhe was mourning her loſt *Adonis*: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left hand, which was under her mantle, ſupported her head; and floods of tears ſtreamed down her cheeks (32). It muſt have been, we think, an *Aſtarte* that *Lucian* ſaw crowned with a tower, and with a ſiſtrum in her hand, and ſupported by lions; but we cannot pick out of him in what temple, or where, he ſaw this idol. It cannot be the *Syrian* goddeſs, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different deſcription (33). This laſt idol reſembles, in ſome particulars, certain images of *Iſis* (34); but to trace her out through all her forms is a taſk we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was worſhipped as a ſtar (35); and hence the notion of the ſtar, or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount *Libanus* near her temple at *Aphac*, and plunged itſelf into the river *Adonis* below, and was thought to be *Venus* (36). *Bochart* (37) knows not what to make of this fallen ſtar, which *Aſtarte* is ſaid to have carried to *Tyre*. Inſtead of ἔυρεν ἀετοπετῆ ἀστέρα, he would read ἔυρεν ἀετοπέτη, vel ἀετοπετῆ, ἀστερίαν, *Ælian* acquainting us from *Ariſtotle*, that there was a kind of eagle called *Aſteria*; and therefore he would have it a bird inſtead of ſtar. But, by what precedes, it is moſt likely, that it was really a ſtar they meant. The practice ſquares very nicely with the doctrine, as does alſo the ſtory of the ſtar that was wont to fall from the top of *Libanus* into the river below.

(O) We only know, that he was in great repute among them; and that the *Tyrians*, when beſieged

(20) *De Dea Syr.* (21) *Apud* Seld. *de Di Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* 2. (22) *Ibid.* (23) Theoph. *apud* Gyrald. *Hiſt. Deor. Syntag.* 13. (24) *De Nat. Deor. l.* 3. (25) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p.* 161. * *Ibid. p.* 279. (26) *See before, p.* 137. (27) *See before, in the Notes, p.* 372. (28) *See before, p.* 137. (29) Aug. *ad Jud.* 2. *queſt.* 67. (30) Eurip. *apud* Seld. *ubi ſupr.* (31) *Vide* Bochart. *Canaan. l.* 1. *c.* 42. *Col.* 664. (32) Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. *c.* 27. (33) *See before, p.* 373. (34) *See before, p.* 205. (35) *See before, in this page, note* (I). (36) *Vide* Bochart. *ubi ſupr. col.* 749. (37) *Ubi ſupr. col.* 709.

the exorbitant antiquity of his kindred gods, we cannot allow his. *Hercules*, or *Melcartus* (P), was the great and ancient god of *Tyre*. They anciently represented him in no form. His temple had no images in it [x] (Q), a seeming undeniable instance of his high antiquity (R). However, that they deviated from this laudable custom may, perhaps, appear, when we come to the siege of *Tyre* by *Alexander* [y]. Among their gods we may also place *Adonis*, *Thammuz*, or *Osiris*, which you will (S); nor must we forget the *Pataci* (T) they carried about in the prows of their ships [z]. Other deities

[x] See before in the Notes, ubi supr.

besieged by *Alexander*, were so much afraid that he should leave them, as they superstitiously dreaded, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of *Hercules* (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרתא *Melec-cartha*, *the king of the city*, which *Bochart* (40) supposes to be *Tyre*. Sir *Isaac Newton* (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governour, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in *Spain*. *Hesychius* (42) says, that the *Amathusians* called *Hercules* by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and was the first that brought lead from the *Cassiterides*, or islands of *Britain*. According to others (44) he invented the shell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

(Q) This is in part contradicted by *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, who particularly dwells on the temple of *Gadira*, or *Gades*, which is (45) said to have had no images in it, and to have continued in that simple state to the time of *Silius Italicus* (46). In *Philostratus* we find indeed, that there were no statues erected either to the *Egyptian* or *Theban Hercules*; for both were worshipped in this same temple, as he informs us: there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the *Egyptian Hercules*. But though the gods were unrepresented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* (as they are commonly called) finely wrought, the *Hydra*, and *Diomed*'s horse. In this temple were kept the golden belt of *Teucer*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *Smaragdine* fruit, of wonderous workmanship (47). By this may be learned, that, at least, the *Theban Hercules* was the *Tyrian Melcartus*; for we need not say, that *Pygmalion* was king of *Tyre*.

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the *Phœnician* Antiquities (48). The *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be seventeen thousand years older than their king *Amasis* (49). The *Tyrians* were more modest, and only reckoned their *Hercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thousand three hundred years *. The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneraton to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (50); but whether both their *Hercules's* were in reality one and the same, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (51) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of those he enumerates, and calls him the son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the sister of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (52) says, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another far more ancient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

[y] See ibid. [z] Herodot. l. 3. c. 37.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the same object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an ancient city of *Cyprus*, conflated their *Adonosiris* (53), which is a compound of both the names, *Adonis* and *Osiris*; for the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* laid equal claim to him (54) under different appellations, though he was certainly an *Egyptian* (55). So then the beautiful *Adonis*, begotten by *Cinyras* an *Assyrian* (56), is in reality the *Egyptian Osiris*. It is a very labyrinth we are in, to consider these things as they are told us; but take the following parallel (57), between the solemnities and ceremonies sacred to them both: they had both of them their ἀφανισμὸς, *disappearance* or death; they both had their ζήτησις, or their *search after them* with mourning; and they both had their εὕρεσις, or *invention*, with joy and gladness. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this case meant no other than the sun; concerning whose approach and departure they framed such fables as might best take with the people. The month of *June* was the season when all this superstition was transacted both by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* (58).

(T) They were small statues. *Herodotus* (59) likens them to pygmies. *Hesychius* (60) and *Suidas* will have them to have been placed in the poops of the ships. The fashion was, for certain, changed in the great length of time between them and *Herodotus*. They were carried about for protection from disasters of the sea, They were the tutelar gods of sea-faring men (61). Thus the *Spaniards* at this day carry to sea with them, little images of the saints, that they may stand their friends in distress. They will perform you a nine days devotion to St. *Francis Xavier* for a fair wind and favourable weather when at sea; and if the miracle is not wrought as expected, vow never more to trouble the saints again. The next minute the captain will hang him up an image of our lady of *Bethlem*, and declare, that he will not take her down till she gives him a fair wind. If she will not do as he would have her, she must give place to our lady of mount *Carmel*, who upon nonperformance is changed for our lady of the *Rosary*; and if she prove deaf also, up goes our lady of *Solitude* instead of her; and she not hearing any more than the rest, our lady of *Affliction* takes her turn (62), and so on *ad infinitum*. These are Christian *Pataci*. Why should we wonder at the blind *Phœnicians*? This we thought worth the notice. It is a good parallel, and comes from a good *Roman* Catholic, who was an eye-witness of this practice.

(38) Diod. Sic. *l.* 17. *p.* 584. (39) Plutarch *in vit. Alex.* (40) *Canaan ubi supra col.* 709. (41) *Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p.* 111, 112. (42) *Apud* Bochart *ubi supr.* (43) *l.* 7. *c.* 56. (44) *Incertus apud* Seld. *ad vocem.* (45) *Ibid.* (46) *See before in the Notes, p.* 137. (47) Philost. *in vit.* Apoll. Tyan. *l.* 5. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (48) *See before, p.* 137. (49) Herodot. *l.* 3. *c.* 43. * *Idem ibid.* (50) *Vide* Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. (51) *De Nat. Deor.* (52) *De Dea Syr.* (53) *Vide* Steph. Byzant. *de Urb. & Popul. ad vocem* Ἀμαθοῦς. (54) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (55) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (56) *Vide* Apollod. *Bibliot. l.* 3. *c.* 13 & Cyril. *in Is. l.* 2. *Tom. III. p.* 274. (57) *Vide* Marsh. *Can. Chron Secul.* 1. *p.* 31. (58) *Vide eund. ibid.* (59) *l.* 3. *c.* 37. (60) *Ad vocem.* Πυγμαῖος. (61) *Vid.* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntagm.* 2. *c.* 1. Bochart. *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 3. *col.* 712, 713. (62) *See* Frezier's *Voyage to the South-sea, p.* 143 *of the Eng. Transl. in* 4°.

deities they had, which we know nothing of. The *Cabiri* will have their turn in the *Grecian* mythology [a].

WE do not read, that the *Phœnicians*, how nearly ſoever they may have agreed with the *Egyptians* in the main points of their ſuperſtition, ever extended their worſhip, like them, to the inanimate creation. But ſince there was ſuch a harmony between them in other reſpects, it is by no means unlikely, that they were tainted with ſome of the meaneſt, and moſt unaccountable ſuperſtitions of that fabulous and myſterious kingdom. But this is only a conjecture, which we leave to the readers determination.

BELSAMEN we have underſtood to have been in an eſpecial manner the ſun himſelf [b]; and to him they addreſſed themſelves with ſtretched out arms, as we gather [c]. What elſe was practiſed, when they made their addreſſes to the ſun only, we no where find. *Their Prieſts, religious cuſtoms, &c.*

BAAL had his prophets and his prieſts in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them which were fed *at* Jezabel's *table* only [d]. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and ſacrifices to this their god or gods [e], and to dance and ſkip about the altar, with violent geſticulations (U); and having worked themſelves to the height of frenzy, by this exerciſe, and a violent ſtraining of their voices, they began to cut and ſlaſh their bodies with knives and lancets: this done, they betook themſelves to propheſy [f], as it is called, or rather raved, as if poſſeſſed by ſome inviſible power [g]. Such was their barbarous way of worſhip (W); nor need we wonder at it, conſidering their more barbarous cuſtom, in earlier days, of ſacrificing even ſuch perſons as were moſt dear to them, to appeaſe or reconcile their imaginary gods, when they laboured under any public calamities. This is charged very home upon them, not only by the teſtimony of others [h], but by their own confeſſion [i]. This alſo they had in common with the *Egyptians* [k]. This cruel practice, however, was diſcontinued here, as well as in *Egypt*, pretty early; but at what time, and upon what motives of perſwaſion, we have not to ſay.

MANY prieſts or prophets attended alſo on the rites of *Aſtarte*. *Jezabel* had no fewer than four hundred of them to her ſhare [l]. Our verſion calls them, *prophets of the groves*: but Mr. *Selden* has proved, by comparing many paſſages of ſcripture together [m], that *Aſtarte* is meant by them; and ſome [n], who know not how to conteſt this interpretation, believe ſhe was worſhipped in a grove, which is very likely, ſuch places being for the moſt part accounted ſacred to religious rites, in the firſt times [o]. We muſt not doubt, but ſhe was ſerved with much form, pomp, and myſtery; and women, particularly, are ſaid to have been employed to weave hangings, or tabernacles, for her [p]. When ſhe was adored as the *Queen of heaven*, or the moon itſelf, they offered up to her cakes, which were prepared for that ſervice with great ceremony: *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* [q]. They alſo burned incenſe to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her [r]. This *Aſtarte*, *Queen of heaven*, was, as we have ſaid, the moon itſelf [s]; for as they paid their homage immediately to the ſun, the ſame, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, they did to the moon. It was an ancient cuſtom. Thoſe great lights were always conſidered together. The inimitable *Job* ſays, If *I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges*. Some [u] fancy, upon what authority does not at preſent occur to us, that her cakes were ſtamped with a creſcent. At *Byblus* ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner; for there ſhe had a temple, as the *Venus* of *Adonis* [w]. And there, ſuch women as would not conform to the cuſtom of ſhaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to proſtitute their bodies for one entire day, to all ſtrangers, that would have them, for hire; and the money ſo got

[a] See before, in the Notes, p. 134. [b] See before, p. 397. [c] See before, p. 86. [d] 1 Kings xviii. 19. [e] 2 Kings x. 24. [f] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. [g] Vide PATRICK in loc. [h] PORPHY περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. § 56, &c. [i] See before, p. 138. [k] See before, p. 259. [l] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. ℣ 19. [m] PATRICK in loc. [n] CLERIC in loc. [o] See before, in the Notes, p. 294. [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 7. [q] Jerem. vii. 18. [r] Idem xliv. 17, 18. [s] See before, p. 399. [t] xxxi. 26, 27, 28. [u] See FULLER's Piſgah-ſight. [w] LUCIAN de Dea Syr.

(U) It is uncertain whether they danced round the altar, or leaped upon it, or jumped over it, or how this was: "*Abarbinel* thinks, this leaping or dancing was a rite uſed in the worſhip of the ſun; which puts all things in motion (63).

(W) Though all this was practiſed upon a particular occaſion, or when they took on them to perform a miracle, we are perſuaded there is nothing new in it. They are ſaid to have wounded their bodies after their uſual manner (64).

(63) PATRICK *upon* 1 *Kings xviii.* 26.

(64) 1 *Kings xviii.* 28.

got was preſented to the goddeſs [x]. Her temple at *Aphac* on mount *Libanus* was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt beaſtly luſt. The men there ſunk into the moſt degenerate effeminacy to comfort the mournful goddeſs [y]. The moſt ſhameful commerce between the ſexes was allowed within thoſe prophane walls. And this was permitted and practiſed, as ſome [z] conjecture, becauſe in this place *Venus* firſt ruſhed herſelf into the arms of *Adonis*. Or, as others [a] ſay, becauſe this was either the firſt, or the laſt place where they enjoyed each other. Other temples ſhe doubtleſs had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to diſtinguiſh or enumerate. What elſe may be ſaid of her, or her worſhip, we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter. Though ſhe is called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple ſeems to have been that at *Tyre*, built by *Hiram* [b]. a b

After what manner they worſhipped their *Apollo* is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are ſaid to have paid great honour. His worſhip was performed with great ſolemnity; the aſſiſtants were all clad alike, in *Egyptian* linen all. They offered the incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment; the prieſtly veſt was adorned with broad ſtreaks, or ſtripes of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were ſhaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other ſex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it [c]: ſuch were the ceremonies uſed, and cuſtoms obſerved, in the worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules*. They paid him tythes. More might be ſaid concerning this *Hercules*'s temples, and the honours done him, which we ſhall refer till we come to treat of *Hercules* in general. c

We ſhall now cloſe up this account of their religious practices, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, with what they were wont to do in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Adonoſiris*, or *Thammuz*; for, as we have already obſerved [d], all theſe names centered in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the iſland of *Cyprus* [e]. Some ſay his name was *Gingris*, or *Gingras* [f] among the *Phœnicians*. But whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a moſt beautiful youth. On the one hand [g] it is reported, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to *Proſerpine*; that when *Venus* came to demand him of her, ſhe refuſed to deliver him to her; and that hence a diſpute aroſe between them, which was decided by *Jupiter*, who decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with *Proſerpine*, another third with *Venus*, and that during the laſt third, he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf as he beſt liked. That in conſequence of this, *Adonis*, ſmitten with the charms of *Venus*, ſpent two thirds of his time with that fond goddeſs; whereat *Diana* taking offence, ſent a wild boar to put a miſerable end to his life. On the other hand [h], it is reported, that *Adonis* was the offſpring of an inceſtuous embrace. That he was begot by his father *Cinyras* on his own daughter *Myrrah*. That to hide the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman. That *Venus*, ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and received him into an intimacy with her: and that *Mars*, conceiving a violent jealouſy thereat, turned himſelf into the ſhape of a wild boar, and ſlew the beauteous youth. That *Venus*, being unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades to demand him; but that *Proſerpine*, at firſt refuſing to deliver him, was at length brought to this agreement, That he ſhould be half the year with her, and half the year with *Venus*, who returned with joy to the earth again, and acquainted her followers with the ſucceſs of her deſcent, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of *Iſis* and *Oſiris* [i], will find it to be the very ſame ſtory in a different dreſs. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at *Byblus* eſpecially, for the death of *Adonis*, which was ſucceeded by as great joy for his recovery. d e f g h

But the *Jewiſh* writers have among them another ſtory concerning the origin of the rites of *Thammuz* or *Adonis*. *Maimonides* [k] relates, that the ancient *Zabij* held *Thammuz* to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preaching up to a certain king the

[x] Idem ibid. [y] See before, in the Notes, p. 399. [z] Bochart. Canaan, l. 2. c. 14. col. 749.
[a] Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid. [b] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.
[c] Silius Ital. l. 3. [d] See before, p. 400. [e] Apollod. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [f] Jul. Pol. l. 2. c. 4. l. 4. c. 14. [g] Apollod. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [h] Cyril. in Is. ubi ſupr.
[i] See before, p. 243. [k] In More Nebochim.

a the doctrine of worſhipping the ſeven planets and the twelve ſigns, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. That on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden ſtatue, or the ſun, at *Babylon*; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of *Thammuz*. That hereupon the images wept and lamented all night for *Thammuz*, and that as ſoon as morn appeared they all flew back to their places. Hence, ſays he, was derived the cuſtom of mourning over *Thammuz*. Finally, it is ſaid he was the ſon of a heathen king, whoſe image the *Jewiſh* women adored with tears, nor refrained from offering ſacrifices to it[l].

WHOEVER he was, and whatever they meant by him, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was a univerſal cuſtom
b of the women in thoſe parts. They began their lamentations at a ſtated time. They ſet up their outcries as ſoon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to run with a bloody face[m], as at certain times it did[n]. The lamentations of a mother for the loſs of her only ſon could not be more piercing or extraordinary[o]. They then proceeded to their ſacrifices of the dead, having firſt diſciplined themſelves with whipping; and on the morrow, pretending him to be revived, and aſcended through the air to the upper regions, they ſhaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loſs of *Apis*, and at *Byblus* at leaſt, thoſe who would not comply, were bound to proſtitute themſelves in the manner, and for the purpoſes above ſpecified[p]. Some[q] relate, that on a certain night, while this ſolem-
c nity laſted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having gone through a bed-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the prieſt anointing the mouths of the aſſiſtants, whiſpered to them that ſalvation was come---- that deliverance was brought to paſs. Upon which their ſorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its ſepulchre. Or as others ſay,[r]; the prieſts of *Oſiris* in *Egypt* wrote to the women of *Byblus*, ſignifying to them, That they had found that god. They ſent this letter in an earthen pot, as ſome ſay, or in a ſmall ark, or head as it is called[s], made of the papyrus, which came by ſea of its own accord to *Byblus*. This voyage it performed in ſeven days[t], and it no ſooner appeared in the
d port, but the women danced, feaſted, and rejoiced as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented[u]. This cuſtom had made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the women of thoſe parts, that it is viſibly kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day[w].

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this myſtery. *Adonis* was the ſun. The upper hemiſphere of the earth, or that which we think ſo, was anciently called *Venus*, the under, *Proſerpine*. Therefore when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid he was with *Proſerpine*, when he was in the ſix ſuperior, with *Venus*. By the boar that ſlew *Adonis* they underſtood winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid ſeaſon[x]. Or by *Adonis* they meant the fruits of the earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flouriſhing to the ſight. When therefore the ſeed was thrown into the ground, they ſaid *Adonis*
e was gone to *Proſerpine*; but when it ſprouted up, they ſaid, he had reviſited the light and *Venus*. And hence probably it was, that they ſowed corn, and made gardens for *Adonis*; for ſuch a cuſtom they alſo had[y]. We may ſafely ſuppoſe there was no ſmall variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. Finally, *Plutarch*[z] takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus*. *Oſiris* alſo the ſun[a], as we have ſeen, was *Adonis*[b]. To be brief, it was contended, that *Oſiris* was buried at *Byblus*[c]. *Adonis* is lord[d], ſo is *Baal*.

PLUTARCH[e] alſo informs us, that *Iſis* had a temple at *Byblus*, where they worſhip-
f ped the heath which had concealed *Oſiris*'s coffin. This *Byblian Iſis* muſt certainly have been *Aſtarte*; ſo that we end with the *Baalim* and *Aſteroth* as we have began.

HERODOTUS[f] mentions the *Phœnicians* to have been circumciſed: but *Joſephus*[g] aſſerts, that none of the nations, included under the vague names of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, uſed that rite, the *Jews* excepted; ſo that if the *Phœnicians* had anciently that cuſtom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aſide. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine[h].

MUCH

[l] PHILAST. apud SELD. de Dei. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 11. [m] LUCIAN de Dea Syr. [n] See before, p. 394. [o] AMM. MARCELL. l. 19. [p] See before, p. 401. [q] JUL. FIRM. apud PURCH. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 17. p. 90. [r] PROCOP. &. CYRIL. in Iſa. xviii. [s] LUCIAN ubi ſupr. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PROCOP. CYRIL ubi ſupr. [w] See SELLER's Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Preface. [x] MACROB. Saturn. l. 1. c. 21. [y] Vide Vos. de Idololat. l. 2. c. 5. p. 167. [z] Symphoſ. l. 4. p. 671. [a] See before, p. 204. [b] See before, p. 400. [c] LUC. de Dea Syr. [d] See before, p. [e] De Iſid. & Oſirid. [f] l. 2. c. 104. [g] Contr. Ap. l. 1. [h] HERODIAN. l. 5.

Their Arts and Learning.

MUCH is said of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, sciences, and manufactures. But as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we have it not in our power to expatiate on particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which we comprehend all the *Phœnicians* in general, as was anciently a very usual thing [h], were of a most happy genius and frame of mind, capable of any thing [i]. Arithmetic and astronomy either took rise among them [k], or were brought by them to their perfection, and applied to mercantile, nautical, architectonical, and fabrical uses. From them those excellent sciences flowed into *Greece* [l], together with their letters [m]. They were from the beginning, as it were, addicted to philosophical exercises of the mind; insomuch that a *Sidonian*, by name *Moschus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war [n], and *Abdomenus* of *Tyre* * undertook to grapple even with *Solomon*, by the subtle propositions he offered to that wisest of earthly kings. *Phœnice* continued to be one of the seats of learning, and both *Tyre* and *Sidon* [o] produced their philosophers of latter ages, *Boëthius* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and *Apollonius* of the same place, who wrote of the writings and disciples of *Zeno* [p]. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned [q].

Their Language.

THEIR language was at least a dialect of the *Hebrew*. It was that of the ancient *Canaanites*. Their letters or characters we take to have been the same with the *Samaritan*. But for our particular thoughts of both the one and the other, and for the construction of both, we must crave the reader's patience till we come to treat of the *Hebrew* tongue.

Their Manufactures.

HOW great soever they were for the sciences, and for their discoveries and improvements in the learned way; it is far from being improbable that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in those of the head [r]. The glass of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linnen they wove, were of their own growth, and their staple manufactures. These are said to have been their own inventions [s]. And for their extraordinary skill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and stone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was solid, and great, and ornamental in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large share they had in erecting, and decorating of the temple at *Jerusalem* under their *Hiram*; than which nothing is more known, nothing more certain, nor is there any thing that can more redound to their honour, or insinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings must have been. Their fame was such for their just taste, fine design, and luxuriant invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing, whether in apparel, or vessels, or toys, was called, by way of excellence, *Sidonian* workmanship or contrivance [t].

Their Trade and Navigation.

THUS far we have considered them as learned men and artificers, improving themselves, and cultivating their minds sedately at home. It remains, that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endless colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be said to have engrossed all the commerce of the western world at least. As navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and greatest discoverers of the ancient times; they had for many ages no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did so much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the slip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the sea, it is surprizing, how they could furnish such supplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native seat. They were the most busy, most enterprizing people, that can well be conceived.

WE have started a conjecture, that the *Phœnicians* were not a little induced to become foreign dealers by their neighbourhood with the *Syrians*, whom we have considered as the most ancient of those who negotiated any thing considerably, and regularly, with the more eastern regions [u]. And we see no reason we have to depart from this position. For their own territory was but small, and but little able to afford any considerable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any thing, to speak of, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In *Syria*, which was a large country, they found store of superabundant productions of the natural growth of that country, and many choice, and precious, and useful commodities brought from the east. Here-

[h] Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 37. col. 301. [i] Idem ibid. col. 303. [k] STRABO, l. 16. p. 757. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HERODOT. l. c. [n] POSIDONIUS apud STRABO ubi supr. * MENAND. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. & contr. AP. l. 1. [o] STRABO ubi supr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] See before, p. 17. [r] Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 35. col. 303. [s] Vide eund. ibid. [t] Vide eund. ibid. [u] See before, p. 379.

a Hereupon, having a safe coast and convenient harbours on the one side of them, and excellent materials for ship-building upon the mountains on the other, and perceiving by degrees how acceptable many commodities, that *Syria* furnished them with, would be in foreign parts; and being at the same time, perhaps, shewn the way by the *Syrians* themselves, who may have navigated the *Mediterranean*; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, and, by an uncommon application thereto, soon eclipsed the *Syrians* themselves on the *Mediterranean* Sea. Nature herself pointed to them their advantages, and daily experience before their eyes, and a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to that, which brought them to be considered as the first of the earth for riches and splendor, if not for power.

b It were in vain to talk of the *Edomites*, who fled hither in *David*'s time[w]; or to enquire whence *Herodotus* derives the *Phœnicians* from the *Red-sea*[x]. Their origin we have already seen[y]. That some of the *Edomites* fled into this country in the days of *David* we have already shewn. And that the *Edomites* were a trading people we have elsewhere noted[z]. What Improvements they brought with them into *Phœnice* is hard to say. And, by the way, it is as hard to speak of their numbers, or to say, how it could be possible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the ancient proprietors, as is pretended[a]. It seems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowledge of the *Red-sea*, and of the south parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*; and that by their instructions and lights, they made the
c *Phœnicians* acquainted with those coasts, which before they knew nothing of, and enabled them to undertake the voyages they did in those parts for *Solomon*, and for *Pharoah Necho* king of *Egypt*. But we will dwell no longer on these particulars so hard to be ascertained. We have only started them to exercise those of our inquisitive readers, who have leisure and inclination to bend their thoughts this way; and shall only add, by way summary, That it is our opinion, the *Phœnicians* were both younger merchants and navigators than the *Syrians*, and that they reaped considerable advantages by the access of the fugitive *Edomites*, that sought for shelter among them in *David*'s time.

The whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no
d empire but that of the sea. They sought to enlarge no other dominion. They seem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce. They traded to all the known parts they could reach, or knew the way to. The *British* isles, commonly understood by the *Cassiterides*, *Spain*, other places in the ocean, both to the north and south of the *Straits* mouth, in general all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the *Black-sea*, and the lake *Mæotis*[b]; in all these parts they had settlements and correspondents, from all which they drew what was useful to themselves, or might be so to others reciprocally: and thus they exercised the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided in importation, exportation, and transportation, in full latitude. Such was the extent of their sea trade, as for their correspondence
e by Land in *Syria*, and by the way thereof, in *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and even the *Indies*, not to carry the thing any farther; this may furnish us with some adequate idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how unhyperbolically their merchants are mentioned in scripture as equal to princes[c]. Their country was at that time the great warehouse where every thing, that might either administer to the necessities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they distributed as they judged would be the best for their own interest, which they must have had the art of cherishing, as much as we have in our days. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by sea, or of what was sent them over land from each particular place, or of what they sent to the several countries
f they dealt with. We shall have occasion to specify the particulars, when we come to mention the ancient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were the purple of *Tyre*, the glass of *Sidon*, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country[d]: these, and other fine pieces of art in metals and wood, seem to have been the chief, and almost only commodities of *Phœnice* itself. Their country was so small, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of the fruits thereof. It is more likely, that they rather wanted, than abounded with, the fruits of the earth.

Having thus spoken in general terms of their trade, we shall now just touch upon their shipping, and some things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger

[w] See before, p. 314. [x] See before in the Notes, p. 315. [y] See before, p. 396. [z] See before, p. 310. [a] See before, p. 383. [b] Vide Huet. Hist. de la Comm. et de la Navig. des Anc. [c] Isai. c. xxiii. ℣ 8. [d] See before, p. 404.

embarkations were of two ſorts. They divided them into round ſhips, or *Gauli*, and long ſhips, gallies, or *Triremes* [e]. When they drew up in line of battle, the *Gauli* were at a ſmall diſtance off each other in the wings, or in the van, and the rear, and about; their *Triremes* were contracted together in the center [f]. If at any time they ſhips bound on a voyage obſerved, that a ſtranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were ſure to get rid of him if they could, or deceive him, if poſſible; in which they would go ſo far as to venture the loſs of their ſhips, and even their lives, ſo that they could but deſtroy, or diſappoint him [g]; ſo jealous were they of foreigners, and ſo tenaciouſly bent on keeping all to themſelves. And to add to the dangers of the ſeas, and to diſcourage other nations from truſting themſelves thereon, they affected piracy [h]; or to be at war with ſuch as they met when they thought themſelves ſtrongeſt. This was but a natural ſtroke of policy in a people who graſped at the whole commerce of the then known world. Talking of their navigation, we muſt not forget the famous fiſhery of *Tyre*, which ſo remarkably enriched the city of *Tyre* in particular. The fiſh they ſought after were thoſe wherewith they dyed purple, the richeſt dye in the world. They were always careful to take them alive. An ancient author [i] attributes the diſſoluteneſs of *Tyre* to the number of the dyers there; from whence we may gather they were a rich and a numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fiſh is ſome how or other loſt (X), or thoſe on that coaſt at preſent know not how to catch it.

We might here ſpeak of the *Phœnician* voyages in the ſervice of *Solomon*, had we not a more proper place in our eye of expatiating thereon. The long voyage ſome of them undertook in the ſervice, and to ſatisfy the curioſity of *Necho* king of *Egypt*, round *Afric*, going out of the *Red-ſea*, and returning by the way of the *Straits-mouth*, deſerves not to be paſſed over. They were three years about it (Y). The reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed that we have dwelt ſo long on this extraordinary people. He will perceive we might have ſaid ten times more, and that it was impoſſible for us to ſay leſs of them than we have ſaid, either to refreſh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and ſettlements will be particularly remarked in the order they may occur.

[e] Vide Bochart. Canaan. l. 2. c. 11. col. 739. [f] Polyæn. l. 6. [g] Vide Strab. l. 3. p. 175. [h] Huet ubi ſupr. c. 16. p. 70. [i] Strab. l. 16.

(X) We are aſſured by an eye witneſs, who is too modeſt to allow us the uſe of his name, that they have a kind of fiſh on the rocks on the coaſt a little to the weſtward of *Panama*, with which the *Indians* dye a red purple. That they carry their yarn down to the ſea-ſide: that they bring it back dyed: and that their hands are always diſcoloured, like thoſe of our dyers.

(Y) We ſee then the *Portugueſe* were only the Re-diſcoverers of the *Cape of Good-hope*. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, the *Phœnicians* made it a common practice to trade with *India*, by the way of the *Cape of Good-hope*, from the times of *Solomon*. This is incredible on many accounts. 1. The *Phœnicians* had no ſuch temptation to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage as we have: the voyage to them muſt have been much longer than it is at preſent to us. 2. They are not above half ſo far from *India* as we are. 3. It is incredible, that the ſtructure and rigging of their ſhips were rightly adapted for ſo unfavourable a navigation; nor is it likely that they could at once furniſh themſelves with ſtores and proviſions ſufficient for their uſe and neceſſities, and at the ſame time have any great cargoe of goods on board. 4. Theſe diſadvantages conſidered, it muſt appear, that they might have been ſupplied with all the eaſtern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the *Egyptians* and *Edomites* on the *Arabian* gulf, and from *Syria* on the *Euphrates*; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with *Syria* and *Egypt* (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been uſual, that all memory of it would have been loſt; that the *Romans*, in *Ovid*'s time, would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that *Herodotus* would have reckoned it as ſo noble a tranſaction of *Necus*'s reign, that he ſent the moſt expert *Phœnicians* he could procure to explore the ſhores of *Afric* (37); or that the ſame, in other reſpects, moſt knowing hiſtorian, would have diſputed the credibility of what the ſailors reported on their return, that they had the ſun on the right hand of them (68); it being the ancient cuſtom, as we have ſomewhere read in *Plutarch*, to ſet the face to the weſtward; in which poſture the ſun muſt be on the right hand of him who is to the ſouthward of its courſe, which they muſt have been, over and over again who doubled the *Cape of Good-hope*. In ſhort, the *Indian* commerce by that rout could have anſwered no manner of end to the *Phœnicians*, nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, ſituated as they were between *Egypt* and *Syria*, the two great magazines of whatever the eaſt afforded.

(65) Huet *Hiſtoire du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. chap.* 8. (66) *See before, p.* 379. (67) *See before, p.* 267. (68) Melpomen *c.* 42.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the PHOENICIANS

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this ſubject. In general we may ſay, that the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* is no other than a continuation of that of *Canaan*; as is on all hands allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impoſſible to diſcover. Their records, once ſo faithfully kept[a], are now no more. We will not therefore enter profeſſedly upon ſo dark a matter, but ſhall content ourſelves with touching thereon occaſionally hereafter. It is obſerved[b], that they boaſted an exceſſive antiquity, no leſs than thirty thouſand years; in which, however, they were far more reaſonable than ſome others, who certainly could claim very little, or nothing beyond them in that particular. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſeries of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, ſo far as we can collect them.

KINGS of SIDON.

* * * * * * * * *

Agenor,
Phœnix,
Phalis,
* * * * * * * * *
An anonymous king,
* * * * * * * * *
Tetrammeſtus,
* * * * * * * * *
Tennes,
Strato,
Ballonymus, *Albdolominus*, *Abdolomimus*, *Abdolomius*, or *Alonymus*.

KINGS and JUDGES of *TYRE*.	According to MENAND. EPHES.	Accord. to THEOPHIL. ANTIOC.
* * * * * * * * *		
Abibal, or *Abeimal*,		
Hiram, *Hierom*, *Hieromen*, *Irom*, *Chiram*, or *Suron*,		
Baleaſtratus, or *Bazor*,	7 Years - - - -	- - - - 17 Years
Abdaſtartus,	9 - - - - - - - -	- - - - 12
The eldeſt of the murderers of *Abdaſtartus*,	12 - - - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtartus,	12 - - - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtapimus, or *Atharymus*,	9 - - - - - - - -	- - - -
Phelles, or *Helles*,	8 - - Months -	- - - -
Ethbal, *Ithobal*, or *Juthobal*,	32 Years - - - -	- - - - 12
Badezor, or *Bazor*	6 - - - - - - - -	- - - - 7
Badezor's ſon,		
Mettinus,	9 - - - - - - - -	- - - - 29

Pygmalion

[a] Vid. JOSEPH. contr. AP. l. 1.

[b] AFRICAN. apud SYNCELL. p. 17.

(A) We have already given ſeveral proofs to ſince this. We ſhall add, that the compiler of the *Alexandrine Cronicle* (1), ſpeaking of the *Canaanites* driven out by *Joſhua*, calls them, in part, *Phœnicians*.

(p. 183. 1.)

KINGS and JUDGES of *TYRE*.		Reigned Accord. to Menand. Ephes.	Accord. to Theophil. Antioc.
	Pygmalion,	40 Years	
	* * * * * * * *		
	Elulæus,	36	
	* * * * * * * * *		
	Ithobal,		
	Baal,	10	
Judges	*Ecnibal*,	2 Months	
Judges	*Chelbis*,	10	
Judges	*Abbar*, the High-prieſt,	3	
Judges	*Myttonus* and *Geraſtus*,	6	
	Balator,	1	
	Merbal,	4	
	Irom,	20	
	¶ *Maſſen*,		
	¶ *Strato*,		
	* * * * * * * * * * *		
	Azelmic,		
	* * * * * * * * * * *		
	Marion.		

The KINGS of ARAD, or ARADUS.

* * * * * * * * *

Arbal,
Narbal,
* * * * * * * * *
Geroſtratus.

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, in their reigns of the *Tyrian* princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the beſt and cleareſt times of the *Phœnicians* in general.

SECT. IV.

The Phœnician *Kings, from the ancient fabulous Hiſtory of the* Greeks.

Agenor.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Phœnician* kings, we are, in ſome manner, obliged to inſert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the firſt king of *Phœnice* mentioned by the *Greeks*.

Agenor and Belus were, according to *Apollodorus*[a], the ſons of *Neptune* by *Lybia*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who was king of a part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned *in Egypt*, and married *Anchinoe* daughter of *Nilus*, by whom he had *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* paſſed from *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephaſſa* (*Stephanus* calls her *Telephe*) by whom he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix*[b], and, according to *Pauſanias*, *Electra*[c], and *Thaſus*[d]. *Pherecides*, as quoted by the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, gives him two wives, the one named *Damno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Iſæa*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Dexippe*, who brought forth *Sipylus*[e]. *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Caſſiopea*, who bore him a daughter, by name *Carina*. And *Cedrenus* a ſixth, whom he calls *Tyrus*, pretending, that the city of *Tyre* borrowed its name from her. *Europa* (whom ſome writers will have to be the daughter of *Phœnix*, and not of *Agenor*) was ſtolen by *Jupiter*, tranformed into a bull, that is, in a ſhip named the bull; or bearing the

[a] l. 2. [b] Idem l. 3. [c] Pausan. in Boeot. [d] Idem in Eliac. [e] Plutarch de Fluvi.

the figure of a bull in her ſtern, and carried into *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extreamly grieved for the loſs of his daughter, ſent his ſon *Cadmus* with a great ſum of money in queſt of her: but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, reſolved to go and ſettle elſewhere. With this deſign, having fitted out a ſmall fleet, he put to ſea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he had the good luck to diſcover a gold mine, in the mount *Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to purſue his deſign, he was adviſed by the oracle of *Delphos* to leave *Thrace*, and paſs into *Bœotia*, which he did accordingly; and having driven out the *Hyantes*, who oppoſed him, and allowed the *Aones*, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his *Phœnicians*, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which, in derivation from his own name, he called *Cadmea*. That city was afterwards embelliſhed, and enlarged by *Amphyon* and *Zethus*, the two ſons of *Antiope* (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of *Laius*, the ſon of *Labdacus*, *Cadmus*'s grand-ſon), and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, by the mother's ſide [f] (A).

Isaea and *Melia*, *Angenor*'s two daughters, married *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, their couſin germans. *Cilix* is ſaid, by *Appollodorus* [g], to have ſettled in *Cilicia*, and given his

[f] Pausan. in Bœot. [g] Apollod. l. 3.

(A) We find ſuch a diſagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of *Agenor* and his deſcendants, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth of the matter; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of ſo perplexed and intricate a ſubject. What moſt authors ſeem to agree upon, is; I. That *Agenor* was by birth an *Egyptian*; that from *Egypt*, he paſſed (on what occaſion we know not) into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. II. All the *Greek* writers agree him to have been the firſt king of *Phœnice*, and the founder of the cities of *Sidon* and *Tyre*. But in the ſucceſſion of the kings, ſome of the *Latines* place *Belus* the elder before him; and moſt of the moderns, upon the authority of *Joſephus* (1), make *Sidon*, the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was ſo called from him. And as to the city of *Tyre*, the ſame *Joſephus* tells us, that it was founded 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow *Joſephus* (whoſe authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the *Greeks*) that theſe two cities were not built by one and the ſame perſon. *Tyre* was, without doubt, a colony of the *Sidonians*, it being called in ſcripture *the daughter of Sidon* (2). And *Juſtin* tells us, in expreſs terms, that the city of *Tyre* was built before the taking of *Troy*, by the *Sidonians*, who being driven out of their own country, by the king of the *Aſcalonians*, were forced to ſeek new ſeats (3). III. It is agreed upon by moſt of the ancients, that *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, were the children of *Agenor*; and that with them a great many *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* went into *Aſia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; and there introduced letters, muſic, poetry, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the *Phœnicians*. It is pretended, that *Europa* being carried away by *Taurus* king of *Crete*, *Agenor* ſent her brother in queſt of her; who, on that occaſion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded ſeveral *Phœnician* colonies in *Aſia Minor*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter. But Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that theſe *Phœnicians* went not to ſeek *Europa*, but new ſeats, being driven out of *Sidon* by the *Edomites*, whom *David* had conquered and diſperſed. For, according to his computation, the conqueſt of the land of *Edom* by *David*, the coming of *Cadmus* into *Greece*, and the founding of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and other *Phœnician* colonies in other parts, happened much about the ſame time. The *Edomites*, ſays he, not being able to withſtand *David*, abandoned *Edom*, and fled, ſome into *Egypt* with their young king *Hadad*, others to the *Perſian Gulph* with their commander *Oannes*; and ſome from the *Red Sea* to the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, where they fortified *Azoth* againſt *David*; and driving out the *Sidonians*, made themſelves maſters of their city, it being very convenient for the merchants, who fled from the *Red Sea*. The *Sidonians*, being thus expelled, went in great numbers under *Cadmus* and his brothers into *Cilicia*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Greece*; while others fled under other leaders to ſeek new ſeats in *Libya*, where they built, as we are told by *Nonnus* (4), many walled towns. Their leader was alſo there called *Cadmus* (which imports a man come from the eaſt), and his wife *Sithonis* a *Sidonian*. Sir *Iſaac* adds, that ſome of the *Sidonians*, who were driven out by the *Edomites* flying from *David*, laid the firſt foundations of the cities of *Tyre* and *Arad*, and made *Abibalus*, their leader, king of *Tyre*. So that according to his computation, *Tyre* was built in the time of *David*, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by *Joſephus*, who tells us, that *Tyre* was built two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple (6); which work *Solomon* undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Abibal* king of *Tyre*. It is therefore plain, both from *Joſephus*, and the *Tyrian* annals, which he quotes, that *Abibal* was not the founder of *Tyre*, and that that city was built long before *David*'s time.

Neither was *Abibal* the firſt king of *Tyre*, though he is the firſt we find mentioned in hiſtory; as appears from the ſame *Joſephus*, who, in ſpeaking of *Menander*'s hiſtory, tells us; that *Menander*, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of *Phœnice*, comes at laſt to *Hiram*, who was aſſumed to the throne upon the death of his father *Abibal* (8). From which paſſage it is manifeſt (if we give credit to *Joſephus* and *Menander*), that *Abibal* was preceded by ſeveral other kings, whoſe reigns and actions *Menander* had deſcribed.

(1) Joseph. *Antiq. l. 2. c. 6.* (2) *Iſa. xxiii. 12.* (3) Justin *l. 18. c. 3.* (4) *Dionyſiac. l. 13.* (5) *Sir* Isaac Newton *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. Amend.* (6) Joseph. *Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) Joseph. *contr.* Apion. *l. 1.*

his name to that country. He adds, that *Thasus* built the city of *Thasos* in *Thrace*, which is confirmed by *Pausanias* [h]. All we know of *Electra* is, that one of the gates of *Thebes* borrowed its name from her [i]. Of *Sipylus* we read in *Plutarch* [k], that mount *Sipylus* was so called from him. We shall have occasion to relate more at length, what we read of *Cadmus* in the ancient *Greek* writers, when we come to write the history of the *Theban* kings.

Phœnix. Phoenix is supposed by the *Greeks* to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, or rather of *Sidon*; which city, as likewise that of *Tyre*, they pretend to have been built by *Agenor*, wherein they are followed, among the *Latins*, by *Q. Curtius* [l]. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from *Phœnix*, was called *Phœnice*, and the inhabitants *Phœnicians*. *Eusebius* adds [m], that he was the first who found out the scarlet colour, which was therefore called at first *Phœnicius*, and afterwards, with a small alteration, *Puniceus color*.

Phalis. The next king of *Sidon* we meet with in history is Phalis, who flourished in the time of the *Trojan* war. He proved a faithful ally to the *Greeks*, and used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to draw *Sarpedon*, king of *Lycia*, over to their side [n]. He is mentioned by *Homer* [o], and honoured with the title of *most illustrious*.

These are the kings of *Sidon* we find mentioned in the ancient *Greek* writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven, and darkened with a thousand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, lest we should seem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly historical.

SECT. V.

The Reigns of the Kings of Phoenice.

Phoenice, as we have said, was divided into several small kingdoms; for besides the kings of *Sidon*, and *Tyre*, mentioned in scripture, we read in history of *Elbasus* king of *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoniatho*, according to *Eusebius* [a], dedicated his history of *Erylus* king of *Byblus* [b], and of other *Phœnician* kings [c], whose dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of all the kings of *Phœnice*, those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad*, seem to have been the most powerful and wealthy, and make the best figure in history. But their successions, and the years of their respective reigns, are over-cast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and seems chiefly to be depended upon. We will begin with *Sidon*, the most ancient city of *Phœnice*.

The KINGS *of* SIDON.

Sidon. Sidon, the eldest son of *Canaan*, was, according to *Josephus* [d], the founder, and, very likely, the first king of this city, or at least, the father of the people. But as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who succeeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the histories of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not, in holy writ, express mention made of their kings, till the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, who speaks of Embassadors sent (on what occasion we know not) by the king of *Sidon* to *Zedekiah*, king of *Judah* [e].

Tetramnestus. The next king, we find mentioned in history, is Tetramnestus, who assisted *Xerxes*, in his expedition against *Greece*, with 300 Gallies, and is counted by *Herodotus* [f] among the chief commanders of the *Persian* navy.

Tennes. Tennes appears next: it is uncertain whom he succeeded. In his reign the *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings of those whom *Darius Ochus*, king of *Persia*, had set over them, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt* [g], and rose up in arms, with design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. As the *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, which they could not well approach, but by marching through *Phœnice*, this revolt hap-

pened

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[h] Pausan. in Elia. [i] Idem in Bœot. [k] Plutarch de Fluviis. [l] Q. Curtius l. [illegible]
[m] Præpar. Evang. [n] Dictys l. 1. [o] Odyss. 8. [a] Euseb. præparat. Evangel. l. 1. c. 6. Arrian. l. 2. [b] Strabo l. 16. [c] Strabo l. 16. [d] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. c. xxvii. [e] Herodot. l. 6. [f] See before, p. 278.

a pened very opportunely for *Nectanebus*. Therefore, to encourage the *Phœnicians* to
ſtand out in it, he ſent a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the com-
mand of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnice* a
kind of barrier to *Egypt*, and carry on the war at a diſtance. On the other ſide, *Tennes*
king of *Sidon* (which city then exceeded all the others of *Phœnice* in wealth) having
fitted out with great expedition a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army in
his own dominions, took the field; and, being ſtrengthened by the *Greek* auxilia-
ries, engaged, and routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, whom *Ochus* had ſent
to reduce him, and drove the *Perſians* quite out of *Phœnice*. The *Sidonians*, on their
firſt taking up of arms, had lain waſte a delicious garden belonging to the kings of
b *Perſia*, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; ſeized, and burnt all
the forage, which the *Perſian* governor had laid up for the ſubſiſtence of his cavalry;
and, what is ſtill worſe, puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch of their *Perſian* op-
preſſors as fell into their hands. *Ochus* was provoked to ſuch a degree at theſe pro-
ceedings of the *Sidonians*, eſpecially after news was brought him of his Lieutenant's
being defeated, and the *Perſians* driven out of *Phœnice*; that now he breathed no-
thing but revenge, threatening total deſtruction not only to the *Sidonians*, but to
all the inhabitants of *Phœnice*. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together
all the forces he could, and having muſtered them at *Babylon*, marched from thence
into *Phœnice*, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and thirty
c thouſand horſe. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon*, being terrified at the approach of
ſo powerful an army, ſent privately a truſty ſervant of his own, called *Theſſalion*,
to the king of *Perſia*, offering not only to put him in poſſeſſion of *Sidon*, but like-
wiſe to aſſiſt him in the reducing of *Egypt*; where, as he was well acquainted with
the country, he was capable of doing him good ſervice. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer,
ſpared no promiſes to engage *Mentor* in his ſervice; who, having received ſuch
aſſurances from the king of *Perſia* as he deſired, found means to draw *Tennes* king
d of *Sidon* into the ſame treaſon. In the mean time the *Sidonians*, not miſtruſting
Mentor, and much leſs their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The
city was furniſhed with arms and proviſions of all ſorts to hold out a long ſiege,
e and the citizens had drawn a treble trench and a high wall round them. Beſides the
mercenaries, the place was garriſoned with a brave body of tall, handſome, and ſtout
Sidonians, all well exerciſed, and trained up in martial diſcipline; and the ſea-coaſt
was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large gallies. But all was to no purpoſe; for
Tennes no ſooner heard, that the *Perſian* army was drawing near, but, feigning to go
to the general aſſembly of the *Phœnicians*, he marched out with a body of five
hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be
created ſenators, as he pretended, went ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and delivered
them up to *Ochus*, who received him as a friend, but cauſed all the citizens, as au-
thors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This ſeverity of *Ochus*,
f joined with the treachery of *Tennes*, ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Sidonians*, that five
hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themſelves at
their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion imaginable.
Ochus, on ſeeing them, aſked *Tennes*, whether it was in his power to put him in
poſſeſſion of the city, for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the
utter ruin of the *Sidonians*, in hopes, that ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity would make
the other *Phœnicians* voluntarily ſubmit. *Tennes* aſſured him, he could deliver the
city into his hands whenever he pleaſed: whereupon *Ochus* cauſed the five hundred
citizens, though they were come out with olive-branches in their hands, as badges
of ſubmiſſion, to be ſhot with darts upon the ſpot. After this *Ochus* and *Tennes*
marched at the head of the *Perſian* army towards the city, and were admitted, with-
out the leaſt oppoſition, by *Mentor* and the *Greek* mercenaries, to whom *Tennes*, in
leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The *Sidonians*, on
the approach of *Ochus*'s army, had deſignedly burnt all their ſhips, to prevent any
one's withdrawing himſelf from the defence of his country: and therefore finding Year of the Flood, 2648.
themſelves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left Year before Chriſt, 351.
them to make their eſcape either by ſea or land, they ſhut themſelves up with their
wives and children in their houſes, and, ſetting fire to them, conſumed themſelves,
to the number of forty thouſand, and the moſt valuable things they had, in the flames.
Tennes met with no better fate than his ſubjects; for *Ochus*, ſeeing he could do him
no further ſervice, and deteſting in his heart the treachery of the man, cauſed
him to have his throat to be cut, leſt he ſhould out-live the ruin which he himſelf had brought
upon his country. As *Sidon* was at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and the
moſt

moſt wealthy city of *Phœnice*; a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver was melted down by a the flames, and found in the aſhes, which *Ochus* ſold for great ſums of money. The ruin and total deſtruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to ſuch a degree, that they all voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the beſt terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the deſign he had upon *Egypt*. And thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Perſian* yoke [h], and the prophecies of *Iſaiah* [i], *Jeremiah* [k], *Ezekiel* [l], and *Zechariah* [m], touching the deſtruction of *Sidon*, fulfilled.

Strato. After *Tennes* reigned Strato; for ſuch of the *Sidonians*, as by being abſent on traffic at ſea, or on other occaſions, had eſcaped the maſſacre, returning home after b *Ochus* was gone back into *Perſia*, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal averſion to the *Perſian* name. No wonder then if, a few years after, they ſo readily ſubmitted to *Alexander the Great*, and ſo greedily embraced that opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the *Sidonians* are counted among the firſt in thoſe parts, who ſent embaſſadors to *Alexander*, as he marched through *Phœnice*, to make their ſubmiſſion to him. *Strato*, as it ſeems, did not approve of this reſolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obſtinately bent againſt the *Perſians*. For we are told, that *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, Year of the Flood, 2667. becauſe he ſubmitted at the inſtigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord [n]. Year before Chriſt, 332. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athæneus* [o], gives him the character of a moſt lewd and c voluptuous prince, and tells us in particular, that in order to aſſemble the women, and have thereby an opportuuity of chooſing the moſt beautiful for his own uſe, he inſtituted publick ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly in dancing and ſinging, wherein ſuch as excelled the others were amply rewarded. *Ælian* [p] ſays, he died an unnatural death. Of one *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, S. *Jerome* [q] relates, that having adhered to the king of *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, and finding himſelf in danger of falling into the hads of an enemy, from whom he had no reaſon to expect any favour, he reſolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himſelf; but fainting in the execution of his deſign, his wife, who was preſent, ſnatching, with a manly reſolution, the ſword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting d firſt him, and then herſelf, to death, without ſhewing the leaſt concern. But the circumſtances of this king's death, if true, plainly ſhew, that he was not the ſame perſon whom *Alexander the Great* ſtript of his dominions on account of his attachment to the *Perſian* intereſt. This *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, is alſo mentioned by *Maximus Tyrius* [r].

Ballonymus. Strato was ſucceeded by Ballonymus, of whoſe aſſumption to the throne we have the following account from *Diodorus* [s]. *Alexander*, having depoſed *Strato*, gave *Hephæſtio* power to beſtow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleaſed. Whereupon *Hephæſtio* named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged, and was ſplendidly entertained; deſiring him to ac- e cept of it as a pledge of his friendſhip, and an acknowledgment of the many favours he had received in his houſe. The citizen, not at all dazled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks, but at the ſame time earneſtly begged he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity, to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephæſtio* was not a little ſurpriſed at this anſwer; but finding the *Sidonian* to be in earneſt, deſired he would name ſome one of the royal race to be inveſted with the dignity himſelf had refuſed. Upon this he named *Ballonymus*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obſcure condition, and to maintain himſelf with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to *Hephæſtio*, who immediately f diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes, and tidings of his elevation to the throne. The meſſenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the meſſenger acquainted him with his aſſumption to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted without more ado the new dignity, and proceeding, with the meſſenger, towards the city, was there received by *Hephæſtio* with all the marks of diſtinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the *Forum*, where, among the joyful ſhouts of the people who were

[h] Diod. Sic. l. 16. [i] Iſa. xxiii. [k] Jerem. xlvii. [l] Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii. [m] Zech ix.
[n] Curt. l. 4. & Diod. Sicul. l. 17. [o] l. 12. c. 13. [p] l. 7. c. 2. [q] contra Jovian. l. 1. [r] Serm. 4. [s] Ubi ſupr.

were extreamly pleased with this election, he was proclaimed king of *Sidon* [f]. The
a same occurrence is related, with some small variations of circumstances, by *Plu-*
tarch, *Curtius* [u], and *Justin* [x]. *Plutarch* makes this king *Alonymus*; *Curtius* calls
him *Abdolominus*, and *Justin Abdolomius*. *Plutarch* makes him king of *Paphus*; and
Diodorus both him and his predecessor kings of *Tyre*. But in this particular we
have abandoned him to follow the current of most writers, who place both *Strato*
and *Ballonymus* (as *Diodorus* calls him) among the kings of *Sidon*. All we know of
his reign is, that to the last he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was
indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of *Sidon* down
to the conquest of *Phœnice* by the *Macedonians*, let us turn back to the kings of *Tyre*.

b

KINGS of TYRE.

We are left quite in the dark as to the series of the kings who reigned at *Tyre* before *Abibal*, with whom *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* begin the succession they have furnished us with from *Menander* the *Ephesian* and *Dius*, both authors, as *Josephus* calls them [y], of unquestionable credit. *Dius*, who was by birth a *Phœnician*, wrote the history of *Tyre* extracted from the public records, which were carefully preserved in that city. And *Menander* compiled the lives and actions of princes both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, as the same *Josephus* tells us [z], from the publick archives of the places he treats of.

c The first king of *Tyre* mentioned by these historians, as quoted by *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, is Abibal, as *Josephus* calls him [a], or *Abeimal*, as he is named by *Theophilus* [b]. As to his actions and years of his reign we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations against him, since *David* counts *the inhabitants of Tyre* among his enemies [c]. The *Tyrian* officers, who served the *Philistines* against *Samuel*, as we are told by *Syracides* [d], might have been sent by him. But these are, we own, bare conjectures, since neither *Josephus*, nor *Theophilus*, make any mention of his friendship or enmity towards the *Jews*. *Abibal.*

Abibal was succeeded by his son Hiram, whom *Theophilus* calls sometimes *Hiram.*
c *Hieromus*, and sometimes *Hieromenus*, *Josephus*, *Hiram*, and *Irom*, *Tatian* and *Zonaras*. Year of the Flood, 1987.
Chiramus. This prince maintained a strict friendship with king *David*, to whom Year before Christ, 1012.
he sent embassadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebusites*, whom he had just then driven from the strong hold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He presented him with cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jerusalem* [e]. And hence he is said in scripture to have been ever a *lover of David* [f]; which shews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a sincere friend of *David*'s. Upon the death of *David* and the succession of *Solomon* to the throne, the affection *Hirom* had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to send a gratulatory embassy to the son, upon the news of his accession to the
e government, expressing great joy to see it continued in the family. Upon the return of these embassadors. *Solomon* embraced the occasion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram* in these terms.

King Solomon to King Hiram, greeting.

Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a necessity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin, and to finish it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be his great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! and by his gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to his honour and worship. Wherefore I make it my request, that you will let some of your people go along with some servants of mine to mount Libanus, *to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the* Sidonians *understand it much better than we do. As for the workmens reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable shall be punctually paid them.*

Hiram was much pleased with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned him the following answer.

[f] Diod. Sic. ibid. [t] Plutarch de fortuna Alexandri. [u] Curtius l. 4. [x] Justin. l. 11. [y] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Theophil. Antioch. l. 3. [c] Psal. lxxxiii. 7. [d] Eccles. xlvi. [e] 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chr. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Kings v. 1.

King HIRAM to King SOLOMON.

NOTHING *could have been more welcome to me, than to understand, that the government of your blessed father is devolved by God's providence into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; his holy name be praised for it! That which you write for, shall be done with all care and good will: for I will give order to cut down and export such quantities of the fairest Cedars and Cypress trees, as you shall have occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-side for you, and from thence ship them away to what part you please, where they may lie ready for your own men to transport them to* Jerusalem. *It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange, as may stand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we Islanders want most* [g].

JOSEPHUS assures us, that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the *Jewish* and *Tyrian* records (B) [h]. And they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in scripture upon the same subject [i]. *Solomon* was highly pleased with *Hiram*'s answer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil [k]. Besides the cedar-wood, and other materials for the building of the temple, *Hiram* sent to *Solomon* a man, who was very famous in *Tyre* for working in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist and direct him in that great undertaking [l]. Neither did *Hiram*'s friendship and kindness towards *Solomon* stop here; for he not only furnished him with the choicest wood from mount *Libanus*, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120 talents of gold for the finishing of the fabric [m]. And *Solomon* was not behind hand with him neither, in his acknowledgments and presents; for, besides the yearly supply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he bestowed upon him twenty cities in the land of *Galilee* [n], not far from *Tyre*; which *Hiram* upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking) fairly declined, with a respectful excuse to *Solomon*, that he had no need of those cities. From this refusal, that part of the country was called *Cabul*, that is, *displeasing* [o].

HIRAM proved no less serviceable to *Solomon* in the building of his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no sooner heard, that *Solomon* designed to build a fleet at *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, two sea port towns on the red sea, in order to carry on a trade from thence to *Ophir*, but he generously furnished him with as many builders and shipwrights as he had occasion for: and after having thus assisted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he sent him expert pilots and skilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of *Ophir*; the *Tyrians* being in those days, and for many ages after, the most experienced of all men in sea affairs [p].

DIUS, as quoted by *Josephus* [q], tells us, that the love of wisdom was the chief inducement to that tenderness of friendship betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram*; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the solution, should incur a forfeiture; and that *Hiram*, finding the question too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, resolved the said question, and proposed new ones to *Solomon*, upon the penalty of paying so much to *Hiram*, if he did not uncypher them.

THE kingdom of *Tyre* was in a very flourishing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved diverse cities in the eastern parts of his dominions; enlarged *Tyre*, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the *Olympian Jupiter* standing in an island. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to *Jupiter*. He built two temples, one to *Hercules*, another to *Astarte*, and beautified them with rich donatives. To *Hercules* he also erected a statue, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value [r]. *Hiram*, it seems, was rather a religious, than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook against

[g] JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. [h] Idem ibid. [i] 1 Kings v. 2. & seqq. [k] 1 Kings v. 11. [l] 1 Chron. ii. 13. [m] 1 Kings ix. 14. [n] 1 Kings ix. 11. & JOSEPH. ubi supr. [o] 1 Kings ix. 13. & JOSEPH. ubi. supr. [p] 1 Kings ix. 27. and 2 Chron. viii. 18. & JOSEPH. ubi. supr. [q] JOSEPH. ubi supr. & l. 1. contra APION. [r] MENAND. EPHES. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. ubi supr.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that *Eusebius* (1), who calls this king *Suron*, should give us this letter with so much variation from *Josephus* as he does. He therein specifies, that he had sent to *Solomon* eighty thousand *Phœnicians* and *Tyrians* . . . . That the architect he sent him was a *Tyrian* by birth; but that by the mother's side he was descended of the tribe of *Dan*, and the like.

(1) *Præpar. Evang. l.* 9. *p.* 449.

the *Lyceans*, who refuſed to pay him a certain tribute that was due to him, but were reduced in a very ſhort time.

a

IT is related by *Tatian*, from *Theodotus*, *Hyſicrates*, and *Mochus*, three *Phœnician* hiſtorians, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*: he adds, that by her *Solomon* was induced to worſhip *Aſhtoreth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians* [f]. *Hiram* lived 53 years, and reigned 34 [t].

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon BALEAZAR, BALEASTARTUS, or BAZOR, as *Theophilus* calls him, who reigned ſeven years according to *Joſephus*, and ſeventeen according to *Theophilus*, and died in the forty third year of his age [u]. *Baleazar.*

ABDASTARTUS, the ſon of *Beleazar*, ſucceeded his father, and died, according to *Joſephus*, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. *Theophilus* ſays, he died at the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years. *Abdaſtartus.*

b

ASTARTUS, the brother of *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived ſixty ſix years, and reigned twelve. *Aſtartus.*

AFTER him, came his brother ASTARIMUS, who lived, if we believe *Joſephus*, fifty four years, and reigned twelve. *Theophilus* calls him *Atharymus*, and ſays, that he lived fifty eight years. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age. *Aſtarimus.*

PHELLES, or, as *Theophilus* calls him, HELLES, did not long enjoy the throne he had wreſted to himſelf, by ſo baſe and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Phelles.*

c

ITHOBAL, whom *Theophilus* names *Juthobal*, ſon to *Aſtarimus*, and chief prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*; which dignity was next to that of the king. *Ithobal* lived to the age of ſixty eight years, and ruled thirty two, ſays *Joſephus*: but if we credit *Theophilus*, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in ſcripture *Eth-bael*, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians* [x]. *Joſephus* gives him the title of king of *Tyre* and *Sidon* [y]. Whence it is plain, that, in *Eth-baal*'s time, *Sidon* was ſubject to *Tyre*. When that ſubjection began is uncertain, for even in king *Hiram*'s time, the *Tyrians* were, in all probability, maſters of *Sidon*; ſince *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, applied himſelf to *Hiram* for workmen of *Sidon*, who were famous for their ſkill in hewing of timber [z]. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzates* in *Africa* [a]. *Jezebel*, king *Ahab*'s wife (whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. *Menander*, as quoted by *Joſephus*, tells us, that *in the time of* ETH-BAAL *king of* Tyre, *there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that laſted from the month* Hyperberetæus, *till the ſame month next year. There were prayers indeed*, ſays he, *put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder* [b]. This was undoubtedly the drought under *Ahab*, for it was in his reign that *Eth-baal* was king of *Tyre*. *Ithobal.*

d

AFTER him his ſon BADEZOR (who is called by *Theophilus* BAZOR) reigned, according to *Joſephus*, ſix years, and lived forty five. *Theophilus* ſays he reigned ſeven. *Badezor.*

e

HIS ſon METTINUS ſucceeded him, and reigned nine years ſays *Joſephus*, twenty nine ſays *Theophilus*. He died in the thirty ſecond year of his age, leaving behind him two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*. *Mettinus.*

PYGMALION aſcended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at that time, as we are told by *Juſtin* [c], very young; that is, ſixteen, according to the computation of *Joſephus*, who ſuppoſes him to have lived fifty ſix years, and reigned forty [d]. It was in the ſeventh year of his reign that his ſiſter *Eliſa*, called alſo *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* in *Afric*. The occaſion of her flight is commonly related thus. *Pygmalion* coveting the immenſe riches of his Uncle *Sichæus*, who was a prieſt of *Hercules*, and had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, determined by ſome means or other to make them his own. But as that could not be effected ſo long as *Sichæus* was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him, and while thoſe who attended him were engaged in the purſuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his ſpear; and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. *Juſtin* and *Virgil* ſay, that *Pygmalion* barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar [e]. But however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being diſappointed, when he leaſt expected it, by the prudent and *Pygmalion.*

f

[f] TATIAN. orat. contra Græcos. [t] THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. 3. [u] JOSEPH. lib. 1. contra APION. JOSEPH. & THEOPH. ubi ſupr. [x] 1 Kings xvi. 31. [y] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. & l. 9. c. 6. [z] 1 Kings v. 6. [a] MENAND. EPHES. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. [b] Idem ubi ſupr. [c] JUSTIN l. 18. [d] JOSEPH. contra Ap. l. 1. [e] JUSTIN l. 11. VIRG. 1 Æneid.

artful

artful conduct of his ſiſter *Eliſa*; who, as ſhe was a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband; but at the ſame time, concealing her thoughts with an artful diſſimulation, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and eſteem for him, as though ſhe had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a deſign of leaving *Tyre*, and ſaving both herſelf and the treaſures of her deceaſed huſband, from the cruel avarice of *Pygmalion*; under pretence of retiring to *Charta*, or *Chartaca*, a ſmall city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*, ſhe deſired the king to furniſh her with men and ſhips to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of ſeizing at laſt what he had for ſo long a time ſo earneſtly deſired, though always in vain; becauſe *Sichæus*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaritious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With this view *Pygmalion* willingly granted *Eliſa* her demands; which he ſoon repented; for as ſhe was aſſiſted by her brother *Barca* and ſeveral ſenators, who were privy to her true deſign, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treaſures were put on ſhip-board, and the fleet out of ſight, before *Pygmalion* was appriſed of her reſolution. We are told, that, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by a woman, and the vaſt riches, which he deemed already ſecured in his own coffers, ſnatched, by ſuch a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The firſt place our adventurers put into was the iſle of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted moſt of all, ſince their deſign was to plant a new colony. From *Cyprus* they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Afric*, where they put an end to their voyage; and, being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, laid the foundations of *Carthage*; a city, which, in after-ages, became ſo powerful both by ſea and land, as to contend with *Rome* for the empire of the world [f]. From *Barca* ſprang the illuſtrious family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others the great *Hannibal*. But of the *Carthaginian* affairs hereafter: Let us now return to *Phœnice*. *Pygmalion* is ſaid by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. He ſent to the temple of *Hercules*, ſtanding in the iſland of *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive tree of maſſive gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree [g].

Elulæus. The next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is Elulæus, who reigned in the time of *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. This prince, ſeeing the *Philiſtines* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath*, which had ſome time before revolted from the *Tyrians*. Whereupon the *Gittites*, applying themſelves to *Shalmaneſer*, engaged him in their cauſe; ſo that he marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but upon the concluſion of a peace between him and *Elulæus*, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and ſeveral other maritime towns of *Phœnice*, revolting from the *Tyrians*, proclaimed *Shalmaneſer* their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the *Tyrians* and *Aſſyrians*, *Shalmaneſer*, who could not abide to ſee, that the *Tyrians* were the only people in *Phœnice* that diſputed his power and authority, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, beſides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of ſixty ſail to be fitted out againſt them. But the fleet was encountered and diſperſed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve veſſels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken priſoners. This victory gained the *Tyrians* ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that *Shalmaneſer*, dreading to engage them a ſecond time at ſea, turned the war into a ſiege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into *Aſſyria*. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great ſtraits, by ſtopping the aquæducts, placing guards by the ſprings, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging of wells within the city they found ſome relief in their diſtreſs, which enabled them to hold out for the ſpace of five years; at the end of which, *Shalmaneſer* dying, the ſiege was raiſed [h]. *Elulæus* reigned thirty years.

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Chriſt, 717.

Ithobal II. Ithobal II. reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who laid ſiege to the city of *Tyre*, which kept that mighty monarch, *that king of kings*, as

[f] Justin l. 18. Eustath. in Dionys. Velleius, vol. 2. Orosius l. 4. c. 2. Appianus de Bell. Pun. Liv. decad. 4. l. 4. Servius in 4 Æneid. Virg. Æneid. Joseph. ubi ſupra, &c. [g] Philostrat. in vit. Apolloni l. l. 5. c. 1. [h] Joseph. Antiquit. l. 9. c. 14.

the

a the prophet *Ezekiel* ſtiles him [i], employed for thirteen years togerher [k]: ſuch was the power of the *Tyrians* at that time. We have the deſcription of the ſiege in *Ezekiel* [l], who mentions a fort raiſed againſt the place, a mount caſt up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At laſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a ſiege of thirteen years continuance, made himſelf maſter of the city; but as moſt part of the citizens had retired with all their effects elſewhere before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the ſcripture, where it is ſaid. *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus ....yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus.* Therefore finding himſelf thus diſappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabi-
b tants who were left, raſing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the ſword. To this deplorable condition was *Tyre* reduced by the *Babylonians*, and the ſevere prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled [m]. *Ithobal*, in whoſe reign happened the deſtruction of *Tyre*, was, according to the character the prophet gives him [n], a moſt proud, arrogant, and aſſuming prince: pretended to know all ſecrets, to be as wiſe as *Daniel*, and even went ſo far as to rank himſelf among the gods; which brought that heavy judgment upon him, *becauſe thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of* GOD; *behold therefore, I will bring ſtrangers upon thee——they ſhall bring thee down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the death of them that are ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas* [o]. From whence we may conclude, that in this war
c he was ſlain by the *Aſſyrians*.

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Chriſt, 385.

As it is plain from ſcripture, that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly deſtroyed the city of *Tyre*, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the *Phœnician* hiſtorians, that *Ithobal* was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, and *Baal* by ſeveral temporary magiſtrates; it is very probable, that the inhabitants of *Tyre* retreated with their effects, before *Nebuchadnezzar* got poſſeſſion of the city, to an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, where they built themſelves a new city; which, after the deſtruction of the old town, ſubmitted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon appointed *Baal* to be king under himſelf; but upon *Baal*'s death, in or-
d der to make the government more dependent on the *Aſſyrians*, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magiſtrates, called *Suffetes* (C), or *Judges*; a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Tyrians*, and whoſe chief magiſtrates were called *Suffetes* [p].

Baal.

BAAL reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the government of the city, *viz.* ECNIBAL, the ſon of *Baſbech*, two months; CHELBES, the ſon of *Abdæus*, ten months; the high-prieſt ABBAR, three months; MYTGONUS, or MYTTONUS, and GERASTUS, the ſons of *Abdelimus*, ſix years. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for ſome years by judges, the royal dignity was reſtored, and BALATOR created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors were entirely dependant
e of, and tributaries to, the *Aſſyrians*, for the ſpace of ſeventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of *Iſaiah* [q], their ancient liberty and former privileges, of which in its proper place. *Balator* reigned but one year.

Tyre governed by Judges.

Balator king.

UPON his death the *Tyrians* invited MERBAL from *Babylon*, who reigned four years.

Merbal.

MERBAL was ſucceeded by his brother IROM, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Irom*'s reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, made himſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire [r].

Irom.

AFTER *Merbal* reigned MAPEN, the ſon of *Siron*. He ſerved in *Xerxes*'s navy againſt the *Greeks*; and, with the other commanders, adviſed him to engage the *Grecian* fleet at *Salamis* [s]. The *Tyrians*, as well as the other *Phœnicians*, were, at this time, as may be gathered from *Herodotus* [t], tributaries to the *Perſians*, though
f under a king of their own; being greatly favoured by the *Perſian* monarchs, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

ABOUT this time reigned STRATO, whoſe acceſſion to the throne is related by *Juſtin* thus. The ſlaves who were then very numerous at *Tyre*, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murdered them all in one night (except *Strato*, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved), and, taking poſſeſſion of the city, married their miſtreſſes, and

Strato.

[i] Ezek. xxvi. 7. [k] PHILOSTRATUS apud JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 10. c. 11. [l] Ezek. xxvi. 8. & ſeqq. [m] Jerem. xxix. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos ii. 9. 10. Joel. iii. 4. [n] Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4. [o] Idem ibid. ℣ 6, 7, 8. [p] LIV. l. 18. 30. & 34. [q] Iſai. xxiii. 15, 17. [r] JOSEPH. l. 1. contra APION. [s] HEROD. l. 8. [t] Idem l. 3.

" (C) *Suffetes*..... had its derivation from the " *Hebrew* word *Sophetim*, i. e. Judges, which " was the very name, whereby the chief governors of *Iſrael* were called for ſeveral generations, " before they had kings (1).

(1) PRIDEAUX's *connect. vol. i. p.* 92.

put all the others to the ſword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not a
only recovered their liberty, but made themſelves abſolute lords of the ſtate, they re-
ſolve to create a king out of their own body, and unanimouſly agree, that he ſhould
be raiſed to that dignity, as being the moſt acceptable to the gods, who the next
morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun. In purſuance of this reſolution and agree-
ment, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, lying on the eaſt-
ſide of the city, and there, with one accord, beſtow the crown upon the perſon
to whom the ſun ſhould ſhew himſelf firſt. In the mean time *Strato*'s ſlave having
imparted the whole matter to his maſter, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by
him inſtructed to turn himſelf, not to the eaſt, as the others would probably do; but
to the weſt, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the higheſt tower of the b
city. The ſlave obeyed his maſter's directions, and was therefore looked upon by
the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it ſeeming to them very ſtrange,
that a man ſhould look for the riſing ſun in the weſt. But they were ſoon made ſen-
ſible of their error; for while the other ſtood gazing towards the eaſt, in expectation
of ſeeing the ſun appear, *Strato*'s ſlave ſhewed them the high edifices of the city alrea-
dy illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions,
and eagerly preſſed to name the perſon to whom he was indebted for ſuch a wiſe
thought; which they could not aſcribe to him, or any other ſlave. He refuſed at
firſt to gratify their curioſity; but at laſt, upon promiſe of impunity for himſelf and
the perſon he ſhould name, he owned that out of compaſſion and gratitude toward c
his maſter, who had always treated him with great humanity and Kindneſs, he had
ſaved both him and his ſon in the common maſſacre, and acted in the Affair, they were
ſo inquiſitive about, according to his directions. The multitude hearing this, not
only pardoned the ſlave, but looked upon the maſter as one preſerved by a particu-
lar providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king. This is all we
know of *Strato*.

UPON his death, his ſon was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of *Tyre* was
enjoyed by his deſcendants[x], among whom, the only one we find mentioned in hiſtory
Azelmic. is AZELMIC, in whoſe reign happened the memorable ſiege and reduction of that
city by *Alexander* the great[y]. We may judge of its flouriſhing condition at that d
time, from the ſtand it made againſt that victorious prince, ſince it ſtopped the
courſe of his whole army full ſeven months. As the conqueror approached the ter-
ritories of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* ſent out embaſſadors to meet him (amongſt whom was
the king's own ſon), with preſents for himſelf, and proviſions for his army: but when
he deſired to enter the city under pretence of offering ſacrifice to *Hercules*, they re-
fuſed him admittance; which provoked *Alexander*, now fluſhed with ſo many victo-
ries, to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to ſtorm the city, and enter it by force. On
the other hand, the *Tyrians* not at all terrified by *Alexander*'s threats, determined
to ſtand it out to the laſt. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the
ſtrength of the place, and the confidence they had in the *Carthaginians* their al- e
Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt, 332. lies. The city then ſtood on an iſland, half a mile diſtant from the ſhore,; was
ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, and was ſtored with great
plenty of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike machines: beſides the *Carthaginians*, who
were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had promiſed to ſend them
ſuccours during the war. What animated the *Tyrians* to ſtand a ſiege gave *Alex-
ander* no ſmall uneaſineſs, in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no
otherwiſe make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or cauſey from the conti-
nent to the iſland, on which the city ſtood. This grand work he undertook, and as he
was reſolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accompliſhed it at laſt, maugre the innume-
rable, and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties he met with in ſo bold an attempt. He f
was aſſiſted in raiſing the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the in-
habitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occaſion; and
ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Liba-
nus*. The *Tyrians* at firſt looked upon this undertaking as a raſh and deſperate at-
tempt, which could never be attended with any ſucceſs: and therefore from their
ſhips laughing at the king, aſked him, whether he believed himſelf to be greater than
Neptune? But ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning to appear
above water, they reſolved for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children
and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival
of *Alexander*'s fleet from *Cyprus*. Neither could the *Carthaginians* aſſiſt them with g

the

[x] JUSTIN. l. 18. c. 3. [y] Idem ibid. [z] ARRIANUS. l. 2.

a the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtick troubles. However, the *Tyrians* fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians*, was a violent ſtorm, which ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege, and would have ſent embaſſadors to the *Tyrians* with terms of
b peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown head-long into the ſea the embaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid, thoſe, he ſhould ſend now, might meet with ſuch like, or more ſevere treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully apprized that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, entirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he re-aſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines: while the archers and ſlingers haraſſed, without interruption,
c thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the *Tyrians* ſtood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the aggreſſors, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide. But, in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams, that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed, in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, kept the *Macedonians* a long while em-
d ployed, 'ere they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification. However, *Alexander*, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the *Macedonians*, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. *Alexander* deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the *Tyrians*, during the night, he perceived himſelf no further advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls. Hereupon the *Macedonian* reſolved to
e change his meaſures, and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army; who, purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall, but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the *Tyrians* with unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the *Macedonians* were altogether unacquainted with. Theſe were three forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the *Tyrians* an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and
f by that means expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows: or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing nets upon the *Macedonians* that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands; ſo that they could neither defend themſelves, or offend the enemy. Others, with long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off of the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines placed on the walls, played inceſſantly upon the aggreſſors, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away entire ranks at once. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians* in the attack, and forced them at laſt to give it over, was the ſcorching ſand, which the *Tyrians*,
g by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them. For this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs), getting within their breaſt-plates and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves

themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others, dying in the anguiſh of inexpreſſible torments, ſtruck, with their deſperate cries, a terror into all thoſe who heard them. This occaſioned unſpeakable confuſion among the aggreſſors; which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*, who, now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with ſuch reſolution, that *Alexander*, ſeeing his men give ground, thought fit to ſound the retreat, and by that means ſave, in ſome degree, the reputation of his *Macedonians*. Such deſperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggreſſors, and always ſuſtained with the ſame unbroken and undaunted courage by the beſieged. And now *Alexander* began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterpriſe, and continuing his march into *Egypt*: but again, conſidering the dangerous conſequences that muſt unavoidably attend ſuch a reſolution, he determined to b go on with the ſiege at all adventures; though of all his captains none was found, but *Amyntas*, who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted the diſheartened *Macedonians* to ſtand by him, and infuſed into them all the courage he could, he ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all ſides. In the mean time, a fancy taking the *Tyrians*, upon a dream ſome of them had, that *Apollo* deſigned to forſake them, and go over to *Alexander*, they faſtened his ſtatue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* (D). This ſtatue, or coloſſus (for it was of an extraordinary ſize), belonged formerly to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, and was ſent from thence by the *Carthaginians*, when they took *Gela*, to *Tyre* their mother city [z]. In this *Apollo* the *Tyrians* greatly confided; and therefore, upon the c rumour that he was to abandon them, had recourſe even to chains, in order to prevent his departure. But, their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his Prophets [a], the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were deſtined to deſtruction; and deſtruction was their fate: for *Alexander*, having at laſt battered down the walls, and taken the town by ſtorm after ſeven months ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the *Tyrians* had, by their pride and other vices, drawn down upon themſelves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the *Sidonians* ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand d to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand ſays *Arrian*, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. *Alexander* treated them thus for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in defence of their country. But, to palliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, gave out, that he did it to revenge upon the preſent *Tyrians* the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them king e *Azelmic*, who in the beginning of the ſiege was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with *Autophradates*, the *Perſian* admiral; but had haſtened home as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was taken, he took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*; and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne after *Alexander* had re-peopled the place. For, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained *Apollo*, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the *Macedonians*; offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*, and, after performing many other ſu- f perſtitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt* [b].

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt, 332.

How Marion came to rule over *Tyre*, will be more regularly told hereafter.

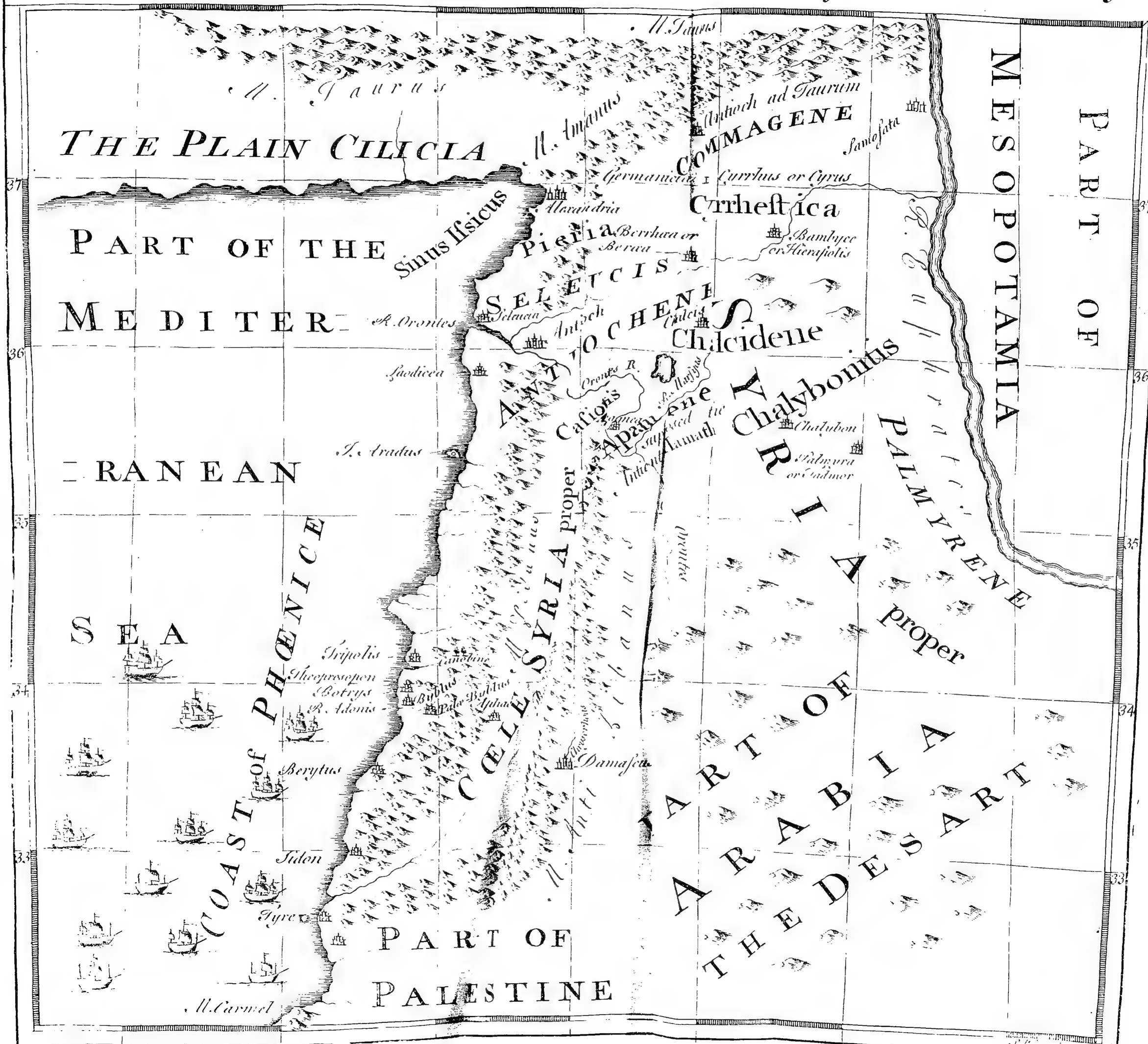
The

[z] Diod. Sic. l. 13. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius l. 4. Arrian. l. 2. Justin. l. 11. [a] Iſa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii. [b] Diod. Sic. l. 17. Joseph. Antiquit. l. 11. c. 8.

(D) We have already (2) ſeen, that there were only altars erected to *Hercules*, and that the *Egyptian*, in his temple at *Gades*; but we read (3) that *Hiram* erected a ſtatue to *Hercules* at *Tyre*; whence we may infer, that he was either worſhipped with other rites at *Tyre*, than in his temple at *Gades*, or that the ancient form of worſhip was corrupted. This we promiſed (4) to take notice of.

(2) *See before in notes, p.* 400. (3) *See before, p.* 414. (4) *See before, p.* 400.

A MAP of SYRIA and PHŒNICE, according to this History.



a

The KINGS *of* ARAD.

ARAD, or ARADUS, had its kings as well as *Sidon*, *Tyre*; and, perhaps, moſt other cities of *Phœnice*. We find mention of but three of its kings that we are ſure of.

ARBAL, the father of *Narbal* [d], who accompanied *Xerxes* in his great expedition.

NARBAL, the ſon of *Arbal*, who ſerved under *Xerxes* [e], as we have ſaid.

MANY years after this, reigned one *Geroſtratus*, who, whether he deſcended from the two former kings or no, we have not to ſay. He ſerved *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, joining the *Perſian* fleet, as other *Phœnician* and *Cypriot* princes did, till hearing his ſon *Strato*, had put a crown of gold upon the head of *Alexander*, and
b given up to him the iſland city of *Aradus*, the city of *Marathus* on the main land over-againſt it, as alſo the city of *Mariammia*, or *Mariama*, and whatever elſe belonged to the *Aradian* dominion; he thought it moſt for his intereſt to approve, ſeemingly at leaſt, of what his ſon had done, and to make his ſubmiſſion to *Alexander* [f].

CHAP. VII.

The History of the Jews *to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*

c

SECT. I.

The Jewiſh *History*, *from* Abraham *to* Moſes.

IT was the *Jewiſh* Lawgiver's main ſcope to prepoſſeſs the *Iſraelites* with a firm perſwaſion of the certainty of GOD's promiſes made to their anceſtor, (which he obſerved they were not over forward to credit,) that their poſterity ſhould in due time inherit the land of *Canaan*, and to prevent their natural impatience and deſpondency, during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, or even after their entrance into the promiſed land, which they were not to conquer but by ſlow degrees.
d To this end he is very particular in reminding them how GOD had promiſed it, even with an oath, to *Abraham* and his ſeed, above four hundred years before they were to be put in actual poſſeſſion of it. He doth not ſtop here, but goes on, and ſets before them the manifold trials and difficulties, through which the divine providence had led them from *Chaldea* into *Egypt*, during that long interval. That they could not but be ſenſible how wonderfully they were increaſed, even in the midſt of their ſlavery and oppreſſion; ſo that they were now more than ſufficient to atchieve the promiſed conqueſt. That if therefore his promiſes were not ſo ſpeedily fulfilled, as their ſanguine temper might expect, they ſhould patiently wait his time, and not provoke him by their ungrateful miſtruſt, after ſo many wonders wrought in
e their favour, to put off the accompliſhment of them, till a more hopeful generation ſprang up [a]. But now, ſince it was his pleaſure to call them to the glorious work, they ſhould act like men fully aſſured of his aſſiſtance and protection. This was doubtleſs the reaſon, why *Moſes* gave them a fuller hiſtory of *Abraham* and his poſterity, than he had done of his progenitors. In conformity to which method, we ſhall begin ours with *Abraham*, the father and founder of the *Jewiſh* nation (A).

The Deſign of the Book of Geneſis.

ABRAHAM was the ſon of *Terah*, and the tenth in a lineal deſcent from *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, to whom the right of *primo-geniture* belonged. [b] He was born in

[d] HERODOT. l. 7. c. 98. [e] Idem ibid. [f] ARRIAN. de Exped. ALEX. Magn. l. 2.
[a] Exod. xvii. 2, 7. Num. xiv. 22. Hebr. iii. 19 & ſeqq. [b] Gen. ix. 25 & ſeqq. vid. ſup. ch. ii. § 1 & 2. and pag. 117 & ſeqq.

(A) We have ventured to call them by that name in compliance with cuſtom, though it was not given them till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the moſt conſiderable, if not almoſt the whole of what was left of *Iſrael*. The firſt name, that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which ſome derive from *Heber*, the fifth in deſcent from *Noah* (1). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call himſelf by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predeceſſors. We rather think, as has been hinted before, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, becauſe he came thither from the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; the word עבר, *Heber*, ſignifying, in the original, the other ſide, whether of a river, ſea, or any other thing: in which ſenſe ſome people are called *tranſmarine*, *tranſalpine*, and the like. What ſeems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot*'s misfortune (2); ſo that it is likely the meſſenger, enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might deſcribe him by the word עברי, *Hibri*, or one that came from the other ſide of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Iſrael*, they preferred that of *Iſraelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations did ſtill call them by the latter (3).

(1) *Gen. x.* 24. D. KIMKI. (2) *Gen. xiv.* 32. (3) *Vid. ſupr. p.* 282.

Year of the Flood, 1077. Year before Christ, 1921.

Abraham's *Call.*

Ur of the *Chaldees* [c], and was about seventy-four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran* [d], where they had not been seated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral was scarce over, when *Abraham*, who in all likelihood designed to settle there, was commanded by God to depart thence into a land which he should show to him, and assured him, that he would bless, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his seed, all the nations of the earth should be blessed [e]: He readily obeyed, being doubtless well acquainted with the call, and, taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's son, with all his servants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem* [f] (C), then inhabited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar to the Lord. Here God was pleased to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promises, and to assure him, that he would one day give that land to his posterity. Soon after this, *Abraham* fearing, perhaps, an inundation in that low country, betook himself to a mountain, which had *Bethel* (D) on the west, and the town of *Hai* on the east; where he reared a new altar to the Lord; but a great famine, which happened soon after in those parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find provision for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, though she was past the sixty fifth year of her age, retained beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband, made him resolve, after some hesitation, that she should pass for his sister, and not for his wife, in every place they came to. He proposed it to her, and having gained her consent, he committed her honour and chastity to the care of that providence which had hitherto protected him, and set out upon the journey. From this descent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years, mentioned by St. *Paul* [h] agreeably to what *Moses* says in another place [i], that *Israel* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the seventy interpret it, that from the first coming of *Abraham* thither to the *Exodus*, should be four

Goes into Ægypt.

[c] Gen. xi. 31. [d] Vid. pag. 132. Notes (Y) pag. 133. [e] Gen. xii. 12 & seqq. [f] Ibid. vid. pag. 282 & seqq. [g] Usher's Ann. p. 5. Villet. & al. [h] Galat. iii. 17. [i] Exod. xii. 40.

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah*'s age: for if he was but seventy when he begot *Abraham*, and died in *Haran*, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age; and *Abraham* left *Haran* in the seventy fifth of his, it will follow, either that *Terah* must have lived sixty years in *Haran*, whereas it doth not appear by the text, that he lived there above one or two; or that *Abraham* must have lived sixty years longer than the text expressly says he did. We shall not trouble the reader with the ways which some ancient fathers and *Jewish* rabbies have taken to solve this difficulty. Some moderns think with *Willet* and *Tremellius*, that though *Terah* was but seventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he begot *Abraham*, and that those that were born before him are purposedly omitted by *Moses*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of the *primogeniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet* choose rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the *Arabian* history of that patriarch; and to fill up the chasm suppose, that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth year of his age (5); but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the thing seems quite opposite to the text. Others therefore more reasonably suppose with *Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept in the original; and that *Terah* was either a hundred and thirty years old when he begot *Abraham*, or that if he was then but seventy years old, he died in the hundred and fifty fifth, and not in the two hundred and fifth year of his age: for the text says, that *Abraham* was seventy five years old when he left *Haran*, and that his father died but a little while before it.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Haran*, the land so called, and *Haran*, the son of *Terah*, be spelt with the same letters in ours, and other versions, from which some have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; *viz.* the former with a ח *Cheth*, equivalent to the *Greek* χ, and might be more properly spelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah*'s son's name begins only with a ה *He*, which answers to our H.

(C) If we may credit *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldæa*, stopt, and reigned some time in the country of *Damascus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was still famous there. *Josephus* seems to have quoted his very words, which are to this effect; *Abraham*, though a stranger, reigned in *Damascus*, whither he came with a great number of followers, from a country beyond *Babylon*, called *Chaldæa*. But the people after some time conspired against him; whereupon he and his followers removed southward into *Canaan*, since called *Judæa*; where he fixed his abode, and became the father of a numerous offspring. Thus far *Damascen*; to which *Josephus* adds, that *Abraham*'s name was still to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was still a village which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation. However, it is plain, that the scripture says nothing of this imaginary reign.

(D) *Bethel* is here called so proleptically, for it did not receive that name till some time after, as will be seen in the sequel.

(4) *Idem loc.* Villet. *ch. ii. quæst.* 19. (5) Calm. *hist. vi.* Herbelot. *Bibliot. orient.* p. 12, 13. (6) *Vid. Essay on new a new vers.* (7) Ap. Joseph *l.* 1. *c.* 8. Euseb. *præp. l.* 9. *c.* 16.

a four hundred and thirty years (E). We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himſelf, who, upon the fame of her beauty, ſent for her, and became ſo ſmitten with it, that for her ſake he ſhewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother. In a ſhort time *Abraham* ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of vaſt numbers of ſheep, oxen, camels, aſſes, men and maid-ſervants, beſides gold, ſilver, and other precious things, which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him, though all too mean to recompenſe him for the loſs of his wife: at length GOD was pleaſed to interpoſe on his behalf, and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger ſhe was in. *Pharaoh* and is houſe were infeſted with ſuch plagues, as plainly convinced them b on whoſe account they ſuffered. The king then ſent for *Abraham*, and, having ſharply rebuked him, for deceiving him in a matter of ſuch conſequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any ſtain of diſloyalty as he had received her, and without ſtaying for an anſwer, went out, and gave orders, that they might ſafely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had. Year of the Flood, 1075. Year before CHRIST, 1919

Returns to Bethel.

PERHAPS it may not be unacceptable to obſerve here, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt* (F). They had alſo other particular names, as *So*, *Necho*, *Shiſhac*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened is impoſſible to determine, not only becauſe his particular name is not mentioned by *Moſes*, but likewiſe by reaſon of the great c confuſion we have obſerved in their chronology, and ſucceſſion of their kings [k]; however, A. B. *Uſher* ventures to call him *Apophis* [l].

ABRAHAM made no ſtay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceaſed in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the ſame way, and on the altar he had built before, offered a ſacrifice of thanks for his happy eſcape and ſafe return [m]. In the mean time the herds of *Lot*, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, ſuch contentions aroſe between their ſhepherds, that *Abraham* reſolved in a friendly manner to ſeparate from *Lot*, and having given his choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which he ſaw watered by the land of *Jordan*, and parted from d his uncle [n]. *Abraham* was no ſooner ſeparated from him, but GOD, who ſeems to have been the ſole conductor of this ſcene, that the promiſed bleſſings might fall on him alone, bid him caſt his eye round the horizon, and promiſed to give all that land

Separates from Lot.

[k] Vid. pag. 228. & ſeqq. [l] Annal. p. 5. [m] Gen. xii. paſſ. & xiii. iv. [n] Ibid. ℣ 7, 8, & ſeqq. Vid. ſupr. pag. 325, 328.

(E) This account is contradicted by a learned *Romiſh* chronologer (8), who pretends, that from *Abraham*'s going into *Egypt* to the *Exodus*, there elapſed ſix hundred years, and that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. *Paul* (9), have no relation to theſe epochs. We beg leave to ſhew his error, by comparing the number of years from the one to the other. *1ſt*, Then, that from *Abraham*'s arrival into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s deſcent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years, is thus proved. From the time of the promiſe made to him in *Haran*, to the birth of *Iſaac*, are about twenty five years; thence to the birth of *Jacob* are ſixty more, and he was an hundred and thiry years old when he ſtood before *Pharaoh*; all which make but two hundred and fifteen years. *2dly*, That the *Iſraelites* ſojourned but two hundred and fifteen more in *Egypt*, is not only generally agreed on, but ſhall be farther proved in its due place. Again, that by the promiſe mentioned by St. *Paul*, as made to *Abraham* and his ſeed, is not meant that which GOD made to him when he was going to offer up *Iſaac*, is plain, becauſe there are twenty five years between the firſt promiſe and the birth of *Iſaac*; and if we ſuppoſe him to have been twenty five years old, as *Joſephus* thinks (10), there will be fifty years wanting of the four hundred and thirty; and if he was thirty three as ſome, or thirty ſeven as others, have ſuppoſed (11), the difference will ſtill be greater, and lengthen the ſpace of their abode in *Egypt*, to fill up that of ſix hundred years; the contrary of which we have promiſed to prove hereafter.

(F) It will not be needful, we hope, here to remind the reader of what has been ſaid before, concerning the name of *Pharaoh* (12), ſeeing all the etymologies of it are ſo very uncertain. The moſt probable ones are theſe that follow. *Bochart* thinks the word *Pharaoh* ſignifies properly a *Crocodile* (13); and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in theſe words, —— *Behold I am againſt thee Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of the river* (14). — Another critick fancies, that the *Arabick* word *Pharaoh*, to be raiſed on high, or be ſuperior to, is the true root of the name (15). *Kircher* doth indeed derive the word from the ſame root, but will have it to ſignify, to deliver, or be free; and that *Pharoah* ſignifies one who is free from, or above, the laws (16). Laſtly, and to name no more, the learned *Renaudot* thinks that *Pharaoh* is the ſame as the *Egyptian Pourro*, or *Pooro*, which ſignifies a king (17).

(8) GENEBR. *chronol.* 1. *loc.* (9) *Galat. iii.* 17. (10) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 14. (11) BERESH. *Rab.* 1. *loc. Rab. ſal. & al.* (12) *p.* 280. (13) HIEROZ. *p.* 2. *l.* 5. *c.* 17. (14) *Ezek. xxix.* 3. (15) LE CLERC *in Gen. xii.* (16) KIRCHER *Oedyp. Egypt. l.* 1. *c.* 76. (17) RENAUDOT. *Diſſert. deling. Coptica, p.* 127. AP. CALM. *ſub. vol.* PHARAOH.

land he beheld to him and his posterity. *Abraham* soon after left *Bethel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Moreh* (G), which is in *Hebron*, and there built an altar unto GOD, and soon after contracted a friendship with three of the greatest men of that place, *viz. Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eshcol*; the first of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very serviceable to *Abraham* in process of time, and was the cause of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies [o] *Lot taken Prisoner,* ; forced him to muster up all his forces and his courage to rescue him out of their hands. This disaster no sooner reached *Abraham*'s ears, than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eshcol*. He readily obtained their assistance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in pursuit of the conquerors, and came upon them at *Dan*, in the night, routed, and pursued them as far as *Hoba*, on the left of *Damascus*, and happily rescued *Lot* with all his family, servants, and cattle, and brought him back to his old habitation. *and rescued by* Abraham. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the son of him who had perished in the slime-pits (H), hearing of *Abraham*'s success, came out to congratulate him upon it, and would have offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refused to accept of even the least share of it. Here *Melchizedec* met and blessed him, and he presented that high-priest with the tythes of all the Spoil [p] [†].

Removes to Hebron. AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where GOD was pleased to appear to him a fifth time in a vision, to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to GOD's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now for the first time to expostulate with him, not knowing how they could possibly be fulfilled, whilst himself continued childless, and, to all appearance, must leave all his substance to *Eliezer* of *Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether GOD designed to bless him with a child, and GOD did not leave him long in suspence, but assured him, that not *Eliezer*, but a son of his own should be his heir; then, cammanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, pro-

[o] Ibid. c. xiv. pass. [*] Vid. sup. ibid. [p] Ib. ℣ 18. [†] Sup. ib.

(G) It is surpriziug, that so many versions, such as the *Chaldee*, *Vulgate*, *Geneva*, *Munster*, *Castalio*, and others, should render the word אלון *Elon* a plain, since it always signifies an oak. The *Siriac*, *Arabic*, and St. *Jerom*'s among the old, besides some of the modern ones, render it by that word; and our *English* doth the same in some other places (18). And were it to have any other signification, that of valley would suit it much better than that of plain, because *Sichem* is said to be situate in the valley of *Aulon*, or *Elon* (19). As for the name of *Mareh*, which in the original signifies illustrious or conspicuous, it seems to have been given to the oak, not from any place near it, but rather by reason of its largeness, or the eminence of the place on which it stood; or more probably, perhaps, because it became famous upon so many accounts; such as *Abraham*'s dwelling under it, *Jacob*'s burying his wife, nurse, and strange gods under it. The reader may observe the same fault committed in these versions, with respect to the oak of *Mamre*, mentioned *Gen.* xviii. 1. where the word *Elon* is translated a plain instead of an oak. *Sozomen* tells us, that this oak in *Constantine*'s time, was famous for pilgrimages and annual feasts: That it was but six miles distant from *Hebron*; and that some of the cottages, which *Abraham* built, were still standing near it; as likewise a well of his digging, where *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Heathens* resorted, either out of devotion, or to trade. *Brochard* doth further assure us, that he had seen it, and that he brought away some of the fruit and wood. He observes, that its leaves are somewhat larger than those of the mastick tree, but its fruit is like an acorn (20).

As for *Hebron*, it is plain, that it was a very ancient city. Some authors (21), after *Josephus*, think, that it was built ninety years after the flood, and that it claimed the precedency even of *Memphis*. Some ancient rabbies make it still older, pretending, that *Ham* built it as soon as he was settled in that country (22): however, it is certain, that it was seven years older than *Zoan* in *Egypt* (23), which is not *Memphis*, but *Tanais*, the ancient seat of the kings of *Egypt* (24). *Hebron* was afterwards called *Arba* (25), or *Kirjah Arbah*, which signifies four cities, or rather the city of *Four*. The ancient *Jews* will have it to be so called, because *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* were buried there, with *Eve*, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, and *Leah*; but it seems more probable, that it had its name from the great *Arbah*, the father of the *Anakims* (26). As to the city of *Hebron*, or rather *Chebron*, חברין, it is not likely, that it took its name from *Hebron*, the grandson of *Caleb*, as some authors imagine (27), but rather from the verb חור *Chavar*, to couple or join; because those married couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca* and *Jacob* and *Leah*, are buried there (28).

(H) As the text tells us, that the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* fell into some of the slime-pits

(18) *Gen.* xxxv. 4. *Joshua* xxiv. 26. & *alib.* (19) *Vid.* EUSEB. JEROM. *Onamast in* Αὐλὼν (20) *Essay on a New Translat.* (21) VILLET. *ch.* 13. *quæst.* 15. (22) R. SAL. & *al. il. Num.* xiii. 33. (23) *Chald. Paraphr. LXX.* & *al.* (24) *Gen.* xxiii. 2. *Josh.* xiv. 15. (25) *Ibid.* (26) 1 *Chron.* ii. 42. (27) JEROM. MUSCUL. AP. VILLET. *ubi supr.* ORIG. AP. *eund.* & *al.* (28) *Gen.* xix. 10.

promiſed to make his poſterity more numerous than the ſtars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty five years old, and *Sarah*, turned of ſeventy four, was thought barren. All theſe had been ſufficient to ſtagger a faith leſs firm than his; but the ſcripture ſays, that he believed in GOD, and that it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs [r]; GOD, was pleaſed moreover to repeat his former promiſes, that he would infallibly give that land to his poſterity, aſſuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldea*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear deſiring of GOD to give him ſome certain token, whereby he might be aſſured, that his ſeed ſhould poſſeſs that land, and GOD was pleaſed to comply with his requeſt. He bid him to take a heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I),
b with a pidgeon, and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the four footed beaſts, clove them in the midſt, and joined the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilſt himſelf ſtayed to drive away the fowls from the ſacrifice. As ſoon as the ſun began to ſet, a deep-ſleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkneſs; during which, it was revealed to him from GOD, that his poſterity ſhould ſojourn, and be afflicted in a ſtrange land four hundred years [s] (K): at the expiration of which, GOD would puniſh their oppreſſors, and bring his children out of the land which he had promiſed him, whilſt himſelf ſhould be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* ſaw a ſmoaking furnace, and a burning lamp paſs between the victims, which in all
c probability conſumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between GOD and *Abraham*, who, highly pleaſed with all theſe promiſes, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife [t].

SARAH, not dreaming that ſhe was to be the happy mother of the promiſed child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being paſt all poſſibility of having any of her own, reſolved to be at leaſt a mother by proxy, according to the cuſtom of that age and country. To this end ſhe perſuaded her husband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, ſhe might bring it forth upon her knees, which was all the happineſs ſhe could expect from the promiſe. *Abraham* did eaſily acquieſce, and *Hagar* no ſooner found herſelf pregnant,
d than ſhe became haughty and inſolent towards her miſtreſs. *Sarah*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a ſlave, whom her kindneſs had raiſed to that height of happineſs, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints againſt them both; and *Abraham* willing to ſhew his reſentment againſt her maid, and to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herſelf juſtice in what way ſhe ſhould think fit; which ſhe accordingly did, but with ſuch ſeverity, that *Hagar*, not able to bear it, ſtole away from her, and went, and ſat down by a fountain on the road to *Sur*, leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the LORD met her, and perſwaded her to return, and ſubmit herſelf to her miſtreſs; aſſuring her that ſhe would be ſoon delivered of a

Hagar *is ſ ced to fly fr her miſtreſs*

[r] Gen. xv. 12. & ſeqq. [s] Ibid. ℣ 6. Rom. iv. 3. & alib. [t] Ib. ℣ 9. ad fin.

pits, with which the valley of *Siddim* abounds (29), and takes no notice of their coming out of them; we think it more probable that they periſhed there, than that *Abraham* ſtayed to take them out, as the *Jews* vainly imagined (30), contrary to the ſenſe of the text (31).

(I) The word, which we tranſlate three years old, in the original is משלישת *Meſhuleſheth*, which doth rather ſignify triplicated, or thrice told, being the *Paul* in the conjugation *Piel*, as the grammarians ſpeak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) tranſlates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewiſh* commentators. One of them tells us (33), that *Abraham* was then repreſenting the three future ſacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, ſacirfice for ſin, and peace-offering, but doth not allow, that there were three of each kind.

(K) Expoſitors have given into various opinions, in order to make out theſe four hundred years, *Genebrard*, mentioned in a former note †, has affirmed that the *Iſraelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whoſe error may be eaſily confuted by the lives of *Kohath*, the ſon *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundred and thirty third year of his age (36): of his ſon *Amram*, the father of *Moſes*, who lived one hundred and thirty ſeven years (37); and of *Moſes*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; all which ſeveral numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we muſt ſubſtract thoſe which *Kohath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewiſe the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made ſome reduce the number to leſs than two hundred and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we ſhall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. *Paul* reck-

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(29) *Gen. xiv.* 10. (30) BERESH. RAB. RAMBAM & *al.* (31) *Gen. ubi ſup.* (32) *Vid.* MERCER. VILLET. RAB. SAL. & *al. in loc.* (33) MOS. GERUND. *ap.* MUNST. *in Gen. xix. ſub. not.* d. † *Vid. ſup. pag.* 423. *ſub. not.* E. (34) *Id. ibid.* (35) *Gen. xlvi.* 11. (36) *Exod. vi.* 18. (37) *Ibid.* ℣ 20. (38) CHRYSOST. *homil. l.* 1. NIC. *de* LYR. *in loc.*

ſon, whom ſhe ſhould call *Iſhmael* (L); that his poſterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they ſhall prove fierce and warlike, that their hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's againſt them (M); and that they ſhould dwell in the face of all their brethren[u]. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was ſoon perſuaded to take the angel's advice, and in memory of this ſurpriſing viſion, ſhe called the well *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies, *the well of him that lives and ſees me* (N). This well was between *Cadeſh* and *Barneah*[w]. Soon after her return ſhe brought forth the promiſed ſon, and called him *Iſhmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was now eighty ſix years of age, and did not expect another ſon, but brought this up as the heir of all his ſubſtance, and of all God's promiſes. *Hagar* indeed could eaſily have undeceived him, but thought it more prudent to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; and it was not till almoſt thirteen years after that God plainly promiſed him a ſon by *Sarah* his wife.

Is perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit.

By this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety ninth year of his age, when God was pleaſed to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from *Abram* to *Abraham* (O); and by aſſuring him, that he would make him the father of many nations; that kings ſhould come out of him, and that his poſterity ſhould ſurely poſſeſs the land wherein he was a ſtranger. And, as a token, or rather trial of his faith and obedience, God commands him to circumciſe all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that ſhould be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, ſhould be circumciſed on the eighth day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumciſed, that ſoul ſhould be cut off, as a deſpiſer of God's covenant, from having any ſhare in the promiſed bleſſings deſigned for him and his poſte-

Abram's *name changed into* Abraham.

[u] Gen. xvi. 12. [w] Ibid. ℣ 14.

ons from the firſt promiſe made to *Abraham* to the promulgation of the law in the firſt year after the *Exodus*, four hundred and thirty years (39): Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when *Iſrael* came into *Egypt*, as we have already proved ‡. The laſt remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned; *Kohath* came down with *Jacob*, and, according to *Euſebius*, begot *Amram* in his ſeventieth year, and *Amram* begot *Moſes* much about the ſame age; to which if we add the eighty years of *Moſes*'s age when he let them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be ſubſtracted five years, the ſuppoſed age of *Kohath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely, two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham*'s ſeed ſojourning in a ſtrange land, muſt be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Iſaac*. For all the time of their ſojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was ſtill in a ſtrange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Mackphelah*. As to what is added, that they ſhall likewiſe ſerve, and be ill treated, it is commonly underſtood to be ſpoken circumſtantially, and might be put in a parentheſis, thus, they ſhall ſojourn and be ſtrangers (and likewiſe ſerve and be oppreſſed) during the ſpace of four hundred years, as St. *Auſtin* and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly we find *Iſaac* oppreſſed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himſelf forced ſtill farther from them *; and *Jacob* ſerved, and was oppreſſed by *Laban* near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppreſſion. The *Egyptian* ſervitude did not commence till after *Joſeph* and all his brethren were dead (42), before that the *Iſraelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty four years of age at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, he muſt have lived ninety three years in *Egypt*, becauſe the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty ſeventh year of his age (43). And theſe ninety three years being ſubſtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty two years of thraldom, even ſuppoſing it to have began immediately after his death. The natural ſenſe therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham* can be only this, that his ſeed, from *Iſaac* on, ſhould be ſtrangers in a land that was not theirs, during the ſpace of four hundred years, during ſome part of which they ſhould be oppreſſed, afflicted, and at length brought under bondage; which term being expired, they ſhould find a happy deliverance.

(L) *Iſhmael* is compounded of the words ישמע add אל *jiſhmagh* and *El*, the Lord hath, or will hear. The reaſon of which name is immediately ſubjoined by the angel, namely, becauſe the Lord had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs*, *Iſhmael*'s deſcendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whoſe habitation is in tents within the neighbourhood of *Judea* and *Idumea*.

(N) Theſe words are no leſs obſcure than the reaſon *Hagar* gives for calling the well by that name. They are both variouſly interpreted; but we chooſe to adhere to our *Engliſh* verſion, becauſe it ſeems to us the moſt litteral and neareſt to the ſenſe of the original.

(O) We have already taken notice †, that *Abram* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words אב and רום *Ab* and *Rom*, which ſignify high father, and that *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, אב רב המין *Ab Rab Hamon*, the father of a great multitude: but this laſt is ſomewhat forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to ſupport it, but the reaſon which God gives in the text, for changing *Abram* into *Abraham* name-

(39) *Galat. iii.* 17. ‡ *Vid. ſup. p.* 423. *not.* E. (40) *Vid.* Mere. Villet. Munst. & *al.* (41) Aug. *quæſt. in Exod. vi.* 47. Merc. Jun. Munst. Villet. *c.* 159. 15. Le Clerc. *in l. & al.* * *Vid. ſup. pag.* 347. (42) *Ibid.* (43) *Exod. i.* 6. *v.* 16. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 153. *ſub. not.* K.

posterity. Laſtly, and to compleat his happineſs, GOD was pleaſed to aſſure him,
a that *Sarah*, his wife, ſhould bear him a ſon, on whom all theſe bleſſings were to be
conferred; and therefore, that her name ſhould be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (P).
Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal his laughing, which either
the ſtrangeneſs or improbability of what he heard had forced from him, began to in-
tercede for the life and preſervation of *Iſhmael*, beyond which he thought it unreaſonable
to aſk or wiſh for any thing; but the Almighty ſoon aſſured him, that theſe great
bleſſings were not deſigned for *Iſhmael*, but for a ſon to be born of the hitherto
barren *Sarah*, whom he ſhould therefore name *Iſaac* (Q). That as to the ſon of
Hagar, he would indeed bleſs him with a numerous poſterity; but that *Iſaac* alone,
b whom *Sarah* ſhould bear in a year from that very day, was alone to be entitled to
the covenant and promiſe, that in his ſeed all nations of the earth ſhould be
bleſſed *.

GOD was no ſooner departed than *Abraham* took his ſon *Iſhmael*, and all the Year of the
males in his family, and circumciſed them, as well as himſelf, without any regard Flood, 1102.
either to his own age, which was almoſt one hundred years, or to the tenderneſs of Year before
his ſon, who was not above thirteen. All ſubmitted alike to the operation, and to GOD's Chriſt, 1898.
command, on the ſame day (R); and it was not long before his obedience was re- Abraham
warded with a ſeventh and more remarkable viſit from GOD. *Abraham*, who *and his family*
dwelt *circumciſed.*

* Gen. xvii.

namely, becauſe he was to make him the father of many nations.

(P) *Sarai* שרי in *Hebrew* ſignifies my princeſs, and שרה *Sarah*, the name now given her, princeſs.

It is farther obſervable, that GOD, in the beginning of this 17th chapter (44), calls himſelf the firſt time, אל שדי *El ſhaddai*, which our verſion rightly tranſlates Almighty GOD. Others have underſtood it otherwiſe, by deriving the word *Shaddai*, from *Shad*, which ſignifies the breaſt of a woman, to expreſs GOD's tenderneſs towards his ſervants, others deriving it from the verb שדד *Shaddad*, which ſignifies to ſpoil, lay waſte, overcome, by *Shaddai*, the irreſiſtibility of GOD's power, who, they think, doth here aſſume that name, becauſe he is going to invert the order of nature, and cauſe the old and barren to become fruitful; but the moſt genuine etymology is from ש uſed inſtead of אשר, for the pronoun *qui*, who, an די *Dai*, ſufficient, or ſelf-ſufficient, an expreſſion very fit and proper to aſſure *Abraham* and *Sarah* of the certainty of his promiſe to them, which none but an all-ſufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew* יצחק *Iſchack*, ſignifies he has, or ſhall laugh.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumciſion was firſt introduced into the world by the *Hebrews* or *Egyptians*, had been much conteſted by ancient and modern hiſtorians, criticks, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of *Egypt* from their prieſts, gives it indeed for the *Egyptians*; but he ſeems in ſome meaſure to retract, if not to contradict himſelf, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practiſed it, but what received it firſt from the *Egyptians*, and a little after owns, that he did not know whether of the two had it firſt, the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians*, though he is enclined to believe the former (46). As for the reſt of the ancients, who are on that ſide the queſtion, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centers in him. However it is certain, that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the *Jewiſh* excepted, did practiſe it univerſally. The prieſts were indeed obliged to be circumciſed, but the reſt of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it appear, that they practiſed it upon a religious account, as the *Jews* did: *Philo* (47) has given us the reaſons why thoſe nations uſed circumciſion; namely, firſt, in order to avoid a diſtemper called a carbuncle, to which they who were not circumciſed were often ſubject. Secondly, for the ſake of cleanlineſs, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reaſon it was that they ſhaved their bodies all over. The third is ſymbolical, and foreign to our ſubject. The laſt is, that circumciſion is a help to fertility, and that thoſe who are circumciſed are apter for procreation, than thoſe who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the *Chriſtian* writers. Theſe do not indeed affirm abſolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the *Egyptians*, but that it is poſſible he might have ſeen it in *Egypt*, and be ſo much taken with it, that GOD, in compaſſion to his infirmity, whoſe faith could not ſuſtain itſelf without ſome outward and viſible ſymbol, might ſanctify this *Egyptian* ceremony, by retrenching all that was ſuperſtitious in it, and give it to him and his poſterity, as a ſenſible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *le Clerc* (49) ſubjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the ſcale very much on the *Egyptian* ſide; for, ſays he, *Abraham*'s family, at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, was ſo inconſiderable, and his poſterity afterwards ſo hated and deſpiſed by the *Egyptians*, that it is by no means probable that proud nation ſhould have received ſuch a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? was it not natural for the *Egyptians*, no leſs ſuperſtitious than haughty, to infer, that ſince it procured ſuch great and valuable bleſſings to that deſpiſed people, it could not fail of proving more ſucceſsful to them, if once they admitted it amongſt them? might not *Joſeph*'s time have been a proper criſis to recommend it to them? and were not thoſe motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanlineſs, and health, ſufficient to recommend it, eſpecially to a people that were governed by their wives? and laſtly, might

(44) ℣ 1. (45) OLEAST. & *al.* (46) HERODOT. *l.* 1. *c. xlvi. vid.* CALM. *diſſert. de circumciſ.* (47) PHIL. *de circumciſ. pag.* 810. *ap eund.* (48) SPENC. *de leg. ritual. Jud.* LE CLERC. *in loc.* (49) *Id. Bibl. A. M. p.* 2. *p.* 250. & *al.*

dwelt ſtill at *Mamre*, was ſitting one day at the door of his tent under a tree, when he beheld afar off three men, whom he took to be ſtrangers; he went to meet them, and in the moſt civil and reſpectful manner invited them to come and take a ſmall refreſhment with him, and, having obtained their conſent, ordered a feaſt to be got ready for them (S). As ſoon as it was over, one of his gueſts enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told that ſhe was in the tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, and aſſured him, that he would viſit him again at the end

Abraham *entertains three angels.*

of

might not this be the very reaſon which made the *Egyptian* women uſe it as well as the men? however that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them ſeems ſo contrary to the care and conduct of GOD, to preſerve them from the ſuperſtitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and indeed it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that the *Egyptians* had it from ſome other nation, whether the *Arabs*, (as *Bochart* thinks, by reaſon of the difference there was between the *Jewiſh* and *Egyptian* circumciſion) or from any other of their neighbours, or even that they might ſtumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to ſuppoſe, that one mnſt have it from the other, and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reaſon of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the beſt we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50), that children were not thought ſufficiently clean or perfect during the firſt ſeven days, being ſtill full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of GOD's ordaining, that no beaſt that was offered to him ſhould be leſs than eight days old (51). Circumciſion therefore being a kind of ſolemn offering of a child to GOD, it ſeems highly reaſonable, that the ſame law ſhould be obſerved in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But as to the eighth day being choſen rather than any other afterwards, without ſeeking for myſteries in that number, as ſome are fond of doing, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a neceſſity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that, becauſe the child is then leaſt ſenſible of the ſmart of, and leaſt in danger of being hurt by, it.

The laſt enquiry we need make upon this ſubject of circumciſion is, the reaſons of its inſtitution: and here we ſhall only mention one or two of thoſe that are thought moſt conſiderable. The firſt is topical; becauſe the heat of the climate required it, for the reaſons mentioned above. Secondly, political, in order to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were in the covenant of GOD, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumciſion of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, firſt, the ſymbol and ſeal of the covenant made between GOD and *Abraham*, and his ſeed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in CHRIST (52). To theſe reaſons we ſhall ſubjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elſewhere: he writes thus: we reckon circumciſion amongſt the trials of *Abraham*'s faith. It is eaſy to obſerve, by very many circumſtances of that patriarch's life, that he was deſigned as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conſpicuous it became; the more difficulties he obſerved in the accompliſhment of GOD's promiſes, the more he ſhewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming thoſe obſtacles.—Why did not GOD give him *Iſaac* till the laws of nature ſeemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith.—Why did GOD command him to ſacrifice that very ſon to whom ſo many bleſſings belonged, but to the ſame purpoſe? Why did GOD ſet ſo long an interval between the promiſe of a ſon and the accompliſhment of that promiſe, that *Sarah*, thinking it impoſſible ſhe ſhould be the mother of him, did give him her maid *Hagar*? Why was *Iſhmael* born ſo many years before *Iſaac*, &c. but to make ſtill freſh trials of his faith! why might not then GOD have the ſame views in enjoining him to be circumciſed? he not only makes him wait for this ſon near twenty years, though promiſed in ſo ſolemn a manner, but when that time is elapſed, and *Abraham* thinks himſelf on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, he croſſes his hopes a-freſh, and commands him to undergo an operation that ſeemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumciſion as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and conſequently, that it muſt put him quite out of condition of ever being a father. The command of *his having the covenant in his fleſh* ſeemed as oppoſite to the promiſe of his having a ſon, as that *of his ſacrificing that ſon* was to the promiſe of his being the father of many nations. Notwithſtanding which, *Abraham*'s faith triumphed over this obſtacle alſo — being fully perſuaded, that GOD could not only renew the ſtrength of an old man, but likewiſe make him fruitful after his having undergone an operation which ſeemed ſo contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph that the ſcripture obſerves, he was ninety nine years old, when he was circumciſed; and it was to preſerve the memory of it, that GOD enjoined that ceremony to all his poſterity, *&c.* (54).

All that needs be added under the head of circumciſion is, that the *Iſraelites* did not afterwards underſtand the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe who had it not, ſo ſtrictly as to cut them off, or drive them out from among them, provided they kept the law of nature, worſhipped the only true GOD, and abſtained from blood; but if they became circumciſed, they were looked upon as children of *Abraham*, and were bound to keep the law of *Moſes*. Theſe were called by the *Jews*, proſelytes of righteouſneſs, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of habitation, who were uncircumciſed, and only obſerved the laws of *Noah*, and were therefore called alſo *Noachidæ*. Theſe two ſorts of proſelytes became ſo numerous, that in *Solomon*'s time, there were an hundred and fifty thouſand and ſix hundred of them in his kingdom (55).

(S) This feaſt was a whole fatted calf, three meaſures, or pecks, of fine flour, beſides cream and milk, by which, and that of two kids, which *Rebecca* prepared for her huſband (56), when ſhe was already grown dim with age, if we may gueſs at their ſtomachs, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that they were not of the ſmalleſt. Neither

(50) CUN. *apud* BASNAG. *Rep. Hebr. p.* 351. (51) *Levit. xxii.* 27. (52) TARG. ONKEL. HIERON. PUGNIN. MUNST. MERCER, VILLET. *& al.* (53) SAURIN *Diſc. Hiſt. du V. Teſt.* (54) *Gen. xvii.* 24. (55) 1 *Chron. ii.* 17. (56) *Gen. xxvii.* 9, 10.

a of a year, by which time *Sarah* would have a ſon. *Sarah*, who was liſtening at the tent door, and thought herſelf paſt child-bearing, burſt out into a laughter, and the ſtranger aſked the reaſon of it in ſuch a ſerious tone, as ſtruck her with a terrible fright. She would fain have denied it, but it was to no purpoſe, that ſhe endeavoured to hide any thing from the perſon that ſpoke to her, who diſmiſs'd her with this gentle reproof, that ſhe was highly in the wrong to miſtruſt what he had ſaid to her, ſince nothing was impoſſible with GOD. The three heavenly gueſts, for ſuch they were, roſe up in order to proceed on their journey, and *Abraham* courteouſly accompanied them ſome part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour, began to b reveal a moſt dreadful ſecret to him, which was, that the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully reſolved to deſtroy them utterly, if, upon enquiry, he found their wickedneſs equal to the cry of it; whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one of thoſe cities, or rather his natural compaſſion, gave *Abraham* freſh courage to intercede for thoſe righteous men that might be found among the wicked, *Abraham* did not ceaſe expoſtulating with him, till he had obtained a promiſe, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would ſpare it for their ſakes: Upon which, the LORD departed from him. The fate of thoſe cities, and *Lot*'s deliverance, have been already related †: as for *Abraham*, he ſaw the next morning the thick ſmoak of c thoſe unfortunate cities, aſcending like that of a furnace [y].

A ſon promiſed to Sarah.

Abraham pleads for Sodon.

NOT long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines* ‡ between *Cadeſh* and *Shur* (U); where the ſame adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy nor advanced age (ſhe being now ninety years old) had deprived of her beauty, was again deſired by *Abraham* to paſs for his ſiſter; *Abimelech*, king of that country, ſtill ſaw charms enough in her to invite her to his bed; but the LORD appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not reſtore her untouched to her huſband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in cond ſequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him, with conſiderable preſents (W) [z].

Abimelech takes Sarah.

Is threatened by GOD, *and reſtores her.*

THE time appointed being come, ſoon after their leaving the court, *Sarah brought* forth the long expected ſon, and called his name *Iſaac*. And *Abraham* failed not to circum-

Iſaac *born.*

Year of the Flood, 1103. Year before Chriſt, 1898.

5 Q

† Supr. 282. [y] Geneſ. xix. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 345. [z] Geneſ. xx. p. tot.

ther do the patriarchs differ much in this reſpect from *Homer*'s heroes. ſince he tells us, that when *Cumæus* entertained *Ulyſſes*, he dreſſed a whole hog, that was five years old, for him and four more (57). However, if we conſider their laborious life, and their enjoying a perfect ſtate of health, we need not wonder at their extraordinary appetite and good digeſtion.

(T) The name *Jehovah* יהוה, by which *Moſes* calls the ſtranger, that talked to *Abraham*, being looked upon, by the generality of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the incommunicable name of GOD, it is believed by the far greateſt part of the latter, that it was the Son of GOD who appeared in that form: however others, particularly ſome modern ones (58), maintain, that it was but an angel who ſpoke to him in the perſon of GOD. But it is not probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him as he doth, when he ſays, *that be far from thee to deſtroy the good with the wicked; ſhall not the judge of the world do right?* or laſtly, that an angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, if I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will ſpare it for their ſakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was CHRIST himſelf, who is emphatically called the judge of all the world.

(U) *Cadeſh* and *Shur* were the names of two deſarts, the laſt of which the *Iſraelites* entered after the paſſing of the *Red Sea* (59) and is the ſame which is afterwards called *Ethan* (60). *Abraham* dwelling ſome conſiderable time here, called the place *Beerſheba* (61). Here it was that *Iſaac* was born, and *Abraham* liked the ſituation and people ſo well, that he continued in it upwards of twenty five years: from this place likewiſe he went to offer up his ſon in the land of *Moria* (62).

(W) There ſeems to be a double miſtake in our tranſlation, in *Abimelech*'s ſpeech to *Sarah*, which runs thus: *Behold I have given thy brother a thouſand pieces of ſilver: behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes* —— *and thus ſhe was reproved.* For it is plain, the king was purchaſing *Abraham*'s friendſhip, and not quarreling with him or his wife, and *Abraham* had already ſo far juſtified both himſelf and her to the king's ſatisfaction: and therefore the word נכחת ſhould not have been rendered rebuked, as *Kimki* and others do, that think ſhe was blamed by all for the lie ſhe had told. *Pagninus* renders it *erudivit ſe*, i. é. ſhe learned more wit, whereas it is the participle of the verb יכח, which though it is generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet it as often ſignifies ſearch, or enquire thoroughly into

(57) *Odyſſ.* 14. (58) LE CLERC *com. in loc.* & *al.* (59) *Exod. xv.* 22. (60) *Numb. xxxiii.* 8. *vid.* TOSTAT. *contr.* NIC. DE LYR. (61) *Gen. xxi.* 31. *Vid.* JUN. *in loc.* (62) *Gen. xxii.* 1.

circumcise him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happiness. *Sarah* suckled the child herself, and weaned him at the usual time (X); and *Abraham* made a feast to all his hoshould that day: but their joy could not last long without some mixture of grief, by the Jealousy which *Isaac* caused to *Hagar* and her son. *Isaac* was scarce seven years old, when *Sarah* observed *Ishmael* shew some contempt to him (Y), which made her resolve to part them for ever, that she might be rid at once of all her fears. You know, said she to her husband, That *Ishmael* has no share in the inheritance with my son; for which reason, it is not fit, that they should continue longer together; send him, therefore, and his mother away, that we may once more be at peace. Though *Abraham* loved her to such a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not but look on her request as too cruel and unreasonable, seeing she knew, that he had still a great fondness for the boy; but, GOD confirming what *Sarah* had said, and promising moreover to protect *Ishmael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham* was at last prevailed upon to send him and his mother away the very next morning (Z). What befel them afterwards is foreign to our present subject.

Ishmael *mocks* Isaac.

Is sent away with his mother.

Abimelech *makes a covenant with* Abraham.

ABRAHAM, in the mean time, entered into a solemn league of friendship with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philistines* [a]. To secure his property in a well he had dug, to guard himself against the outrage of the *Philistines*, who had taken several wells from him before, and to ratify the aforesaid alliance, *Abraham* presented the king with oxen, sheep, and the like; then taking seven young sheep, he desired him to accept of them, as a token that he had dug such a well, and that he should from thenceforth peacefully enjoy it. Upon this occasion that place was called *Beersheba*, or the *well of the oath*, because of the covenant which they had sworn there (A). The pleasantness of the place, and the friendship of the king, invited *Abraham* to sojourn there many years. He planted here a wood, and built an altar to the LORD, resolving to end his days in this part, unless GOD should otherwise determine [b].

Abraham *commanded to sacrifice his son* Isaac.

BUT GOD had yet a further trial to make of *Abraham*'s faith and obedience, but so sensible a one as would put it to the utmost proof. *Isaac*, the son of his old age, the promised head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of so many promised blessings, and the dear and only object of so much affection; this very *Isaac* is now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain, which GOD was to point

[a] Vid. sup. pag. 344, & seqq.

[b] Gen. xxi. p. tot.

into a thing till the truth be found. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that she is acquitted after a full hearing, and the *Chaldee* paraphrase hath translated it accordingly. The other mistake is, *Abraham*'s being said to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king seems to speak of the thousand pieces of silver which he gave them as a token of their justification, the veil being always the symbol of womens modesty (63).

(X) It is not easy to guess how long they gave suck in those days, the ancient *Hebrews* are divided about it (64); some holding, that *Isaac* was weaned at the end of five, and others, not till the end of twelve years, and others, at the end of twenty four months (65); if we may judge by what the young *Maccabee*'s mother said to him (66); *my son, remember I have suckled thee three years*, that time will appear the most probable. However, we may safely believe, that *Isaac* was not weaned before the usual time for want of care or affection in his mother (67).

(Y) The *Jewish* interpreters expound the word מצחק in the text, which signifies laughing, or, playing, by מלעיג, which signifies to deride and despise, and not without good grounds, since *Sarah* did so highly resent it. They think that it happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feast for the weaning of *Isaac*, and that whilst the guests were congratulating him for having a son and heir in his old age, *Ishmael* shewed some tokens of derision, which *Sarah* observing, went and complained of it to her husband (68). However it is plain it must have been something worse than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, since St. *Paul* calls it a persecution (69). Besides, it must be remembered, that *Ishmael* is described by the angel (70) as a fierce and cruel man, and consequently, could not but begin to shew some tokens of it, being then upwards of twenty one years of age.

(Z) The text tells us, that *Abraham* gave them only some bread and a pitcher of water; a small provision if that had been all; but we must remember, that bread and water are commonly taken, in *Hebrew*, for all other necessary provisions. *Abraham* therefore may be supposed to have given them all things necessary for their journey.

(A) באר שבע *Beersheba* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words, the first of which signifies a well, and the other an oath, or likewise seven. Here *Moses* applies the name to the oath, though it is more than probable, that *Abraham* had

(63) PFEITER FLACCIUS *in loc.* LESCENE's *Essay.* (64) *Apud* HIERON. *quæst Heber. in Genes.* (65) 2 *Maccab. vii.* 27. (66) AP. CALVIN. & MERCER. (67) CALV. WILLET. (68) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* (69) *Galat. iv.* 29. (70) *Gen. xvi.* 13.

point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-ſacrifice, and that by the hands of his own father (B). *Abraham* never ſtayed to expoſtulate about the cruelty, illegality, and ſeverity of the command; but on the very next morning he gets all things ready, and, leaving it to GOD to make good his own promiſes, reſolves to obey. He ſets out the next morning for the place, and takes with him his ſon *Iſaac*, ſome ſervants, and all other things neceſſary for the dreadful work. And, on the third day after his ſetting out, diſcovers mount *Moriah* afar off (C), the place appointed by GOD. There, leaving his ſervants behind, he goes up to the mount without betraying any ſign of grief or concern, which might raiſe a ſuſpicion in his ſon. *Iſaac*, on the other hand, being laden with the wood and other materials for a burnt-offering, and obſerving nothing of a victim, could not forbear aſking his father where it was. Such a queſtion at ſuch a time was ſufficient to have ſtaggered a heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwered calmly, that GOD would provide himſelf with one. He little thought how prophetically he ſpoke, for he had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but GOD was pleaſed to ſtop him ſhort, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenant afreſh, and bound them with an oath. Then *Abraham* looking about found a ram, the victim GOD was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick buſh, and with the help of his ſon offered it up inſtead of him; in memory of which he called that place *Jehovah-Jired*, the LORD will look to or provide, alluding to the anſwer he had given to *Iſaac*'s queſtion. He went, and rejoined his ſervants, and returned home to *Beerſheba*, where *Sarah*, who in all probability was kept ignorant of the important ſecret, was ready to receive them with her uſual tenderneſs and affection [c]. Not long after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcah*, his brother *Nachor*'s wife, had bore him a numerous iſſue (D), which determined him to ſend thither for a wife for his ſon *Iſaac* [d].

But countermanded by an angel from him.

ABRAHAM, well pleaſed with the conſtancy and reſignation which he had beheld in his ſon, lived in great peace and tranquility for ſome time; but it was at length diſturbed by the death of *Sarah*, which happened in the hundred and twenty ſeventh year of

Sarah's death.

[c] Gen. xxii. p. tot.

[d] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

had an eye to the double meaning of the word *Sheba*, when he made choice of ſeven, rather than any other number of ewes. From this well the adjoining city was called alſo *Beerſheba*, which was the utmoſt bound of the land of promiſe on the ſouth, as *Dan* was towards the north; whence came the proverb, *From Dan to Beerſheba*. This city was one of thoſe which fell to the lot of the tribe of *Simeon* (71); but becauſe *Simeon* had its inheritance in the midſt of the tribe of *Judah* (72), therefore *Beerſheba* is alſo numbered amongſt the cities of *Judah* (73).

(B) As the age of *Iſaac* is not ſet down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was, when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of ſome learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, ſince it would have been impoſſible for him to have carried ſuch a load of wood as he did. Others (75) ſay, that he was thirty-ſeven years old, but that was the year of *Sarah*'s death, whereas ſhe was alive when this happened. *Joſephus* makes him twenty-five years old (76): and ſome chriſtians, ancient and modern, conjecture, that he was paſt thirty, becauſe that was about the age in which CHRIST ſuffered, whoſe type *Iſaac* was at leaſt in this tranſaction, in which there were ſeveral circumſtances which bore a great conformity with thoſe that attended CHRIST's paſſion.

(C) This mountain is certainly the ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore thoſe who affirm that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill; but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriah* takes its name from the *Hebrew* ראה *Raah*, to ſee: whence the LXX and *Aquila* tranſlate it γῆν ὑψηλήν, a high or conſpicuous land. *Fuller* derives it from two *Hebrew* words, מראה, viſion, and יה, GOD; and by contraction *Moriah*, becauſe GOD was ſeen upon it (78).

(D) The Children of *Nachor* by *Milcah* were 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Chezed*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildas*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca* the wife of *Iſaac*. He had ſome others beſides from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz*, the firſt-born, is ſuppoſed by ſome to have peopled, and given name to, the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already ſo called from *Huz* the ſon of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buſites*; of which family *Eliſha*, one of *Job*'s friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, perhaps the ſame with the *Camuelite* of *Strabo* (84), in the land of *Haram* (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a ſon of *Kemuel*, and not a race of deſcendants, much leſs

(71) *Joſh. xix.* 9. (72) *Ibid.* ℣ 1. (73) *Ibid. xv.* 28. VILLET. (74) ABENEZRA *ap.* TOSTAT. (75) *Ap.* VITET. (76) Jos. *Antiq. l.* 14. *c.* (77) 2 *Chron. iii.* 1, 2. (78) *Miſcel. Sacr. l.* 2. *c. xiv.* (79) *Gen. xxii.* 21 *& ſeq.* (80) CALMET. *Hiſt. vet. Teſt. p.* 148. (81) *Job i.* 1. (82) *Gen. x.* 22. *vid.* HIERON. (83) *Job xxxii.* 6. (84) STRABO *l.* 16. (85) CALM. *ubi ſupr.*

seventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbah*, *alias Hebron* (E)[e]. *Abraham* came thither to mourn for her, and to pay the last devoirs to the faithful partner and constant companion of his travails, till, having given a sufficient vent to his grief, another care called upon him; *viz.* to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore arose, and went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchase a burying-place from the sons of *Heth*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the most considerable in that place. He had no sooner declared the occasion of his coming, but they one and all told him with the utmost civility and respect, that he might make choice of the best sepulchre in the whole land, assuring him, that none of them should withhold his own from him. But *Abraham* came to purchase, and not to borrow one; and therefore, having returned their civilities, he begged, that he might be permitted to buy the cave of *Machphelah* (G) from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the assembly, and did immediately make him a free offer of it[f]. But *Abraham* still insisting upon paying the full worth thereof, before he would make any use of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of silver (H), which he payed down in

Abraham *buys the cave of* Machphelah.

[e] Vid. sup. p. 424. not. G.

[f] Vid. sup. p. 323. c.

less of the *Syrians*, as the LXX and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Naharim*, as some; or *Aram Seba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nahor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore seems to have been more ancient than *Kemuel*, and to have been so called from *Aram* the son of *Shem* (87). As for *Chezed*, if he was the father of the *Chasims*, or *Chaldees*, at least of that part which was on this side *Babylon*, as is supposed by the same author (88), 'tis certain there were others more ancient on the other side, for *Abraham* came from *Chaldea*. However, these sons of *Nahor* gave names to some cities and families of *Syria*, such as *Buzan*, *&c.* remembered by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahash*, and *Maachah*. From this last the city of *Maachah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maachah* (90), whose territories are supposed to have been situate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is somewhat obscure in this place. *Sarah* is said to die at *Arbah*, and yet no mention is made of *Abraham*'s removing from *Beersheba* thither, only he is said to come thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon some occasion or other, and that *Sarah* went to *Arbah*, whilst her husband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking such a Separation, think, that he came only from his own tent into that of *Sarah*, for they had their separate tents, to weep over her. But this seems to wrest the text a little too much; however, we will not venture to affirm any thing on either side.

(F) The gates of cities in those days, and for many centuries after, were the places of Judicature and common resort. Here the governors, or elders of the city met to hear complaints, administer justice, make conveyances of titles and estates, and to transact all the affairs of the place (92). Whence that verse in the *Psalms* (93), *they shall not be ashamed when they speak to their enemies in the gate*, i. e. when they are accused by them before the court of magistrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall where the magistrates sat was over the gates, because *Boaz* is said to go up to the gate. The like did *David* when he went to weep for the death of *Absalom* (94). How considerable they became in time for largeness and sumptuousness appears, by the two kings of *Israel* and *Judah* being present at one of them in all their royal splendor, and convening thither four hundred priests of *Baal*, besides their own guards and officers (95). It seems, as if these places had been at first chosen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all husbandmen, and forced to pass and repass, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more easily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any business. These gates were likewise markets for provisions, like those of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Elisha*'s fortelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midst of famine, at the gates of *Samaria* (96). What the number of these magistrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from scripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, since in the time of *Joshua* we can find but four sorts of them; *viz.* the *Zeknim* or elders, the *Rashim* or heads of the people, the *Sophetim* or judges, and the *Soterim* or officers. *Abraham* therefore could not make his purchase from *Ephron* the *Hittite* †, without having recourse to the city gates.

(G) *Machphelah* in *Hebrew* signifies double: whence it is supposed by some, that there was a cave within another, or two, or more, contiguous to each other, in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and *Abraham* afterwards in the other (97). Others think that is the name of the field, and that it should be rendered the cave that is in *Machphelah*. *Calmet* * tells us of a person, whom he doth not name, well versed in the *Arabick*, who says, that the word *Machphelah* in that language signifies shut up, or walled up, it being the custom to wall up these tombs to prevent robbers from sheltering themselves therein. There are still multitudes of such sepulchres thus shut up, which seem to confirm this conjecture, which if it be true, the words ought rather to have been rendered the inclosed cave.

(H) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the last and best estimation of *Hebrew* and *Attick* Coins

(86) TOSTAT. CAJET. *in loc.* (87) *Gen. x.* 22. (88) CALMET. I. *l. vid.* JUN. & VILLET. (89) AMMIAN. MARC. *l.* 18. (90) 1 *Chron. xix.* 6, 7. (91) CALMET. *ibid. p.* 148. (92) *Gen. xxxiv.* 20. *Ruth iv.* 1 *& seqq.* (93) 2 *Sam. xviii.* 33. (94) *Psal. cxxxvii.* ‡ *ult.* (95) 1 *Kings xxii.* 10. 2 *Chron. xviii.* (96) 2 *Kings vii.* 1, 31. *Josh. xxiv.* 1. *See before, p.* † *See before, p.* 323. (97) JUN. MUNST. VILLET. & *al. in loc.* * *Al. M. diction sub voc Macphelah.*

a in full weight before them, and became poſſeſſor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, and ſoon after depoſited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave (I) [g].

By this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Iſaac* was come to the fortieth year of his age. He thought it therefore high time to marry him to ſome of his own family during his life, which, in all probability, could not laſt much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and moſt faithful ſervants, and having made him take an oath to get his ſon a wife out of his own kindred (K), gave him all neceſſary inſtructions, and authority to conclude the marriage, and ſent him away with a train ſuitable to the embaſſy he was ſent upon. That is, with ten camels loaden with the b richeſt preſents for the damſel's dowry; it being the cuſtom in thoſe days for the huſband not to receive, but to pay, a dowry for the wife. The ſervant made the beſt of his way to *Haran* where *Nabor* dwelt; and being ſat down by a well a little before the damſels of the country came to fetch water, penſive and ſollicitous how to perform his meſſage to his maſter's ſatisfaction, he made a mental prayer to God, that he would give him a token of his having proſpered his journey, which was, that the damſel, of whom he ſhould aſk for ſome water to drink, and ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would water his camels alſo, might be ſhe who was deſigned for *Iſaac*. He had not waited long, e'er *Rebecca*'s officious courteſy gave him to underſtand, that his prayer was heard; and being imformed by her whoſe daughter ſhe c was, with ſome other circumſtances ralating to her family, he immediately took out ſome gold ear-rings to the weight of two ſhekels, and a bracelet that weighed about ten (L.), which he preſented to her, deſiring, that if they had any room at her houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that night. *Rebecca* anſwered in the affirmative, and, taking the preſents with her, ran home to acquaint her family with the adventure. *Laban* had no ſooner heard the news, than he came and invited the ſtranger to his houſe, who gave them a full account of all his maſter's wealth and great proſperity. Whilſt care was taking of him and his camels, he told them the occaſion of his journey; and when he related to them the ſucceſs which his prayer had had, and that he would neither eat or drink till they had given d him a poſitive anſwer, *Laban* and *Bethuel* (M) concluded, that the hand of God was viſible throughout all this affair; and that it would be an unpardonable thing to refuſe *Rebecca* to his maſter. They thought her extreamly well diſpoſed of, and conſented, that he ſhould convey her to her huſband as ſoon as he pleaſed. He then immediately began to take out all the jewels of ſilver and gold, and fine raiment which he had brought, and preſented them to her, and made ſome conſiderable preſents beſides to her mother and brother; after which the reſt of the day

Year of the Flood, 1143. Year before Christ, 1857

Abraham *ſends his ſervant to get a wife for* Iſaac.

Rebecca *is given to* Iſaac.

[g] Gen. xxiii. p. tot.

coins, reckons a ſhekel to be equivalent to three ſhillings of our *Engliſh* Money; ſo that the ſum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchaſe will amount to ſixty pounds ſterling. (*)

(I) The art of embalming being known already in thoſe days, it is more than probable that *Abraham* embalmed his wife before he buried her. The days of mourning, which he had fulfilled before he went to buy her ſepulchre, being three days for any ordinary relation, but at leaſt ſeven or eight for ſo near a one as a wife, he could never have kept her ſweet till the cave had been purchaſed and fitted for her.

(K) The text tells us, that the ſervant took the oath by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the firſt time we read of the ceremony, but it was afterwards uſed by *Jacob* (98) and *Joſeph* (99) in *Egypt*, when they were dying. The oddneſs of it has inclined ſome judicious writers to think, that it implied a more ſolemn myſtery than men are aware of; *viz.* a ſwearing by the great Messiah that was to come, and the like (100). Some *Jews* think it was a ſwearing by the covenant of circumciſion, and that whoſoever violated the oath, loſt all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimki* tells us, that was ſtill obſerved all over the eaſt by thoſe of his nation (101).

(L) In order to know the value of theſe preſents, we ſhould know what proportion gold bore to ſilver in thoſe days, which is impoſſible. The author above quoted (102) tells us, that in proceſs of time it came to be as ten, eleven, and twelve to one, according as it changed. But if we compute them according to the preſent value, which is as ſixteen to one, they will be worth 27 *l.* 6 *s.*

(M) This *Bethuel* could not be her father, who had probably been dead ſome time before, but another brother (103); who therefore is here named after *Laban*, and is never more taken notice of during the whole tranſaction (104). *Joſephus* makes the damſel tell the man, that her father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the care of her brother *Laban* (105.)

(*) Pric. *Connect. Pref. p.* 22. (98) *Gen. xlvii.* 29. (99) *Ibid. l.* 25. (100) Rab. Sal. *in loc. vid.* Alix. *in Pentat.* (101) Kimchi *apud* Munst. *in loc.* (102) Prid. *Pref. p.* 25. (103) *Gen. xxiv.* 50 *& ſeqq.* (104) *Vid.* Nic. *de Lyra.* (105) *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 16.

was ſpent in feaſting and mirth. The next morning *Abraham*'s ſervant, who thought now the time long till his maſter was acquainted with the good ſucceſs of his negotiation, deſired to be diſmiſſed. This requeſt did ſomewhat ſurprize them. They deſired him to ſtay at leaſt ten days longer; but he ſtanding firm to his reſolution, the thing was referred to *Rebecca*, who conſenting to go with him as ſoon as he pleaſed, they got all things ready for her departure; and after they had wiſhed her all the uſual bleſſings, and given her her nurſe to accompany her, they took their leave. The ſervant ſoon brought her in ſight of his young maſter, who chanced that night to be taking a ſolitary walk in the neighbouring fields, and as ſoon as *Rebecca* was informed who he was, ſhe alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damſels then was, ſhe waited to receive his firſt compliments[h]. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleaſed with her extreme beauty and modeſt carriage, as well as the kindred ſhe came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loſs of his Mother. He had now nothing to wiſh for but that ſhe might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that bleſſing; during which he comforted himſelf and her with the aſſurance of GOD's promiſes, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childleſs till the ninetieth year of her age.

Iſaac takes her home.

ABRAHAM could not but be pleaſed to ſee his ſon in the poſſeſſion of ſo agreeable a wife; but that not proving ſufficient to comfort him for the loſs of his own, and finding himſelf ſtill ſtrong enough to make a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty-one years old (N), and had continued a widower ſeveral years; he took another wife, named *Keturah* (O), by whom he had ſix ſons whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Iſaac*'s inheritance, and ſent them to dwell towards the caſt (P). Theſe ſix ſons went away eaſtward of *Beerſheba* and the land of *Canaan*, and ſettled in both *Arabias*, the *Petræa* and the *Deſerta*, ſome footſteps of whoſe names are ſtill to be met with, of which we have in part given an account already[i].

Abraham being 141 years old, marries Keturah, *and has ſix ſons by her.*

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and ſeventy fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers, and that his two ſons paid him their laſt devoirs, *Iſaac* having probably ſent for his brother *Iſhmael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machphelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. By which it is plain, that *Moſes* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it

Abraham's death.

[h] Gen. xxiv. p. tot.

[i] Vid. Sup. p. 299.

(N) We need not wonder, that *Abraham*, or any of the patriarchs ſhould allow themſelves to have concubines, and ſometimes more wives than one, if we conſider, that a numerous poſterity was looked upon as one of the greateſt bleſſings, and as a mark of grandeur and eſteem. Accordingly we meet with ſeveral places of ſcripture, in which men of rank are particularly recorded for having a great number of ſons (107).

(O) The *Jews* pretend, that this *Keturah* was the ſame with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* ſent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all theſe children. The reaſons they give for it are, 1. Becauſe the *Pſalmiſt* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is ſaid elſewhere they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jetur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the ſons of *Iſhmael* (110). And 3. becauſe *Iſhmael*, *Hagar*'s ſon, is ſaid to have aſſiſted *Iſaac* at the funeral obſequies of their father *Abraham* (111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham*'s lawful wife, it was juſter for him to marry her than another. But theſe reaſons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which ſignifies incenſe, and is the emblem of continency, in which ſhe had lived ever ſince ſhe had been diſmiſſed from *Abraham*, are rabinical dreams, for ſhe is ſtill called *Hagar* in the ſame chapter (112). Beſides, the text is plain againſt them, it being ſaid, that *Abraham* added, or proceeded to take, another wife, which is inconſiſtent with his recalling the old one. Add to this, that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no where called a wife, as *Keturah* is. As to the two paſſages of ſcripture above quoted, we need only anſwer, that they prove not the *Midianites*, or any of *Keturah*'s ſons, to be called *Hagarens*; but that this laſt name was common to all the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, ſome of which were called *Iſhmaelites*, ſome *Itureans*, ſome *Nebeans*, &c. (113.)

(P) From theſe words ſome authors have concluded, that *Abraham* had married *Keturah* long before *Sarah*'s death (114), or even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; and that the words ſhould be rendered *he had married*, inſtead of *he married* another wife, ſince *Abraham* doth not ſeem to have lived long enough to have diſpoſed of all theſe ſons in his life-time, as the text ſays he did, if he did not take *Keturah* till after his ſon's marriage. In anſwer to which, beſides what has been ſaid in the laſt note, that ſuch a notion is contrary to the ſenſe of the original, we may obſerve that *Abraham* lived at leaſt thirty four years after it; by which time they might be all big enough to go from him. Beſides, *Hagar* muſt by this time have been about eighty years of age, and ſo too old to bear ſo many ſons.

(107) *Judg. viii.* 30. *Ibid. x.* 4. *Eſther. ix.* 10. (108) *Pſal. lxxxiii.* 6. (109) 1 *Chron. v.* 9. (110) HIERON. *tradit. Heber. in Gen. xxv.* 20. (111) *Gen. xxv.* 9. (112) ℣ 12. (113) JUN. *in loc.* VILLET. *c.* 25. *Queſt.* 3. *& al.* (114) *Vid.* CALVIN. *in loc.*

before

before the birth of his two grandſons *Eſau* and *Jacob*, though he muſt have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q).

(Q) *Abraham*'s hiſtory has been embelliſhed with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. We have already touched on ſome of them *; and we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome few more that are remarkable, ſuch as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching aſtronomy, and other ſciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116); the ſame we now uſe. His being the author of ſeveral books, and in particular the famous one, mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by ſeveral learned rabbies, called *Jetzirah*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is alſo an acpocalypſe attributed to him by the *Se-thians*, a ſort of hereticks that ſprang up in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity (117). His aſſumption is mentioned by St. *Athanaſius*, and *Origin* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced diſputing about his ſalvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him alſo the compoſer of ſome prayers, and of the ninteenth Pſalm, and of a treatiſe againſt idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire-worſhippers, who think him to have been the ſame with their great prophet *Zoroaſter*, do attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend*, *Pazend*, and *Voſtah*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. *Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendveſti*; or as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zundveſtia* or plain *Zund*. Which name he tells us ſignifies a *fire-kindler*, ſuch as a tinder-box is here with us, and was given it by the author to inſinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in thoſe who ſhould attentively and devoutly read it †.

The *Arabians* do likewiſe give us a hiſtory of this patriarch, though ſo altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were deſcended, as they are, from him by *Iſhmael*.

Abraham, according to them (121), was the ſon of *Azar* and grandſon of *Terah*; which account, could it be relied upon, would eaſily reſolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have ſpoken of before, note (B) pag. 422. Since *Terah* might have begot *Azar* in the ſeventeenth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the ſixtieth of his; ſo that this laſt number, which is wanting in *Moſes*'s account of his life, would be here found compleat; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet* indeed thinks we might eaſily ſuppoſe two *Terahs*, one ſir-named *Azar*, *Abraham*'s father, and the other his grandfather; but how he can ſay, that there is nothing in ſuch a ſuppoſition that contradicts the ſacred text, we can't ſo well comprehend. The eaſtern heathen have alſo a long tradition of *Abraham*'s life, though vaſtly different from that of *Moſes*, and fraught with a great many wonderful additions of their own invention. The reader however may be glad to have a ſhort account of it out of the laſt quoted author (122). *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Canaan*, did reign in *Babylon*, which he is thought to have built, and ſaw in a dream a ſtar ariſing, whoſe light did outſhine that of the ſun. The ſouth-ſayers, whom he conſulted, told him, that a child, not yet begotten, would be born in *Babylon*, who would prove very dangerous to him; whereupon *Nimrod* forbad, by an expreſs order, all the *Babylonians* to lie with their wives; but *Azar*, one of his chief officers, found means to get at his own, and one night got her with child. The magicians came next morning, and acquainted him that his precautions had proved vain, and that the child was got that night, and adviſed him to get all the pregnant women to be well guarded, and their children put to death as ſoon as they were born; but *Adnah*, *Azar*'s wife, not ſhewing any marks of her pregnancy, went on with it, and was brought to bed of a ſon in a cave or grotto, the entrance of which ſhe had carefully ſtopp'd, and then came and told her huſband, that the child died as ſoon as it came into the world. She failed not however to go and ſuckle it as often as ſhe could, and was ſurprized to find him ſtill ſucking two of his fingers, one of which gave him milk, and the other honey. Being thus ſatisfied that providence took care of him, ſhe viſited him more ſeldom; but obſerving, that he grew as faſt in one day as other children do in a month, inſomuch that at the age of fifteen moons he was as forward as a boy of fifteen years, ſhe acquainted her huſband with the whole ſtory.

Azar went immediately to the cave, and ordered his wife to bring him into the city, where he deſigned to ſettle him in *Nimrod*'s court. *Adnah* took the boy through ſome meadows where there were abundance of cattle, which made *Abraham*, who never had ſeen any before, very inquiſitive what they were, and his mother took a great deal of pleaſure in inſtructing him in their names, natures, uſes, and the like; which made him deſirous to know who had made them all; and being anſwered that all creatures owed their being to GOD, *Abraham* aſked how himſelf came into the world, and *Adnah* told him ſhe brought him forth: he then enquired further who was her lord, and ſhe anſwered that it was *Azar*; and who is *Azar*'s lord, continued he? *Nimrod*, ſaid his mother. But here ſhe thought fit to ſtop all further enquiry, telling him, it was dangerous for him to be too inquiſitive. By this time they were got to the city, which he ſaw ſwarming with all ſorts of idolators; he returned to his grotto more deſirous than ever of knowing his Creator; and obſerving one night the ſtar of *Venus* to ſhine brighter than all the reſt, he began to fancy that to be the creator of the world, till he ſaw her ſet, which convinced him of the contrary, ſince he thought GOD incapable of any change. He made the ſame judgment of the moon; and at length ſeeing great multitudes worſhip the ſun, he was tempted to do the ſame; but having likewiſe obſerved its declination towards the weſt, he concluded that it could not be GOD.

Azar preſented him to *Nimrod*, who was ſeated on a lofty throne, and attended by a great number of the moſt beautiful ſlaves of both ſexes. *Abraham* aſked his father who he was that

* *See before*, *p.* 422. *not.* C. (115) ARTAPAN. & EUPOLEM. *ap.* EUSEP. *præp. l.* 9. *c.* 17, 18. JUSTIN *ex Trog. l.* 36. JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 8. (116) *Id. ibid.* SUID. *in* ABRAHAM. ISODOR. *Hygal. l.* 1. *c.* 3. ORIGEN, *&c.* (117) EPIPHAN. *Hæreſ. l.* 39. *c.* 5. (118) ORIG. *Homil.* 35. *in* LUC. (119) R. SALOM. *in* BAVA BATHRAH, *c.* 1. GEMAR. *Cod. Talm. Tract.* ABODAH ZARAH, *c.* 1. (120) HERBELOT. *Bibliot. Orient. p.* 16. † *Coun. p.* 317. (121) TARIKMOUNTECKEE *ap. eund. p.* 12. (122) *Id. ibid. p.* 13. *ex lib. Mallem.*

As

Rebecca's *pregnancy.*

As for *Rebecca*, she continued barren above nineteen years; during which time *Isaac* ceased not intreating the LORD for her, who was pleased at length to hear his prayers, and send him the long desired blessing. They now thought themselves happy indeed; but *Rebecca* did not long continue so. The struggles of the twins,

that was thus seated above all the rest, and he told him that it was *Nimrod*, whom all that croud about him looked upon as their god; but *Abraham* answered that he could not be their god, seeing he was not so handsome, and consequently not so perfect as they. He afterwards took occasion to preach to his father the unity of GOD, which made him so many enemies among the courtiers, who would not admit of his doctrine, that *Nimrod*, being acquainted with it, caused him to be thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which he came nevertheless safe and unhurt.

A famine, that raged soon after this, having made him distribute all his store to the poor, he sent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a fresh supply, but was refused, under pretence that he did not want it for himself; but to give it away to the poor. The messengers, being afraid that the *Babylonians* would laugh at them, if they came home empty, filled their sacks with a white sort of sand; and being got home to their master, acquainted him with their ill success. *Abraham*, without being alarmed at it, went into his little oratory to comfort himself with his GOD, and in the mean time *Sarah* his wife, who knew nothing of this mystery, seeing the camels loaden with full sacks, went and emptied one of them, which she found full of fine flour, and made some bread of it for the poor. *Abraham* having concluded his prayers came out, and was surprized at the smell of the new bread, and asked his wife where she had got the flour, and she told him that it was that which had been brought to him from his friend in *Egypt*; rather, replied he, from GOD, our only true friend, who has not forsaken us in time of need. And from that time *Abraham* was stiled *the friend of* GOD; a name given him by the prophets (124), and by all the *Mosslems*, who call *Hebron* the place where he lies buried, *the city of the friend of* GOD; though they make him vastly inferior to their *Mohammed*; to whom, one of them says, *Abraham* was but an officer, and the MESSIAH master of the ceremonies.

They are not agreed about the number of angels who dined in his tent. One of them (124) reckons there were three; *viz. Gabriel*, *Arraphel*, and *Michael*. The first of whom was sent to destroy *Sodom*, the second to foretel the birth of *Isaac*, and the third to deliver *Lot* and his family. The *Kôran* tells us, that *Abraham* treated them with a roasted calf: but observing that they did not eat, he was frighted with the thoughts of their being enemies, there being no greater token of enmity in those countries, than to refuse to eat and drink with the person that invites. The angels however soon eased him of that fear, by telling him, that they were sent from GOD to *Lot*'s people, which made *Sarah*, who was then present, burst out into a laughter. Thus far *Mohammed*, who, being perhaps ignorant of the true history of *Abraham*, tells it after his ridiculous manner. His interpreters pretend, that the cause of her laughing was either her joy to see her husband rid of his fears, or the pleasure she should have to see *Sodom* in flames, or her admiration to see angels in human shapes. However, her laughter made the angel tell her, that she should have a son named *Isaac*, who should be the father of *Jacob*. To which she answered, that it would be a marvellous thing indeed, if, old as she was, and her lord still much older, she should bring forth a son; but they having assured her, that the divine power would not be wanting, seeing the blessing was upon *Abraham* and her, who were chosen to be the heads of a numerous family, they departed towards *Sodom*, whilst *Abraham* pleaded hard with GOD not to destroy the city, if so many righteous men were found in it; and so on.

The *Mohammedans* have likewise altered the story of *Hagar* and *Ishmael*, in which there is this prayer of *Abraham*, *Lord, I have placed one of my sons in a barren valley, near thy holy temple.* Of which the commentators on the *Kôran* tell us the occasion was, that *Sarah*, who could not endure the sight of *Hagar* or her son, desired *Abraham* to send them into some dry and barren land: that *Abraham*, being troubled at her cruel request, was told by the angel *Gabriel* to do as his wife bid him; whereupon he conveyed both the mother and the child into the territory of *Mecca*, which was then barren, and without water; but that the angel made a fountain to spring up from under *Ishmael*'s feet, which is now the well of *Zemzem*, so famed among the *Turks*, and the only one in all that country. At the same time GOD blessed the land, and made it so fruitful, that it abounds with each kind of fruit of the four seasons of the year, which grow plentifully there all the year round.

There was then no temple built at *Mecca*, but only a great edifice called *Sorah*, reared up by *Seth* in *Adam*'s life-time, in the form of a temple, which was resorted to with great devotion. But the deluge having destroyed it, it was afterwards rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Ishmael*. The *Turks* call it *Caabah*, or the square-house, and think themselves bound to visit it at least once in their life, and always turn their faces towards it when they pray, in what part of the world soever they be. A modern author (125) thinks, that both the *Arabs* and *Ishmaelites* did formerly worship *Bacchus* and *Urania*, or *Venus*, in that temple; for *Herodotus* assures us, that they worshipped none but those two deities, the first of whom they called *Urotalt*, and the latter *Alilat* (126). Though other authors have since told us, that they worshipped also *Jupiter*, the sun, moon, and demons (127). However that be, it is most likely, that the altar and grove which *Abraham* built at *Beersheba* (128), gave the first rise to the fiction of his building this temple.

They tell us moreover (129), that *Abraham* having prayed to GOD to let him see how he raised the dead, was asked by him *whether he wanted faith? no*, replied he, *but it would be a great satisfaction to me.* At the same time the devil having taken notice of a dead body thrown up by the sea, and half devoured by fishes, birds, and wild beasts (130), thought it a proper instrument

(123) *Isa. xli.* 8. *Dan. iii.* 35 (124) DAMIATI. CALM. *Dictionn. sub voc. Abraham.* (126) HOREDOT. *l.* 3. *c.* 8. (127) STRABO *l.* 16. PHILOSTORG. *ap.* PHOC. AMMIAN. MARCEL. *& al.* (128) *Gen. xxi.* 23. (129) *Kôran. c.* 2. (130) HERBELOT. *Bibl. Or. p.* 15.

which

a which ſhe bore, cauſed her a great deal of pain and uneaſineſs, till having conſulted GOD about it, ſhe was anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving in her womb, and that two ſorts of people ſhould be ſeparated from her bowels, one of which ſhould prove ſtronger than the other, and that the elder ſhould ſerve the younger.* Accordingly ſhe was ſoon after brought to bed of two ſons, the firſt of which, *viz. Eſau*, was all over hairy, and the ſecond came out holding him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Eſau* became a great lover of hunting, and conſequently the darling of *Iſaac*, who was very fond of his veniſon; but *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who

Year of the Flood, 1163. Year before Chriſt, 1837.

Eſau *and* Jacob *born.*

inſtrument to enſnare mankind againſt the belief of a reſurrection. He appeared to *Abraham*, who had been bid to repair to the ſea-ſhore, in the ſhape of a man that ſeemed aſtoniſhed at ſomething, and aſked him, how it could be poſſible for the parts of that dead carcaſs, which had been devoured by ſo many living creatures, to be re-united at the general reſurrection. To whom *Abraham* anſwered, that he who had created all thoſe limbs out of nothing could more eaſily gather them from the different places where they lay ſcattered, than a potter could the broken pieces of a potſherd, and make a new one out of them.

After this GOD bid him take four birds, and cut them in pieces, and to carry the pieces upon four different mountains; and then give them a call, and he ſhould ſee them all four fly immediately to him. This ſeems to be taken from the heifers, goats, and Pidgeons, which *Abraham* was bid to hew in pieces, *&c.* (131). To which the *Mohammedans* have added ſeveral other circumſtances, ſuch as that the four birds were a cock, a dove, a raven, and a peacock; that he cut them all in ſmall pieces, and jumbled them altogether. Some add, that he pounded them in a mortar, and divided the whole maſs into four parts, which he carried to the tops of four different mountains; after which holding their heads, which he had kept unminced, he called them diſtinctly by their names; whereupon each of them came to fetch his own head, and flew away. Thus it was, that *Abraham* was convinced of the truth of the reſurrection, according to the *Mohammedans*. And this ſeems to have ſome far off relation with what our SAVIOUR ſays of him (132), that *Abraham* had deſired to ſee his day, and that he ſaw it and rejoiced; which the *Mohammedans*, according to their cuſtom, have applied to the day of the reſurrection. The *Perſian* fire-worſhippers do to this day expreſs a great veneration for him; they call him *Zeerdooſt*, or *Zoroaſter*, which ſignifies the friend of fire, becauſe when he was thrown into the furnace by *Nimrod*'s order, the flames, inſtead of conſuming him, careſſed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133).

Calmet (134) mentions a book in the *French* king's library, No 792, written originally by St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and tranſlated from the *Syriac* into *Arabick*, upon *Abraham*'s journey into *Egypt*; in which book there is alſo a ſermon on his death, preached by St. *Athanaſius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, on the twenty eighth of *March*, on which day the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian* Chriſtians do celebrate his feſtival. The ancient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience, and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other ſaints, on the ninth of *October* (135). The church of *Rome* hath likewiſe ordered an office for him, and addreſs him in particular for thoſe who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been diſcovered near *Hebron*, they found his body, and thoſe of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewiſe ſome gold and ſilver lamps hung up in the cave, which was viſited by multitudes (136). The *Moſlams* have ſuch a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*; and the chriſtians built a church over the cave (137), which the *Turks* did afterwards turn into a moſk (138).

Moſ. Ben. Maimon (139). and after him the learned *Spencer*, tells us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are ſuppoſed to have been great aſtronomers, aſtrologers, *&c.* and by diſcovering the power and influence of the ſtars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worſhip them. Who theſe *Zabeans* were, whether a nation, or only a ſect of philoſophers, or whether their name imports any more than their religion and the like, ſhall be enquired into in its proper place. In the mean time, as to what *Maimonides* ſays, we ſhall only anſwer with *Meyer* (140), that it is impoſſible to prove that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moſes*; much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be granted, that there were ſome people called *Zabeans* before *Moſes*'s time, and that that idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the *Zabeans* we are ſpeaking of were older than *Moſes*; and *Spencer* himſelf owns (141), that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover their beginning, which has given riſe to ſo many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is not improbable, that *Abraham*, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that ſuperſtition, till GOD called him away from the one and the other.

(R) From the *Hebrew* word עקב, *Hekeb*, which ſignifies the heel, is formed the verb עקב, to ſupplant; and by the addition of the י *Jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jacob*, a ſupplanter, which name he in time made good. As for the name *Eſau*, the meaning is ſomewhat obſcure, unleſs we derive it, as ſome (142) do from עשה. *Haſſah*, to make, becauſe *Eſau* came out all hairy, and as it were perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is alſo ſuppoſed to have been called *Sheir*, or *Sehir*, from שער, *Shahar*, which ſignifies hair. And laſtly *Edom*, from his ſelling his primogeniture for a meſs of *red* pottage (143).

(131) *Gen. xv.* 9. *& ſeqq.* (132) *John viii.* 56. (133) PRID. *Connex. p.* 1. *Book* 4. (134) *Ex Bibl. Orient. p.* 16. (135) *Martyrol. Rom.* ADON. USUARD. *&c.* (136) BEN. SHOLMAH *ap.* HERBELOT. (137) *Serm. Quadrag. Elmid.* 1, 2. *p.* 773. (138) *Vid.* CALMET. *loc. citat.* (139) MAIMONID. *Tractat. More Nevok. part. iii. c.* 29 & 46. *& in* AVODAH ZARAH, *c.* 11, & 12. (140) MEYER *de Feſt. dieb. Hebr. c.* 12. (141) SPENC. *de Leg. Hebr. ritual. l.* 2. *c.* 1. § 2. (142) RAB. SAL. MERCER. *& al.* (143) *Vid. ſup. p.* 305.

knew that he was to inherit the bleſſings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intruſting him with the ſecret betimes, though ſhe ſeems all along to have concealed it from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, before *Jacob* gave proof of it. *Eſau* came home one evening from his uſual hunting, faint and hungry, and ſeeing a meſs of pottage which his brother had got ready, begged to be refreſhed with ſome of it; which he, it ſeems, well inſtructed by his mother, utterly refuſed, unleſs he would part with his birth-right to him. And *Eſau*, in his diſtreſs, ſwore away his birth-right to his brother *Jacob*, as we have ſaid [l].

Eſau ſells his birth-right.

Year of the Flood, 1195. Year before Chriſt, 1805.

A FAMINE, which happened ſome years after this, obliged *Iſaac* to ſeek for another habitation; he thought to have gone down into *Egypt*, when GOD appeared unto him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been ſo friendly entertained, promiſing, that he would protect, and multiply him exceedingly. He obeyed; but the fear he was in for his life, on account of his wife's beauty, made him reſolve to let her paſs for his ſiſter as his father had formerly done. This pretence paſſed current a conſiderable time, till at length the king obſerving from his window ſome familiarities between them, which made him ſuſpect, that ſhe was ſomething more than a bare ſiſter to him. He therefore rebuked them ſharply for the fraud, which *Iſaac* endeavoured to excuſe the beſt he could, telling him that the fear of his own life was the only motive that had induced him to it [m]. *Iſaac* was glad to ſee himſelf out of danger, and he went and ſowed the ground that had been aſſigned to him, which yielded him an hundred fold, to the great ſurprize of his neighbours, who could not ſee him ſo proſperous in this, and all other things which he took in hand, without envy. His richneſs and multitude of ſervants made him likewiſe be feared as a dangerous man, who might probably prove one day too mighty for them. But as the ſucceſs of open violence was doubtful, they reſolved to harraſs him another way, by filling up all his wells, without which his vaſt multitude of cattle could not ſubſiſt. They likewiſe endeavoured to alarm the king againſt him, which they accordingly did; and *Iſaac* found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring to *Gerar*; where he dug new wells, and opened thoſe which had formerly been dug by *Abraham*; in doing of which he met with great and repeated troubles and vexations from the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar*, and was forced to remove at a good diſtance from thence [n].

Iſaac *goes to* Gerar;

is envied by the people.

A covenant between Abimelech *and* Iſaac.

AT length he was ſued to by *Abimelech* in perſon [o], either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. *Iſaac* expoſtulated with them upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land; but nevertheleſs prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them; and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requeſted [p]. On the ſame day word was brought to *Iſaac*, that his ſervants had found water; upon which account he called the place *Beerſheba* (S). The tranquility which this new alliance had procured him, was ſoon after diſturbed by *Eſau* marrying two wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites* [q].

Year of the Flood, 1243. Year before Chriſt, 1760.

HOWEVER, *Iſaac* beheld him ſtill as heir, and was reconciled to him. If he did know any thing of the ſale he had made of his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and wearineſs. Finding himſelf therefore grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty ſeven years old, reſolved to bleſs him before he died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bid him get ſome freſh veniſon, and dreſs it to his palate, and told him, he deſigned to confer the bleſſing on him that day. *Rebecca*, who over-heard this diſcourſe, knowing the importance of the paternal bleſſing, laid hold on the favourable opportunity, to procure it for her favourite ſon, in the abſence of *Eſau*. She directed him then to take two choice kids, which ſhe would dreſs to his father's liking, and ſend him into his father, therewith to perſonate *Eſau*. *Jacob* made ſeveral

[l] See before, p. 305. [m] See before p. 346. c. [n] See before, p. 347. b. [o] See before, ibid. c. [p] See before, ibid. [q] Gen. xxvi. p. tot.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, ſince we have ſeen already on what account *Abraham* called it ſo (144); though it is not improbable, but the diſcovery of this new well might lead *Iſaac* into a third alluſion to the word שבע, *Shabah*, which ſignifies not only to ſwear, and ſeven, but likewiſe to ſatisfy or ſatiate; whereby he might intimate that he had wells enough, and would reſt ſatisfied with them.

(144) *Supr. Gen. xxi. 31.*

a ral excuſes. His ſkin and his voice he was afraid would betray him, being in both ſo unlike to his brother; ſo that if *Iſaac* ſhould detect the fraud, he would more probably curſe than bleſs him. *Rebecca*, who knew there was no time to loſe, took all the curſes upon herſelf, and encouraged him to follow her directions, which he did. Whilſt the kids were dreſſing, ſhe laid their ſkins on his hands and neck, and then arrayed him in *Eſau*'s cloaths, and ſent him trembling to his father. When *Iſaac* ſmelt the meat, he was ſurprized it was ſo ſuddenly got ready, and not knowing what to think of it, he put the queſtion ſeveral times to *Jacob*, whether or no he was in very deed his ſon *Eſau?* to which he anſwered in the affirmative, deſiring him to ariſe and taſte of his veniſon, ſince GOD, who knew his zeal to obey his
b father, had brought it into his hands much ſooner than he could have expected. But *Iſaac*, ſtill doubtful, deſired him to draw nearer, that he might be better ſatisfied; and when he had felt the hairy ſkin on his hands and neck, he owned, that *the hands were the hands of Eſau, though the voice was the voice of Jacob.* Thus far ſatisfied, or rather impoſed on, he aroſe, and eat heartily of his ſon's pretended veniſon. *Rebecca* forgot not to ſend ſome wine with it; and after a cup or two, he bid his ſon come near to him, that he might now beſtow the promiſed bleſſing upon him. The ſmell of *Jacob*'s raiments contributed much to *Iſaac*'s chearfulneſs; he ſmelt and praiſed them, and, in a kind of extaſy of pleaſure, embraced and kiſſed his pretended firſt-born; and having wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly bleſſings[r],
c diſmiſſed him. If the father was pleaſed at his having performed this important ceremony, the ſon was no leſs rejoiced at his ſucceſs, and at his being freed from acting a part, which to an honeſt man muſt have cauſed the greateſt reluctancy, to ſay nothing of the dread he muſt have been under during all that time, leſt *Eſau* ſhould intervene. But what he did was in obedience to his mother, who aſſured him, that they did only fulfil the divine decrees in all this, and that it had been a direct contravention of them to have acted otherwiſe. Her joy upon this occaſion was great we may be ſure.

Jacob *gets his brother's bleſſing from him.*

WHILST the mother and ſon were congratulating each other, *Eſau* came to his
d father with the veniſon he had prepared for him. He invited him in the ſame dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to obſerve ſuch tokens of ſurprize and concern in his father's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on[s]. *Eſau* found he had been circumvented in his abſence; and a mournful ſcene enſued between the father and the ſon; which was cloſed up by *Iſaac*, who inſiſted, that his bleſſing ſhould remain with *Jacob*. *I have bleſſed him*, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed*[t] (T). Nevertheleſs, to aſſuage *Eſau*'s grief, he bleſſed him in theſe

[r] See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. [s] Vid. ſup. p. 306. b. [t] Gen. xxvii. 33. Gen. xxxvii. p. tot.

(T) Whoſoever narrowly obſerves *Jacob*'s life, after he had obtained his father's bleſſing, will own, that it conſiſted in nothing leſs than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country for fear of his brother; deceived and oppreſſed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him after a ſervitude of twenty one years; in imminent danger, either of being purſued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by his brother. Theſe fears are no ſooner over, but the baſeneſs of his eldeſt ſon in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the *Sichemites* (145). And laſtly, the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuppoſed untimely end of his ſon *Joſeph*; all theſe overwhelmed him with freſh ſucceſſions of grief; and to compleat all, his being forced by famine to deſcend into *Egypt*, and to die there: theſe, and many more, are ſufficient proofs, that his father's bleſſing was of a quite different nature, and confined in two particulars only; *viz.* the poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan* in right of primogeniture, which his brother had ſold him, and which rather belonged to his poſterity than to himſelf; and in the next place, the MESSIAH being born of his race, and not of that of *Eſau*. As to the ſtratagem by which this bleſſing was obtained, though it appears ſomewhat harſh and unjuſt at firſt ſight; yet if we conſider, that theſe two brothers were deſigned by providence as types; *viz.* *Eſau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for not accepting the ſpiritual kingdom of the MESSIAH, in hopes of that glorious earthly one which they dreamed, and ſtill dream, of, which is in fact preferring a meſs of porridge to the nobleſt birthright), and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we conſider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future ſtate, as the papiſts, our predeſtinarians, and others imagine, but was confined wholly to the preſent; if we conſider theſe things, we ſhall not want the ſubtilties of the ſchools to juſtify an action which was determined, and conducted, by a divine hand, unleſs men will affirm, that GOD could not in juſtice make ſuch an alienation; an aſſertion ſo bold and abſurd, that we don't think any man of ſenſe and common modeſty would venture to maintain it.

(145) *See before, p.* 329. c.

Esau *is also blessed.*

these words, *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (U). *By thy sword and thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck* (W). This blessing was inferior to *Jacob*'s in the following particulars. 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine, by which it seems to be implied, that *Esau*'s lot should not be so fertile as his brother's, as in fact it was not. 2. Here is no mention of GOD as there is in the first, GOD *give thee*, &c. 3. There is a spiritual blessing promised to *Jacob*, that *they should be blessed that blessed him*, &c. but no such thing is said to his brother. *Jacob* was for a while in danger of his brother's heaviest indignation; which *Rebecca* dreading, found an excuse to send him out of the way, as far off as *Padan-Aram*, that he might there marry one of his cousins. She sent him therefore to her brother *Laban*, alledging, that if he should follow his brother's example, and marry a *Hittite*, it would make the rest of her life uncomfortable.

Jacob *is sent to* Padan-Aram.

IT is very probable, that *Isaac* had likewise some suspicion of *Esau*'s design to murder his brother, else it is not likely, that he would have sent *Jacob* away alone, and with only his staff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had sent thither a servant in so noble a manner, unless it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reason, which the mother alledged, was thought highly reasonable, and *Jacob* was privately sent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands and his farther blessing; which done, he went away for *Padan-Aram*. In his way thither he was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with a stone for his pillow. Here he saw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels ascending and descending, whilst GOD, who stood on the top, was pleased to encourage him, by promising, that he would be his protector, and that he would bless and multiply him beyond measure [u]. *Jacob* awaking from his dream surprized and frighted, cried out, *Surely God was in this place, and I knew it not!* Rising therefore from his hard bed, he took the stone which had served him for a bolster, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this vision he called the place *Bethel* (the house of GOD); for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewise made a vow unto GOD, that if he would grant him his protection, feed and cloath him, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the LORD should be his GOD, that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the stone which he had reared should be GOD's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on chearfully the rest of his way, till he came to his journey's end [w].

Serves seven years for Rachel;

is cheated by Laban.

HIS uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and, after a month's stay with him, *Jacob* falling in love with his youngest daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed, that he should serve him seven years for her, at the end of which she should become his wife. *Jacob* was so pleased with this motion, that he spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity another seven years. For when the time was come he was to be put in possession of the wife he had so dearly bought, he conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter *Leah*'s apartment. *Jocob* did not discover the deceit till the next morning, and when he found, instead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely blear-eyed sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment thereat to her father. *Laban* had his answer ready, and, in a magisterial tone, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest, and that it would have been a great injustice to *Leah* to have given him her younger sister; but, continued he, in

[u] Gen. xxviii. 12. & seqq. [w] Ibid. p. tot.

(U) These words have been rendered by some modern authors (146), *thy dwelling shall neither be fruitful, nor watered by the dew of heaven.* And it is true indeed, that *Idumea*, or the land of *Edom*, was not very fruitful; but they that understand the original will easily see, that they have wrested it quite out of its genuine meaning.

(W) We must not think, that these predictions were to be fulfilled in *Jacob*'s time, or in his person, who never had any dominion either over the *Edomites*, or any other nation, nor ever possessed the least inheritance, *Machphelah* excepted; but died in a country where he had not one foot of land. How, and when, the *Edomites*, who multiplied exceedingly, and were a fierce, warlike people, became subject to *Jacob*'s posterity; and when they shook off their yoke, we have already related (147).

(146) LE CLERC. CHATIL. *in loc.*

(147) *See before, p.* 315, *& seqq.*

a in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and conſent to ſerve me another ſeven years for her ſiſter, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as ſoon as the ſeven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at ſuch an unfair proceedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore conſented to theſe hard conditions, and at the week's end he enjoyed the fruits of his ſervitude and conſtancy. *Marries Rachel.*

During this interval, *Eſau* went and married *Mahalath*, the daughter of his uncle *Iſhmael*, in hopes, that ſhe would be more acceptable than his two other wives, and brought her home to her father's houſe (X). He had children by all the three wives: his poſterity became very numerous; an account of which has been given in the hiſtory of the *Edomites*[y] *.

b In the mean time *Jacob* behaved himſelf very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, whilſt *Leah* was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility; but God made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilſt her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. *Leah* was ſoon brought to bed of a ſon, and it being then the cuſtom of thoſe times for mothers to give names to their children, not without ſome particular reaſon or meaning, ſhe called him *Reuben*, intimating, that God had ſeen her affliction, and had given her a ſon, which would probably engage her huſband to love her. She had another ſoon after him, whom ſhe called *Simeon*; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, the Lord had heard her complaint. Her third ſhe called *Levi*, hoping her huſband would be now joined to her; and the fourth ſhe called *Judah*, thinking herſelf bound to praiſe God for her fruitfulneſs; after which ſhe left off bearing for a while[z]. Reuben *born.* Simeon, Levi, *and* Judah *born.*

Rachel by this time was ſo extremely mortified at her ſiſter's happineſs, that ſhe came one day in a fit of envy, and told her huſband, that, unleſs he gave her children alſo, ſhe ſhould inevitably die of grief. *Jacob*, who could not forbear being provoked at ſuch a ſpeech, which ſeemed to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, anſwered her in a paſſion, that it was out of his power to do miracles, that God, who had ſhut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was rather the way to prevent, than to gain, ſuch a bleſſing. This mortifyd ing anſwer made her bethink herſelf of the uſual way, at that time, for women in her caſe to give their maids to their huſbands; ſhe therefore deſired him to take *Bilhah*, and to try to make her a mother by her means; to which he conſented, and ſoon after had a ſon by her, which *Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning, that God had judged in her favour. She called the other ſon which *Bilhah* bore *Naphtali*, to expreſs the violent ſtruggles ſhe had had with her ſiſter: after which *Leah*, thinking ſhe had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* alſo to *Jacob*, whoſe firſt ſon ſhe called *Gad* (a troop), expecting more to come, and the next ſhe called *Aſher*, to expreſs the happineſs ſhe now enjoyed. Dan *and* Naphtali *born.* Gad *and* Aſher *born.*

e By this time *Reuben* was about ſix years of age, and brought home one evening ſome mandrakes (Y), which he had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-

5 T

[x] Gen. xxxvi. 1, 2. [y] Ibid. p. tot. * See before, p. 307 & ſeqq. [z] Gen. xxix. p. tot.

(X) It will be proper to obſerve here, that *Moſes* gives theſe three wives of *Eſau* quite other names, when he comes to ſpeak of the poſterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially, becauſe the fathers of the two former are likewiſe called by different names. Thus his firſt wife, *Judith* of *Beeri*, is afterwards called *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the ſecond, *viz. Baſhemah*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholi-Bamah* the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*; the laſt, called at firſt *Mahalath*, is now called *Bathſhemath*; but what ſhews that theſe two latter names mean the ſame perſon, and that the ſame thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two (eſpecially, conſidering that *Eſau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that ſhe is called in both places the daughter of *Iſhmael*, and ſiſter of *Nebajoth*. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was uſual to call them ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. Thus, the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maacah*, the daughter of *Abiſhalom* (148), is in another place called *Michaiah*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(Y) What theſe mandrakes were, is not eaſy to gueſs; but they could not certainly be what we underſtand by that name. 1. Becauſe they had nothing inviting, either in ſmell, taſte, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much leſs could he chooſe them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text ſays, it was then wheat-harveſt which in thoſe hot countries is about *May*, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very

(147) *Compare Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. with xxxvi. 2. & ſeqq.* (148) 1 *Kings xv. 2.* (149) 2 *Chron. xiii. 2.*

wheat-harveſt. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. *Leah* hereupon anſwered, not over complaiſantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her huſband and her ſon's mandrakes too; wherefore, to pacify her and purchaſe the fruit, ſhe agreed, that *Jacob* ſhould lie with her that night (Z); and *Jacob* no ſooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the conſequence of which was, that ſhe bore him a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar* (the man of reward), alledging, that it was given her as a reward for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After which ſhe bore her ſixth and laſt ſon, and called him *Zabulon* (*dwelling*), in hopes, that ſo many ſons would make her huſband dwell with her. She had likewiſe a daughter whom ſhe called *Dinah*, which is the feminine of *Dan*; after which ſhe bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon whom ſhe called *Joſeph*, in hopes, that GOD would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob*, having finiſhed his fourteen years ſervitude, and being deſirous to viſit his old parents, deſired his uncle to diſmiſs him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no ſmall advantage in having ſuch a faithful ſervant, begg'd of him to ſtay with him a little longer, promiſing him, upon that condition, to give him what wages he ſhould name. Here *Jacob* took an opportunity of reminding him how much his ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep, or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of *Laban*'s flock, that it ſoon dwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between

Iſſachar.

Zabulon *and* Dinah *born.*

Year of the Flood, 1254. Year before Chriſt, 1745.

Joſeph *born.*

Jacob's *ſtratagem of the ſpeckled ſticks.*

a very ſtrong ſtupifying ſmell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians Jabrokim*; whereas the *Dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrancy, in the only place of ſcripture where they are mentioned beſides (150). For this reaſon ſome have fancied them violets (151); others lillies (152); others jaſſimin; others have rendered the word deſirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *Dudaim*, which ſignifies, love's in the dual, or, the breaſts of a woman. Others again, and perhaps more probably, have gueſſed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced ſo many interpreters to ſuppoſe them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but beſides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that ſhe did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that *Leah* would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had ſuch a virtue, which perhaps was not diſcovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156), that he had taken a doſe to excite him to love. A modern author, in his hiſtory of *Æthiopia*, has confuted the notion of *Dudaim*, ſignifying mandrakes (157), and affirms, that it ſignifies a certain fruit, which the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, not unlike the *Banana*, or *Indian Fig-tree*, in ſhape and taſte, and about the bigneſs of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one ſtem: but whatever theſe *Dudaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they muſt have had ſomething pleaſant and inviting to a child, either in ſmell or taſte.

(Z) The cuſtom of thoſe countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in thoſe days for the huſband to take his wives by turns (*); the kings of *Perſia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (†), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that ſhe ſold her turn for that night to her ſiſter, than that ſhe did direct her huſband which of the four he ſhould lie with.

(A) Our ancient commentators fancied, that *Jacob* made uſe of his ſpeckled ſticks in the ſpring of the year, when the lambs had the whole ſummer to grow fat and ſtrong; but that he ſet them aſide in autumn, when he knew the coldneſs of the winter would ſpoil their thriving: But, as the text ſpeaks neither of ſpring or fall, our moderns have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the ſticks only before the young and luſty ſheep

(150) *Cant. vii.* 13. (151) ONKEL. *in loc.* (152) OLEAST. (153) JUN. *in loc.* (154) BOCHART. BROWN'S *Vulg. Err.* CALMET. *Comm. in Gen. cap. xxx. v.* 11. (155) EPIPH. *ap.* VILLET. (156) LUDOLPH. *Hiſt. Æthiop. Com. l.* 1. *cap.* 72. (157) *Vid.* CALM. *in Gen. xxx.* 16. *Dict. ſub voc.* MAUDRAG. AUG. *l.* 22. *cont.* FAUST. *cap.* 29. (*) *Vid.* VILLET. MUNST. *& al.* (†) HERODOT. *l.* 2. *cap.* 79.

between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards [a]: in ſpight of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, *&c.* bought men and women ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in *Laban* and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting off with all he had [b]. He acquainted his wives with it, and finding them of the ſame mind, he ſat them and their little ones upon camels, and having got all his ſervants and ſubſtance together, began his journey towards the land of *Canaan*, whilſt his father-in-law, who was at a pretty diſtance from him, was buſy in ſheering his ſheep; which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of ſtealing her father's gods (B). *Laban*, who did not hear of his flight till the third day after, was full ſeven days

Jacob *ſteals away from* Laban. Year of the Flood, 1260. Year before Chriſt, 1739.

[a] Gen. xxxi. 41.

[b] Gen. xxx. p. tot.

ſheep and goats, and the old and weak he left to take their chance; by which the beſt lambs came to his ſhare, and the worſt to *Laban*'s (158).

(B) The word which we tranſlate gods, in the *Hebrew* is תרפים *Teraphim*, which all the *Jewiſh Rabbies* own to be a word of no *Hebrew* etymology. The LXX tranſlate it ſometimes an oracle, and ſometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an *Egyptian* word, and the ſame with *Serapis*; that *Ham* and his ſon *Mizraim* were the inventors of idolatry, and that the latter, who was the founder of *Egypt*, filled that country with idols; inſomuch that there was neither town nor village, houſe or road, where they were not to be ſeen (159): As to their figure, uſe, the manner of making them, *&c.* they are all equally uncertain. As to their ſhape, the moſt received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or ſomething reſembling a human form, as a buſto term, *&c.* though the *Jews* pretend, that it was the head of a firſt-born ſon plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraved upon it; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a ſhelf, did give vocal anſwers (160): but theſe are rather to be looked upon as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David*'s bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *Teraphim*, ſhews, that it muſt have had an human ſhape. *Joſephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on *David*, that there ſhould be found an image, or *Teraphim*, in his houſe, has attributed a more ſuitable ſtratagem to *Michol*, though leſs credible (162); he tells us, that ſhe hid the liver of a kid freſh killed under the bed cloaths, that the panting of it might be taken for the panting of her huſband in a fever; but without enquiring, whether, or how long, a kid's liver would continue panting, ſo as to be ſeen under the bed cloaths; it is ſcarce credible, that the meſſengers would give her time to do all this; or, if ſhe had notice of their coming, that ſhe could time it ſo well, that the liver ſhould be ſtill panting hot when they came up. However, we ſhall meet with ſo many inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein this author doth depart from the ſcriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour of his nation is concered, that his authority will be of little weight in all ſuch caſes.

Theſe *Teraphims* were afterwards univerſally known by the name of taliſmen, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Perſians* called them *Telephim*, a name not unlike *Teraphim*. They were made of different metals, and ſizes, caſt under certain conſtellations, with the figures of ſome planets, and magick characters engraven upon them. What metal thoſe of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not eaſy to gueſs; only this the text tells us, that ſhe hid them in the ſtraw, and ſat upon them. As for their uſe, it was chiefly to give anſwers, to foretel what was to come, to diſcover what was hid or loſt, and the like. Beſides this, they were likewiſe addreſſed to for temporal bleſſings, and to avert evils. They were to be conſulted and prayed to, at certain times, under particular aſpects of the planets, from which, according to the *Jews*, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another Rabbi goes further, and pretends, that they gave their anſwers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The Teraphims have ſpoken vain things* (165). However we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all the *Teraphims* were of the ſame make, or for the ſame uſes, even among the *Jews*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of other ſorts, when we come to ſpeak of that of *Michah* (166): beſides, as they came to be more univerſal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at leaſt a human head.

The laſt thing worth enquiring into is, what induced *Rachel* to ſteal her father's gods. Concerning which we can affirm nothing certain; ſome think, that ſhe did it to repay herſelf for the damage which they had ſuſtained by her father (167); others, that ſhe thought by that means to prevent *Laban*'s enquiring of them which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that ſhe would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, againſt which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). Laſtly, Others think, that both ſhe and her ſiſter were ſtill addicted to that ſuperſtition, and that their deſigning to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her huſband (170); but that *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his houſe, cauſed them to be taken from her, and buried under a tree in *Sichem* (171).

(158) Bochart. *de animal. ſacr.* Calm. *Comm. in Gen. c. xxx.* 41. (159) Kircher. Oedip. *Ægypt. Sint.* 4. *c.* 3. Cunæus *Rep. Hebr.* (160) Jonat. Targ. *in Gen. xxxi.* R. Tanhuma Eleaz. *&* *al.* (161) 1 *Sam. xix.* 14. (162) Ant. *lib.* 6. *c.* 14. (163) D. Kimchi *ſub voc.* Teraph. (164) R. Eleaz. *cap.* 36. (165) *Zachar. x.* 2. (166) *Jude xvii.* 1, *&* *ſeqq.* (167) Perrer, Johnson, *&* *al.* (168) Abenezrah *in loc.* (169) Theodoret *Quæſt.* 9. Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat. de* S. Pasch. *&* *al.* (170) Cyril *in Gen. lxi.* Chrysost. Cajet. Musc. Calv. *&* *al.* (171) *Gen. xxxv.* 4.

days before he could overtake him; by which time *Jacob* was already got over the river *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night. The day being too far ſpent for *Laban*, and thoſe relations he had brought with him, to do any thing, they encamped near him, and waited for the morning. It is evident, that he had ſome ill deſign againſt his ſon-in-law; but GOD, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any hoſtility or violence againſt him. *Laban*'s courage being thus cooled, their meeting on the next morning proved more calm than he intended it. He contented himſelf with expoſtulating with him, that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grand-children, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſick and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; the cheat he had put upon him in making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his ſalary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family: all theſe and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the bleſſings which GOD had heaped upon him for his ſake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the ſtealing of his gods; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel*'s theft, deſired him to make the moſt diligent ſearch for them throughout his family, promiſing, that the perſon on whom they were found ſhould be immediately put to death. *Laban* loſt no time, but went and ſearched every tent, and laſt of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphims* under the camels litter, and had ſet herſelf down upon them. She kept her ſitting whilſt he was curiouſly examining every corner of her tent, and excuſed it, with telling him, that the condition ſhe was then in, allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies. This prevented all further ſcrutiny, and *Laban*, who could not think, that ſhe would come near ſuch ſacred ſtuff in that condition, went away with a heavy heart, and acquainted his ſon-in-law with his ill ſucceſs. This cauſed ſome freſh expoſtulations, which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable ſubject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument, as a ſtanding witneſs of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the *Syrian* tongue *Jegar-Sahadutha*, and *Jacob* in *Hebrew Gilead*; both which ſignify the heap of witneſs †. Here they likewiſe ſwore, that neither would paſs over that monument to hurt the other, and *Jacob*, that he would uſe his wives and children with all becoming tenderneſs and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a ſacrifice offered upon the occaſion, he feaſted the whole company the reſt of that day; and the next morning *Laban*, having embraced and bleſſed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-Aram* [c].

Laban overtakes him:

Searches for his Gods.

Makes a covenant with Jacob.

They rear a monument in memory of it.

Laban *returns home.*

JACOB, who thought his abſence a greater ſecurity than the oaths he had ſworn, was glad to have ſo well eſcaped; but one fear ſucceeded another, and the reſentment of his brother *Eſau* began now to give him a freſh trouble; but a viſion which he had of an hoſt of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan*, did diſſipate his anxiety for a while, and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But being ſtill fearful of his brother ‡, he reſolved to ſoften him with a ſubmiſſive meſſage, or at leaſt, to feel how his pulſe beat toward him. He ſent therefore ſome of his ſervants before, to acquaint him with the ſucceſs he had during his ſtay in *Meſopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, which he had acquired, and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had ſent him his beſt compliments. The meſſengers returned with the news, that *Eſau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to compleat *Jacob*'s dread: he then began to think himſelf a dead man; but, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſet himſelf about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes, that if the one periſhed, the other might eſcape; which done, he addreſſed himſelf

Jacob's viſion. He calls the place Mahanaim.

† Vid. ſup. p. 377. d. [c] Gen. xxxi. p. tot. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 307.

(C) Though the text doth not ſay what river he paſſed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the ſcripture ſometimes calls the river *Perah*, ſometimes the great river, and ſometimes emphatically, *the river* (172); either, becauſe that and the *Nile* were the only two conſiderable ones they knew; or, becauſe it was one of the four rivers of *Paradiſe*; or laſtly, becauſe it was the boundary of the promiſed land †.

(172) *Vid. Joſh. i.* 4. *xxiv.* 3. *& alib.* † *Vid. Gen. xv.* 8.

himſelf to GOD in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies to him, and his own unworthineſs of them, and begged his future protection againſt his brother's ſword, and that he would fulfil all his former promiſes to him. After this he reſolved to try how far preſents would work upon *Eſau*'s temper, and having ſet a-part two hundred ſhe-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred Ewes and twenty rams, thirty ſhe-camels, with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten colts, he ſent them before him in ſeparate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his lord *Eſau*, in order to entreat his favour and good will. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok*, long before break of day, whilſt himſelf tarried at *Mahanaim*; where there appeared a man who wreſtled with him till the morning, and not being able to prevail with him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, then deſired him to let him go ſince day appeared. *Jacob* was reſolved to have his bleſſing firſt; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with GOD. But when he was deſired to tell his own name, he refuſed it, and left him (D). *Jacob* therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of GOD, and when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his poſterity never eat of that joint[d]. And *Joſephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his poſterity ever ſince, did eat that part of any creature[e]; and though the text mentions only the ſinew that ſhrank; yet ſo ſcrupulous

He ſends ſome preſents to Eſau.

Jacob *is named* Iſrael *at* Peniel.

[d] Gen. xxxii. [e] Ant. l. 1. c. 20.

(D) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verſe, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been ſo far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, *viz. Eſau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to a better verſion of theſe words, if the original can bear us out in it: which it will do without the leaſt violence; or rather, by following the moſt ſtrict and literal ſenſe of it, which runs thus. *Thou haſt acted, or behaved, prince-like* (in thy wreſtling) *with* GOD, *and thou ſhalt alſo prevail over men.* And indeed, what could be more comfortable to *Jacob* in the ſtrait he was in, about meeting his brother *Eſau*, than ſuch a promiſe? or what can more naturally account for this viſion, than to ſuppoſe, that it happened unto him in order to diſpel his fears? Not that we need to confine the meaning of the wreſtling, or the ſenſe of the angel's words to the preſent dread and difficulties, which that patriarch laboured under; for his numerous poſterity was to be no leſs ſubject to the hatred and perſecutions of other nations: nothing therefore could be more proper to ſtrengthen his and his childrens faith and reliance in GOD, than this prophetick viſion and promiſe, that as he had now wreſtled with GOD and prevailed, ſo he ſhould likewiſe in the numberleſs difficulties, which both he and they ſhould meet with from their enemies. This verſion is likewiſe more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the *Septuagints*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou haſt been thus far able to prevail with* GOD, *how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!*

This myſterious wreſtling has indeed induced ſome of the ancient fathers to think, it was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual, and not actual ſenſe (173): which they conclude from the words of the Apoſtle (174), *we wreſtle not againſt flesh and blood*; and ſome *Jews* do think, that it was done in a dream (175); and that his halting was either occaſioned by wearineſs, the cold of the night, or the poſture he ſlept in. But beſides that the fear of his brother gave him but little inclination to ſleep; the circumſtances of the ſtory, the impoſition of a new name, and above all, the teſtimony of the prophet *Hoſea* (176), who ſays, *he had power over the angel, and prevailed, that he wept and prayed unto him*, ſeem to make it more than a dream, if it was not a real and corporeal wreſtling. As to the perſon who wreſtled with *Jacob*, ſome have believed it to have been an angel, only becauſe *Hoſea* calls him by that name in the place above quoted; whereas when it is GOD, or CHRIST, that appears like one, he is diſtinguiſhed by the angel of the covenant, or ſome other word (177). But what follows in the very next verſe of the prophet plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the* LORD GOD *of hoſts.* That it was GOD who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his ſaying, *I am the* GOD *of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of ancient and modern authors is, that it was CHRIST who wreſtled with *Jacob* here. 1. Becauſe he bleſſed him; and 2. Becauſe *Jacob* ſays, *I have ſeen* GOD *face to face, &c.* and called the place *Peniel* (179). As for what is ſaid, that he could not prevail, it might be an expreſſion *ad captum*; as when he ſays to *Moſes, let me alone, that I may, &c.* (180). This *Peniel* became afterwards a city of ſome note; for we find, that *Gideon* pulled down one of its towers, becauſe they had denied him bread (181); but it was afterwards rebuilt by *Jeroboam* (182). *Joſephus* ſays, that he likewiſe built a palace there; it ſtood by the river *Jordan*, and belonged to the tribe of *Gad* (183). *Strabo* mentions a city adjoining to *Tripolis*, which was called the face of GOD, at one end of mount *Libanus* (184).

(173) HIERON. *qu. Hebr.* ORIG. *& al.* (174) *Epheſ. vi.* 12. (175) R. LEVI *l.* 1. *& al.* (176) *Hoſ xii.* 4. (177) PERRER. *in loc. & al.* (178) *Gen. xxxi.* 13. (179) TERTUL. *lib.* 2. *cont.* MERCION. HILAR. *de Trin. l.* 4. AMBR. *de fid. l.* 6. CHRYSOST. *in cap.* 7. ACTOR. *& al.* CALV. MERC. JUN. *& al. mult.* (180) *Exod. xxxii.* 10. (181) *Judges viii.* 17. (182) 1 *Kings xii.* 25. (183) JOS. *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 3. (184) STRABO *l.* 16.

lous have ſome of the *Jews* been even to this day, that, for want of knowing which it was, they abſtain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, leſs nice, abſtain only from the thigh; and ſome again will eat even that, and content themſelves with plucking the ſinew out of it [f]. Some think, that *Jacob*'s lameneſs was ſoon over; others, that he halted all his life. However that be, this new viſion gave him ſuch freſh courage for the preſent, that he marched on chearfully till he had overtaken his family.

Meets with his brother Eſau.

IT was not long before he met his brother afar off, coming towards him with his large retinue, at which he could not forbear betraying ſome freſh tokens of diſtruſt. To prepare therefore for the worſt, he divided his family into three bands; the two maids and their ſons went firſt, *Leah* and her children next, and *Rachel* and *Joſeph*, who was then about ſix years of age, followed in the rear, as fartheſt from danger. As ſoon as he ſaw his brother, he bowed himſelf ſeven times down to the ground before him, who, being moved with his ſubmiſſive behaviour, ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and wept over him (E). And ſeeing his wives and children, who not to be wanting in their reſpect to him, did proſtrate themſelves before him, one after another, in the ſame order in which *Jacob* had diſpoſed them; and being informed who they were, returned their civilities with the ſame tenderneſs that he had his brother's. He now began to chide him in a civil manner, for ſending him ſuch great preſents, and to deſire him to take them back, alledging, that it was ſuperfluous to him, who had enough of every thing; but *Jacob* begged ſo earneſtly that he would accept of them, that he at length prevailed. *Eſau* offered afterwards to accompany him to the end of his journey, or at leaſt to leave a ſufficient number of his men to guard him; but he begged to be excuſed from conſenting to either, ſeeing he was forced to go gently on, by reaſon of his little ones, and the cattle that were with young: upon which his brother took his leave and went away for mount *Seir* * ; and *Jacob* ſeeing himſelf rid of all his fears, ſtopp'd at a convenient place, to which he gave the name of *Succoth*, or *Booths*, by reaſon of the booths and folds he made there for his camels and cattle; he likewiſe built himſelf a houſe there. This *Succoth* became afterwards a city of ſome ſtrength, and *Gideon* did ſeverely puniſh ſome of its chief inhabitants, for their ſaucy anſwer to him, when he was in purſuit of the *Midianites* [g]. It was ſituate between the brook *Jabboc* and the river *Jordan*. From *Succoth* he went to *Salem* (F), a place near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where he bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, the father of *Shechem* for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there

Jacob ſtopp'd ſome time at Succoth.

[f] CALM. Hiſt. O. T. in loc. * Vid. ſup. p. 307. [g] Gen. xxxiii. p. tot. Judg. viii. 13. & ſeqq

(E) The *Mazorites* and *Cabaliſts* obſerve, that there is a large point over the word וישקהו *Vaiſhakehu, and he kiſſed him*, which implies, that he did not deſign to kiſs his brother, but to bite him; for the word ſignifies alſo to bite; but that *Jacob*'s neck was immediately turned into marble. Wherefore the text ſays, they both wept, he for the odd change in his neck, and *Eſau* becauſe he had almoſt broke his teeth againſt it, and that this prevented his wicked deſign againſt his brother (185). But it is more than probable, that *Iſaac* and *Rebecca* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's abſence, that what *Jacob* and ſhe had done, was by order of GOD himſelf, who had decreed the inverſion of the ſucceſſion before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime, for him to oppoſe himſelf againſt the decrees of providence; and that, inſtead of recovering his brother's bleſſing, he would bring a terrible curſe upon his own head: by which, and other ſuch like arguments, they had wholly perſuaded him to acquieſce in the divine will, and to ſet aſide all animoſity againſt *Jacob*.

(F) We have here followed the *Engliſh* verſion, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *ſafe* and *ſound*, or *peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*: for the word *Salem*, or rather *Shalem*, bears that ſignification; and there are no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. For this reaſon ſome have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whoſe palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. *Jerom*'s time; which ſhewed it, he ſays, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the ſame with *Salem* here ſpoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was ſo near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salem* where *John the Baptiſt* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a diſtance from it. Beſides *Joſephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the ſame as *Jeruſalem* (189). And the *Pſalmiſt* ſeems to intimate the ſame, when he ſays *at Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the *Salem* near *Shechem* was near thirty miles from *Jeruſalem*. Others have ſought for *Salem* in *Shiloh*, which is about half way between *Jeruſalem* and *Shechem*, and have

(185) BERESHITH RABBAH *in loc.* MAZOR. *in loc.* (186) *Gen. xiv.* 18. (187) HIERON. *quæſt. Hebr.* (188) *John iv.* 5. (189) ANT. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. (190) Pſal. lxxxvi. 2.

there (G), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El Elhoe Iſrael*, or the mighty GOD of *Iſrael* [i]. This was in all likelihood the ſame place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, ſoon after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan* [i]. And here alſo was probably *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria* [k]; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the *Shechemites* [l]. *Buys a piece of ground near* Shechem.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long enough peaceably and agreeably, being beloved and reſpected by all that people, had not *Dinah*'s curioſity of viſiting the women of the city, ſome ſay, to ſee one of their feaſts [m], proved the cauſe of much miſchief, and obliged her father to withdraw from that place nearer to *Mamre*, where his
b father ſtill lived †. *Shechem*, the ſon of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was prince of that country, ſaw her, became in love with her, raviſhed her, and ſent her home to her father, with the greateſt aſſurances of marriage, if *Jacob*'s conſent could be as eaſily obtained as that of his father *Hamor*. *Dinah* told her miſhap to her father, who was forced to bear it patiently for the preſent; becauſe his ſons were all out in the field. But as ſoon as they were come home, and made acquainted with it, their reſentment grew to ſuch a height, that they reſolved ſeverely to revenge the diſhonour done to their family. In the mean time *Shechem* having prevailed upon his father to obtain him the damſel, *Hamor* went with him to make the propoſal of it to her father, and promiſed to give her as large a dowry as he ſhould deſire;
c adding, that if his family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it might prove the moſt effectual means for both to live in perfect peace and friendſhip. But the treacherous ſons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody revenge, replied, that it was not lawful for them to contract any affinity with any uncircumciſed nation; but that, if he and his people would conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, they would agree to his propoſal. The ſequel ſhews, that they deſigned nothing leſs. For the prince, having acquainted his people with the whole matter, did eaſily perſuade them to accept the conditions, ſince it would give them a power over all their ſubſtance and riches. *Shechem* was no doubt very preſſing to have the ceremony of circumciſion performed out of hand, that he might the
d ſooner enjoy his deſires, and, in complaiſance to him, the whole city agreed to go about it that very day. Three days after this, when their wounds had rendered them incapable to ſtand in their own defence, *Simeon* and *Levi*, *Dinah*'s brothers, entered the city, and put all the males to the ſword, and brought their ſiſter back. After this they went and plundered the place, took all the women captives, and carried away all the cattle they found in the neighbourhood. When *Jacob* came to hear of this barbarous exploit, he was extreamly diſpleaſed at it. He reproved them for it, told them the dangerous conſequences, that muſt inevitably attend ſuch a treacherous action, which he thought muſt end in the deſtruction of himſelf and family. And indeed we need not doubt, but the reſt of the inhabitants of that country might, and would, eaſily have made his words good, had not GOD interpoſed, and ſent a pannick fear amongſt them, inſomuch that they did even let them

Shechem's *amour with* Dinah.

Year of the Flood, 1267. Year before Chriſt, 1732.

Hamor *demands her in marriage for his ſon.*

Jacob's *ſons treachery.*

They enter the city, and deſtroy all the males, &c.

[i] Judg. viii. 13. & ſeqq. [i] Gen. xii. 7. Annal. USSER. p. 9. CALM. Hiſt. O. T. 205. VILLET. & al. [k] John iv. 6. & ſeqq. [l] Judg. ix. 7. [m] Jos. Ant. l. 1. c. 21. † Vid. ſup. p. 329.

have thought that they were the ſame (191). But, beſides, that *Shiloh* is not near *Shechem*, it is plain from *Judges* (192), that they were two diſtinct places: wherefore, upon the whole we think, that *Salem* ſhould here be rendered *ſafe*, or *in peace*; namely, from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother *Eſau*, and not becauſe he was cured of his lameneſs, as the *Jews* imagine.

(G) The word *Keſhitah* קשיטה which is here rendered *a piece of money*, ſignifies alſo *a lamb*; from whence *Onkelos* (193), the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it an hundred lambs, as they have alſo that place in *Job*, where every one of his friends gave him a *Keſhitah*; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater ſervice to him in the condition he was in. All the *Jewiſh* Interpreters, except *Onkelos* above-named, render it by the word מעה (194), which ſignifies a piece of money of about the value of a penny, and tell us, that the *Arabians* called money *Keſhitah* (195). It is more probable therefore, that it was a ſmall coin that had a lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an *Angel* from the ſtamp it bears of one. As for thoſe who think that this price was hardly ſufficient to purchaſe ſuch a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve ſhillings (196), they ſhould conſider, that if a lamb in thoſe days was worth no more than five farthings or three halfpeece, which is probable enough, money then bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred ſuch pieces of money.

(191) *Vid.* VILLET. *c.* 33. (192) *Judg. xxi.* 19. (193) TARG. ONKEL. *in loc.* (194) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* (195) *Ap.* VILLET. (196) LE SCENE's *Eſſay on a new tranſlation, p.* 166.

them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the ſlaughtered *Shechemites*. However, all the anſwer *Jacob*'s ſons made to him was, why did he uſe our ſiſter like a harlot [n]?

Jacob is bid to go and dwell at Bethel.

HOWEVER, GOD was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears once more, by ſpeaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him, when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. *Jacob* therefore unwilling to prophane that holy place, by carrying with him any thing that might be diſpleaſing to GOD, ordered his family to bring all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan-Aram*, if his wife's were not among them, to purify themſelves even to the very changing of their garments, and to bury all their ſuperſtitious lumber in a deep hole, which he cauſed to be made under an oak near to *Schechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they uſed to wear as taliſmans, or charms, againſt ſickneſs and other misfortunes [o]. After which *Jacob* and his whole family ſet out with all they had, and arrived ſafely at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*: none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to purſue after them. As ſoon as he came there, he built an altar to GOD, and called it *El Bethel*, or the GOD of *Bethel*: ſoon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurſe (H), died, and was buried under an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon Bachuth*, or the oak of mourning. He made but a ſhort ſtay at *Bethel*, being deſirous to go to viſit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not ſeen ſince he went to *Meſopotamia*: but as he was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a ſmall diſtance from the place, and perceiving that it would coſt her her life, called the child *Ben-oni*, or the ſon of my affliction; but after ſhe was dead *Jacob* changed that name, too likely perhaps to revive his grief for her loſs, into that of *Benjamin*, or the ſon of my right-hand. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, and a ſtone monument was reared over the grave, which was ſtill to be ſeen in *Moſes*'s time. This was not the only misfortune *Jacob* met with in this place: for his ſon *Reuben*, having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine and *Rachel*'s maid, did not ſcruple to lie with her: which, when his father heard, made ſo deep an impreſſion in his heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day [p]. Soon after this *Jacob* left that melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, to his old father *Iſaac*, with whom he continued almoſt the ſpace of thirteen years, ſome ſay nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old, having been almoſt blind and decrepid a conſiderable number of years (I). His two ſons buried him in the cave of *Machphelah*, with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Eſau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre* [q].

Deborah *dies.*

Their Idols buried.

Rachel *brought to bed of* Benjamin.

Dies, and is buried at Ephrath.

Reuben's *inceſt.*

Iſaac *dies, and is buried by his two ſons.*

HOWEVER, the happineſs which *Jacob* had enjoyed, during his ſtay with his father, had not been without ſome allay. *Joſeph* was about ſeventeen years of age, and was become his darling, in regard of his excellencies of body and mind; beſides

[n] Gen. xxxiv. p. tot. [o] See CALMET. Comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4. [p] Gen. xlix. 4. [q] Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

(H) It is not eaſy to gueſs, how ſo very old a woman as *Rebecca*'s nurſe muſt then be, ſhould be found in his retinue, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was ſent by *Iſaac* to enquire after *Jacob*'s welfare. *Calvin* and others indeed think, that ſhe went with him into *Meſopotamia*, having a deſire to ſee her own country again, and that when ſhe heard, that he was gone for the land of *Canaan*, her deſire to ſee *Rebecca* made her follow him thither; but it is unlikely, that a woman at her years ſhould take ſuch rambles: For if we ſuppoſe her to have been forty years old when ſhe was taken in to be *Rebecca*'s nurſe (and leſs than that ſhe could hardly be, ſeeing ſhe was not taken to ſuckle her, but to bring her up as a Governante), ſhe muſt have been near an hundred and ſeventy years old when ſhe died. The *Hebrews* tell us, that *Rebecca* having promiſed her ſon, when he was going from her, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found that he was out of danger, did now ſend *Deborah* to fetch him back; but, beſides that a younger meſſenger would have been more proper; it is certain *Jacob* was not ſent for, but called by GOD, and drove by *Laban*'s cruel uſage out of that country.

(I) The *Jews* tell us, that the maſters who taught *Iſaac* the law of GOD were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were ſtill living; and that when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriah* to ſacrifice him there, he told *Sarah*, that he was going with him to the ſchool of *Shem* (197). They likewiſe attribute to him the compoſing of the noon-prayers which they conſtantly uſe: for they think *Abraham* was the author of thoſe of the morning, and *Jacob* of thoſe of the evening, and *Iſaac* of thoſe of noon *.

(197) SCHABAT. ARCHIV. *Vet. Teſt. l. 2. p.* 197. * FABRIC. *Apocryph. Vet. Teſt.* 434.

ſides, his father had obſerved ſomething extraordinary and promiſing in him, beyond what he could ſee in his other ſons, which made him ſo exceſſively fond of him (K), that it procured him the envy of all his brothers. What encreaſed it ſtill more was, that *Joſeph* having obſerved ſome vile actions in the ſons of *Bilhah* and *Zilphah*, with whom his father had ſent him to feed the ſheep, in hopes, that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himſelf helped to compleat their envy, or rather, to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them ſome dreams he had, which ſeemed to foreſhew, that he ſhould one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he ſaw in a wheat-field his own ſheaf ſtanding upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he ſaw the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, doing the like obeiſance to him. This laſt he likewiſe told to his father, who, though he could not perhaps but be delighted with it, and think it ſignificative of ſome great fortune that would attend him; yet obſerving, with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him ſeverely before them, aſking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themſelves to the earth to him? But this rather helped to encreaſe their hatred againſt him, and made them reſolve to contrive his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered itſelf to them. *Jacob* being uneaſy, that he had not heard from them for ſome time, ſince they were gone to *Shechem* with their flocks, and fearing leſt ſome ill luck had befallen them, ſent *Joſeph* to enquire after them. When he came thither, he was told that they were removed further off, about twenty miles further north towards *Dudaim*. He went after them, and they no ſooner ſaw him, but they all agreed to make away with the dreamer, as they called him, and to make their father believe, that ſome wild beaſt had devoured him. They had certainly executed their bloody deſign, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief, which the news of his death would cauſe to their aged father, had not *Reuben* diſſuaded them from imbruing their hands in his Blood, and adviſed them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or deſire to make him die a more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit, and, as if they had performed ſome noble exploit, they ſat down to eat and to drink. In the interim a troop of *Iſhmaelites* happening to paſs by, with ſpices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*, *Judah* perſuaded his brethren to ſell him to them, ſince his death would do them no more ſervice, than his being carried down into *Egypt* †. His project was approved, and *Joſeph* was ſold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whoſe deſign was to have got him out of the pit, and to have ſent him back privately to his father. The ſurpriſe and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced ſuch complaints from him, that they ſoon underſtood what his deſign had been. They took therefore the more care that he ſhould not know what was become of him. Soon after this, having dipped his party-coloured coat, which they had ſtripped him of, in ſome kids blood, they ſent it home to their father; who no ſooner ſaw it, than he ſuppoſed that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by ſome wild beaſt. He took his ſuppoſed loſs ſo to heart, that he did not ceaſe mourning for him, 'till he heard the ſurprizing news of his advancement in *Egypt* [r] (L), where *Joſeph* happened to be ſold to an officer

Joſeph beloved by his father.

Heated by his brethren.

His two dreams.

He is ſold, and carried down into Egypt.

[r] Gen. xxxvii. p. tot. † Vid. ſup. p. 301. a.

(K) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joſeph*, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age, whereas he had two ſons younger than he, *viz.* *Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this laſt was born above fifteen years after him. It ſeems they have confounded the words בן זקנים *Ben Zekenim*, the ſon of ſenators or elders, as he is called here, with בן זקנה *Ben Ziknah*, the ſon of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it ſignifying, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the ſon or diſciple of ſenators; that is, becauſe he was endued with extraordinary wiſdom and prudence. Accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Perſic*, and *Arabic* verſions have rendered it, *becauſe he was a wiſe and prudent ſon*; though even this comes ſhort of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly tranſlated, *becauſe he was as wiſe and prudent as a ſenator*. And as it is natural for parents, eſpecially fathers, to admire thoſe children that ſhew any degree of wiſdom above their years, ſo *Jacob* had a great deal of reaſon to ſhew a more than ordinary love for ſuch a ſon; whereas to be fond of a child of old age, had *Joſeph* been even ſuch, is but a common piece of dotage, which *Moſes* would hardly have thought worth recording (198).

(L) *Juſtin* in epitome of *Trogus* makes mention of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt* by his brethren, who

(198) *Vid.* Le Scene's *Eſſay*.

Sold there to Potiphar:

officer of the king's guard, named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joseph* shewed such diligence and integrity, and proved so successful in all he undertook, that his master soon took notice of him, and committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been about ten years in *Potiphar*'s house, when his extraordinary beauty and comeliness began to inflame his mistress's heart, and she, not being over-nice in such matters, made no difficulty to disclose the secret to him, in such plain terms as would force a direct answer from him. But how great was her surprize, when, instead of the chearful compliance she probably expected, she found herself denied, and severely reprimanded for her disloyal passion! However, being willing to hope, that another opportunity might prove more favourable, after several fruitless attempts, she laid hold on one when all the family was abroad, and accosted him in so passionate and violent a manner, as gave him to understand, that she would not bear any further denial. *Joseph*, thinking it safer to leave her than to stay and expostulate with her, was forced to leave his upper garment behind, which she held so fast that he could not get it out of her hands. This last affront so enraged her, that she resolved his immediate ruin. She began with setting up a most horrid out-cry, which soon brought in all the people that were within the hearing of it, then, shewing them *Joseph*'s cloak, she told them, that he had made so furious an attempt to ravish her, that nothing but her loud cries could have delivered her from him. By that time her spouse came home, she had drest up her story so well, and made such use of the dumb witness she had torn from him, that she was easily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved him less than he did, it is probable, he would have sacrificed him that minute to his resentment; but he contented himself for the present with sending him into the king's prison[f], where we shall leave him for a while, to take a view of what passed in his father's family.

Is solicited to an amour by his mistress.

His refusal makes her accuse him.

He is sent to prison.

Judah's *marriage with a* Canaanite. Er's *death.*

NOT long after *Joseph* had been sold into *Egypt*, *Judah* happened to marry the Daughter of a *Canaanite*, whose name was *Shuah*, by whom he had three sons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedness, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his second son *Onan* to take her, according to the custom of that country, and to raise a posterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed seemingly, but, not brooking the thoughts that his children should be esteemed his brothers's, took such a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar*'s having any by him, that GOD was provoked to punish him with death also (O). *Judah* therefore

Onan's *sin and death.*

[f] Gen. xxxix. p. tot.

who envied the excellency of his wit; and having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(M) It may not be improper to observe here, that though the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX render it, and the *Jews* fancy; some of whom think, that he was not so thoroughly castrated, but that some of the strings being left might make him desire a wife (200); for though the *Hebrew* word סרים *Saris* doth properly signify an eunuch, yet is often used to signify an officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's person. He is also called שר טבחים *Sar Tabachim*, which in its primitive meaning signifies the prince of the butchers, from *Tabach*, which signifies to kill, slaughter, or what is best express'd by the *French* word *Egorger*. For which reason some have rendered it the prince of the cooks (201). But, as the matter is of no great importance, we have followed the *English* version, which agrees in this with the generality of interpreters (202).

(N) It is not easy to guess at what time *Judah* had these three sons by this *Canaanitish* woman; and if we take the words in the original, *at that time*, in a strict sense, as if it happened about the time that *Joseph* was sold, he must have been too young; being but twenty two years of age; for *Joseph* was seventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth son of *Leah*, and he and *Joseph* both born within the compass of seven years. So that the most that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before *Joseph* was sold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the story of his son's marriage and death, and the business of *Tamer*, happened during the twenty years that *Joseph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moses* relates all these events in the chapter preceding that, which gives an account of his disgrace and imprisonment, it is most probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the story of those two brothers too much, and so has made an end of *Judah*'s adventures before he went on with those of *Joseph*. Neither need we think strange, that *Judah* and his sons should marry so young, since we have other instances in scripture of the like nature; such as that of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*'s father, who was but eleven years old when he was born; for *Ahaz* was but thirty six when he died, and his son was twenty five when he began to reign (203), though he was his immediate successor. And if a prince in those latter days could have a child at that age, much more might they that lived in *Judah*'s time.

(O) Though *Onan*'s sin was in itself great enough, yet it is very probable that it was aggravated with a worse circumstance; *viz.* his having an eye to the suppressing of the MESSIAH's coming,

(199) JUSTIN. *l.* 36. *c.* 2. (200) D. KIMCHI & *al.* (201) *Vid.* MERCER. JUN. & *al.* (202) JOSEPH. *Philo*, *Ambr.* & *al.* (203) 2 *Kings* xvi. 2. *Ibid. c.* xviii. 2.

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a fore bid her remain a widow in her father's houſe, 'till his third ſon was grown old enough to ſupply his brother's place; but when ſhe ſaw that time come, and that he neglected to ſend for her, as indeed he never deſigned it, leſt *Shelah* ſhould meet with the fate of his two brothers, ſhe reſolved to make herſelf amends by ſome other way, which ſhe effected by the following ſtratagem.

JUDAH had buried his wife about this time, and was ſtill young enough to feel the want of her. As ſoon therefore as the uſual days of mourning were over, it being then the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſheering, he reſolved to try whether that diverſion might allay his grief. He took an intimate friend with him, and went up to *Timnath*, the place where the ſheerers were at work. In the mean while *Tamar* hear-

b ing of it, reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſet on work her deſign. She put off her widow's garments, and dreſſing herſelf like a curtezan, and throwing her veil over her face (P), ſet herſelf between the two ways that lead to *Timnath*, through one of which ſhe knew her father-in-law muſt needs paſs.

(Q) JUDAH no ſooner ſpied her, but thinking her to be what ſhe appeared, began to make his addreſſes to her, and ſhe inſiſting only upon a reward for her compliance, he promiſed her to ſend her a kid, and at her deſire left her his ſeal, his bracelet, and ſtaff, as a pledge for it. The intrigue being over, *Judah* ſent his friend *Adullam*, for that was his name, with the kid, to redeem the pledges, but in vain, for ſhe was gone home; neither did the men of the place, of whom he en-

c quired, know any thing of ſuch a woman plying there. He went to *Judah* and told him his ill ſucceſs, who, fearing to be expoſed for his amour, anſwered his friend, let her keep the pledges, as long as I have performed my promiſe to her, as you yourſelf will bear me witneſs. *Judah and Tamar.*

BUT the matter was not ſo indifferent as he thought. Some months after word was brought to him, that his daughter-in-law had proved diſloyal, and was certainly with child. *Judah*, though glad at the news, becauſe her death would free him from his promiſe of giving his ſon *Shelah* to her, pretended to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and, ordering her to be brought forth, condemned her to be burnt according to the laws of the country. *Tamar*, inſtead of being ſur- *Tamar with child.* *Condemned to be burnt,*

d prized at the dreadful ſentence which he had pronounced againſt her (R), produced

coming, ſince he ſhould not have the honour to be numbered among his anceſtors (204), which might provoke GOD to cut him off. As for the ſin of his elder brother, it is thought to have been the ſame with *Onan*'s, but committed with a different view; that *Tamar* might not ſpoil her beauty and ſhape by bearing of children; but this is only a rabinic conjecture.

(P) The text ſays, that *Judah* thought her to be a harlot, becauſe ſhe had covered her face. From whence ſome have fancied, that ſhe had covered it with paint; but theſe are ſufficiently reproved and confuted by *Abenezra* (205). Others think that the veil over the face was the ſign of a harlot (206); but whether they were ſo ſhame-faced in thoſe days or not, it ſeems rather, that ſhe had veiled herſelf that *Judah* might not know her What therefore made him think her to be a curtezan, was her ſitting alone in ſuch a conſpicuous place; for ſo the original may be rendered. If it be aſked, how ſhe could prevent her voice from betraying her, all that can be ſaid is, either that ſhe had an art of altering it ſo as not to be known, as ſome people have, or, which is more probable, that *Judah* was ſo hot in purſuit of his pleaſure, that it did not permit him to make any reflection about it. *Vid.* our next note.

(Q) It ſeems by this action of *Tamar*, that ſhe had obſerved ſomething of this propenſity to women in him, whilſt ſhe lived with his two ſons, elſe it is not probable, that ſuch a project ſhould come into her head, neither would ſhe have appeared ſo ſure of the ſucceſs, as ſhe ſeems to have been by the ſequel. However, it is plain, that it was neither the virtue, nor ſanctity of the twelve patriarchs, that recommended them to the favour of GOD, but his covenant with *Abraham*, and the glorious deſigns of his providence on their poſterity. And this is what *Moſes* told the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs in more places than one (207).

(R) Some think, that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the *Canaanites*, in whoſe country they dwelt, would give a ſtranger ſuch a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that ſhe ſhould be brought before a court of judicature, and ſentenced according to the laws of the country. However, whether judge or proſecutor, 'tis certain he acted like an unrighteous one; for *Tamar* could not be juſtly accuſed of adultery, which alone condemned her to be burnt, unleſs it were becauſe he had betrothed her to his ſon *Shelah*, by the promiſe he made her to marry her to him (otherwiſe it was lawful for widows to ſeek their fortune elſewhere, as appears by what *Naomi* ſaid to her two daughters-in-law) (208). It was moreover an inhuman thing to put a woman to death before ſhe was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with reſpect to children, whom they uſed to expoſe when they thought fit, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerneſs to be rid of her, made him ſpeak more unadviſedly than he would have done, had ſhe been a more indifferent

(204) *Vid.* ALIX. *in Pentat.* (205) ABENEZRA *in loc.* (206) JUN. CALV. & *al. in loc.* (207) *Deut. paſſ.* (208) *Ruth i.* 9. (209) ÆLIAN. *l.* 5.

ced the pledges he had left with her, and told him, that she was got with child by
but absolved. the owner of them. Whereupon *Judah*, in a confusion and surprize, owned, that she was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in withholding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched
A strange birth. her from that time. When her full time was come she brought forth twins; but the manner of their being born was something surprizing; for one of them put forth his hand, about which the midwife tied a scarlet thread, expecting him to come out the first: but when he withdrew his hand, and his brother shewed him the way into the world, his mother called him *Phares*, or breach, by reason of the breach he had made between his brother and him; and the other was called *Zarah*[t].

Joseph. JOSEPH in the mean while was got into such favour with the keeper of the prison, that he entrusted him with the care of all the prisoners. Two of them, men of some distinction, *viz.* *Pharaoh*'s chief butler and baker, being very sad and thoughtful one morning about a dream which each of them had, *Joseph*, being informed of the cause and the dream, gave each of them its particular interpre-
Dreams of two prisoners explained. tation, telling them also the precise time when they should see them fulfilled. Accordingly three days after the butler was restored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joseph* took this opportunity of addressing himself to the former, and to beg his assistance and interest to get him out of prison, telling him at the same time, how he had been sold out of his country, and falsly accused by his mistress, and what else he thought proper to move him to comply with his request.

BUT the butler, being got at liberty and restored to his place, never remembered his fellow prisoner for two whole years, till a remarkable accident forced him as it were to call him to mind. The king his master had had two very frightful and portentous dreams in one night, the meaning of which he had in vain enquired of all his *Egyptian* wisemen, none of whom could give him the least light into them. The uneasiness which appeared in *Pharaoh*'s countenance, and the search he ordered to be made for some more learned interpreters, did soon make our courtier recollect what *Joseph* had foretold him in the prison. He went therefore instantly to the king, and, after an humble apology for his ingratitude and forgetfulness, acquainted him, that two years before there was an *Hebrew* youth in prison with him, who had interpreted his and the baker's dream with a more than ordinary exactness, and seemed to have a much greater talent that way, than all the wisemen that had been hitherto consulted. *Pharaoh* was too eager to be satisfied about his own, not to send immediately for *Joseph*, who, having washed and shaved himself, and changed his cloaths, was forthwith introduced to his majesty. He no sooner appeared than the king told him his dreams, and promised him a considerable reward if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed, that he had seen seven lusty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; soon after which seven others lean and ill-favoured ones came and devoured them; and yet did neither look the fatter
Pharaoh's *two dreams interpreted by* Joseph. or bigger for it. His second dream was much of the same kind, *viz.* seven full ears of corn devoured by seven blasted ones. *Joseph* answered the king with his usual modesty, that the seven cows and seven ears signified the same thing; that the dream being repeated was only a sign, that the thing was to happen immediately after. That the seven fat cows and seven full ears signified seven years of excessive plenty, which would nevertheless be quite forgotten in the seven succeeding years of famine, signified by the seven lean cows and blasted ears. He thereupon advised the king

Year of the Flood, 1284. Year before Christ, 1715.

[t] Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

ent person. However, it is plain, that *Josephus* looked upon all the transactions mentioned in this chapter to be so little for the credit of *Judah* and his sons, that he has suppressed them all. This is one, though far from the only one, of the instances we told the reader of in a former note, of his suppressing any thing that cast a reflexion on his nation †: the rest will come in course.

(S) Our translation has rendered the expression, which *Joseph* uses to the butler and the baker, *shall lift up thy head*, too literally, since they imply that they would both have the same fate; whereas it is plain they proved vastly different. The words in the original mean, that in three days *Pharaoh* would have them brought forth and examined; for the word here rendered *lift up the head*, signifies to *muster*, to call *to an account*, and *to take the sum* of any thing; and the sequel shews this to have been the true meaning, since, after such examination, the one was hanged, and the other re-instated. It seems therefore probable by the expression here used, that they had been suspected, or accused, of cheating the king, and that when their accounts had been examined and cast up, the one was found guilty, and the other cleared.

† Vid. sup. p. 443.

a king to appoint a wiſe and expert man over his whole kingdom, who ſhould take care to build granaries, and ſet officers in every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the ſeven plentiful years, againſt the ſucceeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him, were ſurprized at the wiſdom of this young ſtranger, who was then but thirty years old, and concluded, that he was the fitteſt perſon to be ſet over the kingdom, and to put his propoſal in execution. He was there- *Joſeph's advancement and glory.*
upon made maſter and overſeer of *Pharaoh*'s houſe; and orders were given, that he ſhould be obeyed in all things, as if it had been *Pharaoh* himſelf. The king ſtop-
ped not here, but took his ſignet off his finger and gave it to him, cauſed him to
b be cloathed in fine linnen, and put a golden chain about his neck, telling him, that he appointed him ſuper-intendant over the whole kingdom, and the next unto him-
ſelf in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnath-paaneah*, which ſignifies *a revealer of ſecrets* (T). And to compleat his happineſs, he gave him *His marriage.*
the daughter of *Potipherah*, prieſt, or prince of *On*, to wife (U); and made him ride in his ſecond chariot, while ſome men that ran before it cried, *bow the knee* (W).

Joſeph, being raiſed to this height of power, took a progreſs through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and in a word, ordered all things with ſuch prudence and application, that before the ſeven years of plenty were over, he found his ſtores filled above numbering. During this time he had two ſons born of his wife *Aſenath*; The firſt of whom he called *Manaſſeh*, Manaſſeh
c intimating, that GOD had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *and* Ephraim *born.*
Ephraim, becauſe GOD had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

THESE ſeven plentiful years were ſucceeded immediately by the ſeven years of fa- *The years of famine.*
mine, neither was the ſcarcity confined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As ſoon therefore as the *Egyp-
tians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied themſelves to *Pharaoh*, who commanded them to apply to *Joſeph*; upon which he immediately ordered his ſtores to be opened, and corn to be ſold to the people who flocked to him, not on-
ly from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries [u].

By this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing
d that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, ſent ten of his ſons thither to buy ſome,

[u] Gen. xii. p. tot.

(T) Theſe are not *Hebrew*, words, as ſome rabbies dream (210), who render it by הצפונות מגלה, for though the firſt word may be derived from צפן *Zaphan*, to hide; yet the original of *Paaneah* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* and others think, it ſignifies the SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is moſt probable, that it ſignifies the revealer of ſecrets, and is accordingly ſo rendered by moſt *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian expoſitors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that *Joſeph* ſhould be grown ſo great a courtier in ſo ſhort a time, as to have forgot his religion, eſpecially ſince we find him making ſo ample a profeſſion of it to his brothers ſeven years after (213); ſo neither is it probable, that he would have married the daughter of an uncircumciſed, whether prince, or prieſt. But it was not ſo with *Potipherah*, who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe ſo advantageous an alliance at any rate, and therefore might eaſily be induced by *Joſeph* to remove that only obſtacle, by becoming circumciſed. This was therefore a fair opportunity for him to introduce that ceremony among the *Egyptian* prieſts, which might afterwards be received alſo by the laity. However that be, we muſt not miſtake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatned with deſtruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* therefore was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolomy Onium* (215), diſtant about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis of the kingdom †. Neither muſt we confound this *Potipherah* with that to whom *Joſeph* has been ſold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two diſtinct perſons. 1. becauſe the names are differently written; the firſt *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherah*, or rather *Potipherangh*, ending with the letter ע (*Ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other prieſt, or prince, of *On*.

3. The former therefore muſt have his reſidence in the capital, to be always about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*: and laſtly, it is not likely, that *Joſeph* would have married his maſter's daughter, leſt ſhe ſhould have proved like her mother, whoſe incontinency he had ſo ſeverely ſmarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimki* excepted, unwilling to ſuppoſe, that ſo religious a man as *Joſeph* would ſuffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word אברך *Abrek*, and read it אב רך *Ab rak*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies tender father; by which they underſtand, that he was a father with reſpect of his conſummate wiſdom, and tender with reſpect of his years (217). And it is certain, that if the word be *Hebrew* it ſignifies both *bow the knee*, and tender father; but if it be *Egyptian*, we are to ſeek for the meaning of it. *Joſephus* ſays nothing of this circumſtance, probably, becauſe, for want of underſtanding the *Hebrew*, he was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it *bow the knee*.

(210) RAMBAM. (211) HIERON. *in loc.* EGUBIN, *&c.* (212) TARG. ONKEL. *in loc.* JOS. *Ant. l.* 2. *c.* 6. *LXX.* GROT. JUN. *in loc.* & *al.* (213) *Gen. xlii.* 18. (214) *Ezek. xxx.* 16. (215) *Vid.* HIERON. *loc. Hæbr.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 176. (216) AUGUST. *quæſt. in Gen. i.* 36. CHRYSOST. *Homil.* 63. *in Gen.* MERCER. JUN. MUSCUL. & *al.* (217) TARG. ONKEL. R. JEHUD. & *al.*

and kept only *Benjamin* with him. These, upon their arrival into *Egypt*, were directed to *Joseph*, whom they must apply to for an order; and as soon as they saw him they prostrated themselves before him, and begged, they might be supplied with some corn. *Joseph* knew them immediately, though he was so altered that they could not call him to mind: he put on a severe look, and in an angry tone asked them, whence they came? and upon their answering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being spies, who were come to discover the weakness of the land. Such an unexpected accusation forced them to justify themselves; they told him in the most submissive terms, that they were come with no other design than to buy corn for their family, which was very numerous, they being all one man's sons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, besides another who was now dead. This was what *Joseph* wanted, who in a surly commanding tone told them, that, unless one of them fetched this youngest son, whilst the rest were kept in safe custody, he would not be perswaded but that they were spies, and would punish them as such. To shew that he was in earnest, he sent them all to prison, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he sent for them, and putting on a milder face, said to them, *this do, and live*; *for I fear* GOD. Let one of you remain a prisoner with me, whilst the rest go home with provision for your family; and when you bring your youngest brother hither, he shall be delivered up safe, and you justified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his most zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and sent to prison, whilst he had the pleasure to hear them confess their inhumanity towards their brother, whose bitter cries had not been able to soften them to pity; acknowledging, that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact, little thinking who heard him, any more than his brethren; for *Joseph* spoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he dismissed them, not without contriving a fresh occasion of surprize to them after they were gone, having bid the officer, who was to fill their sacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the sacks. Accordingly, when they came to bait, and to give some provender to their beasts, they were not a little frighted to find all their money in their sacks, and failed not to make all the dismal reflections upon it, that their fear could suggest to them; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had done it, that he might have a pretence to enslave them at their next coming. As soon as they were got home they acquainted their father with all these adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his son *Simeon*, was much more so, when he found, that *Benjamin* must go down to redeem him. He withstood all their perswasions as long as he could [w], till, at length the famine increasing, and the provision being almost spent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite son for a time, promising to bring him safe back, or else to be answerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmost reluctancy that *Jacob* consented to this

Joseph's *brethren come to him for corn.*

Joseph's *rough behaviour to them.*

Simeon *kept bound.*

Their money returned.

[w] Gen. xlii. p. tot.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joseph*, from his being first brought into *Egypt* to his discovering himself to his brethren, having been very much canvassed and disapproved, it will not be amiss to enquire how far it deserves it, and how far it may be justified, even abstracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. First then, he is blamed for not having sent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was sold, not being above eighty miles at most from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be answered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would in all likelihood have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the first opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And secondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had fore-signified to him, it was by no means adviseable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjust usage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, savours of the rankest revenge: but it is plain, that if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it, in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for it: whereas it is plain he had a much better design in it, namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did †; or, 2. in order to inform himself of the state of his family, especially of his father and of his brother *Benjamin*; or lastly to make them relish his future kindness the better, by the rough usage they had met with before. The last, and indeed the most considerable thing he is blamed for is, his sending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour considered, would cause an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart: and if he refused to send him the whole family must starve at home, and *Simeon*

† *Gen. xlii.* 21 *& seqq.*

a this ſeparation, ſo he failed not to give his ſons the ſtricteſt charge about him, and to take all the proper meaſures for their ſafe return, and to gain the favour of the proud *Egyptian* lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready ſuch preſents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and having entreated heaven, not without abundance of tears, for their good ſucceſs, diſmiſſed them; little dreaming, what glorious news he ſhould hear at their return, to make him amends for his ſon's abſence. They no ſooner appeared before *Joſeph* with their brother *Benjamin*, but he commanded his ſteward to conduct them to his houſe, where he deſigned they ſhould dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themſelves to fear, began to ſuſpect, that ſome ill deſign was hatching to enſlave
b them, upon the account of the money which they had found in their ſacks. To prevent therefore, as much as they could, any quarrel ariſing upon that ſcore, they acquainted the ſteward with the whole affair before they entered the houſe; adding, that they had brought it back with them, with a new ſupply to buy ſome freſh proviſions. The ſteward, ſeeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehenſions about it, for they ſhould never be aſked for it again. He then brought them into the houſe, ordered them water to waſh their feet, and provender for their beaſts, and in the mean time he brought *Simeon* unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they ſet themſelves about making ready their pre-
c ſents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmoſt reverence, as ſoon as he came home. *Joſeph*, having ſaluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngeſt brother that ſtood before him. *Benjamin* bowed his head to the ground, and *Joſeph*, having bleſſed him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them ſit down by themſelves, and to be ſerved according to their rank and ſeniority, whilſt he ſat at a table by himſelf, and his *Egyptian* gueſts at another by themſelves; it being an abomination

Jacob's *preſents to* Joſeph.

Benjamin *and his brethren dine with* Joſeph.

Simeon remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, *Joſeph* had it ſtill in his power to have remedied it, ſince, if he had found, that his other brethren ſtayed longer than ordinary, he could but have ſent *Simeon* home with what meſſage and ſupply he pleaſed. But as for the other part of his behaviour, his cauſing *Jacob* to paſs ſo many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that ſo dear a ſon's abſence and danger could cauſe, it cannot eaſily be juſtified any other way than by ſuppoſing, that *Joſeph* did certainly foreſee what would happen, and that his father's grieving ſometime for *Benjamin* would be ſo far from endangering his health, that it would only encreaſe his joy when he ſaw him again, and give a greater reliſh to the news of his own advancement and ſucceſs in *Egypt*. Without this ſuppoſition, 'tis plain, ſuch a ſudden tranſition from an exceſs of ſorrow to one of joy, was of itſelf ſufficient to have deprived him of his life, or of his ſenſes.

(Y) It is to be feared the generality of our expoſitors have not been very happy in their tranſlation of ſome of the preſents which *Jacob* ſent into *Egypt*, which has induced ſome learned criticks of a later date (218) to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them, ſuch as the honey, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in *Egypt*, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of *Gilead*, and of great price all the world over. A ſmall quantity therefore of it was a preſent worth accepting; but as for roſin, or wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth ſending.

Bochart indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either roſin, or turpentine, rather than balm of *Gilead*; becauſe *Gilead* was on one ſide *Jordan*, and *Jacob* was then at ſome ſmall diſtance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be ſent for upon ſuch an occaſion. He adds indeed, that *Joſephus* affirms balm to have been unknown in *Judea*, till the Queen of *Sheba* brought ſome of it to *Solomon* from *Arabia Felix*: but *Joſephus* may be miſtaken. Beſides, how came *Gilead* to be ſo famous for it afterwards? The Queen hardly brought the trees there, and if *Solomon* had ſent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but whatever it was, 'tis plain, that roſin and turpentine could not be a preſent worth *Joſeph*'s acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the ancients, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, for a delicious food (219); but, unleſs that of *Canaan* was better than ordinary, it was hardly a preſent worth ſending to an *Egyptian* prime miniſter, ſince 'tis morally impoſſible, that country ſhould be without it. It is more likely therefore that they were dates, which are called by the ſame name (דבש *Debſh*) as the *Jewiſh* doctors obſerve, and which, when full ripe, yield a ſort of honey not much inferior to the other. The *Arabick* calls dates *Duboos*, and the honey of them *Dibo*, or *Dibis*, to this day; and it is plain, that *Judea* abounded in palm-trees of all ſorts, more eſpecially about *Jericho*, if we may believe *Joſephus* and *Pliny*. The next is what we tranſlate ſpices; but the *Hebrew* word נכאת *Nekoth* doth rather ſignify ſtorax than ſpices, being a precious aromatick gum, that was put into all precious ſpicy ointments (220). *Myr*, or as it is in the original לוט *Lot*, is rather the ſtacte, or ladanum, of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, the laſt name coming nearer the *Hebrew* word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypreſs-tree, and was one of the aromaticks in the perfume preſcribed by GOD to *Moſes* (221).

(218) BOCHART *paſſim.* LE SCENE's *Eſſay. Eſſay towards a new tranſlation of the Bible, and others.* (219) 1 *Sam. xiv.* 27. 2 *Sam. xvii.* 29. *Cant. v.* 9. HOMER *Iliad. λ. ℣.* 630. *Odyſſ. ν. ℣.* 69. SUETON. *de* NERON. *c.* 27. *& al.* (220) *Vid.* BOCHART *Hieroſoic. lib.* 4. *col.* 531, 532. (221) *Exod. xxx.* 34.

tion to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joseph*, according to the cu- a
ſtom of the country, and of thoſe times [x], ſent diſhes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little ſurprized to ſee how exactly he ſerved them according to their ſeniority; but much more ſo, when they ſaw *Benjamin*'s portion five times larger than any of the reſt, which was an uſual mark of honour to the perſon to whom it was ſent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs [y]; but *Joſeph* had yet one fright more in reſerve for them before he diſcovered himſelf.

Joſeph's *cup found in* Benjamin's *ſack.*

He bid his ſteward to put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin*'s ſack, and to overtake them at ſome diſtance off the city, and, after a thorough ſearch, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may eaſily b imagine their ſurprize and concern, when the ſilver cup was produced out of the ſack of their younger brother. They made all poſſible haſte to load their aſſes again, and returned to *Joſeph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindneſs and civility to them; which he concluded however with aſſuring them, that though he might juſtly puniſh them all, yet the perſon only upon whom the cup was found ſhould remain a ſlave, whilſt the reſt might go home in peace. After they had expreſſed their grief and ſhame in the humbleſt manner they were able, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, having recovered himſelf from his ſurprize, addreſſed himſelf to *Joſeph* in the moſt ſub-

Judah's *ſpeech to* Joſeph.

miſſive and pathetick terms. He acquainted him with his father's extreme fondneſs c for the lad, the great difficulty they had to perſuade the good old gentleman to part with him, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loſs of him. He likewiſe offered himſelf at the ſame time as an equivalent for his brother, with ſuch zeal and concern, that *Joſeph* was no longer able to contain himſelf. His [z] bowels

Joſeph *diſcovers himſelf.*

began to yearn, and his tears to flow ſo faſt, that he was forced to ſend all the by-ſtanders away, whilſt he made himſelf known to his brothers. He no ſooner had told them, that he was *Joſeph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all ſtruck with ſuch mixture of joy and ſurprize for a conſiderable time, that they could make him no anſwer; neither did d they dare even to look towards him, to convince themſelves whether it was really he or an illuſion. By this time *Joſeph* having recovered himſelf, deſired them to draw nearer unto him; he embraced them all round with a ſurprizing tenderneſs, and to diſpel all their further apprehenſions, he told them, that their ſelling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unſeen providence, and proved the means of ſo much good both to himſelf, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be ſo far from reſenting it, that they ſhould never hear it ſo much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilſt this was doing, ſome of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter, went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that *Joſeph*'s bre-

Pharaoh's *orders to* Joſeph.

thren were come to buy corn. *Joſeph* had no deſign to make a ſecret of it, when e he ſent the *Egyptians* out of the room; he only wanted to be without witneſſes whilſt he diſcovered himſelf to them, diſſipated their fears, acquainted them with his good fortune, and tried to perſuade them to bring his father down with all their families and cattle; ſeeing there were yet five years of famine to come, during which the earth would hardly return the ſeed it had received. However the news had pleaſed *Pharaoh* ſo well, that he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his father had ſuch a numerous family, and the ſcarcity not half over, he might ſend for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promiſing him, that they ſhould never want proviſions, nor any other favour he could ſhew them

[x] Vid. XENOPH. in vit. CYR. lib. 8. [y] Gen. xliii. p. tot. [z] Gen. xliv. p. tot.

(Z) This extreme averſion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variouſly accounted for. Some attribute it to the exceſſive pride of that nation, which deſpiſed all but themſelves; others to the *Hebrews* being ſhepherds, and ſo eating of the ſheep and other cattle which the *Egyptians* worſhipped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that ſhepherds were alſo an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews* or otherwiſe; and *Moſes* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not ſacrifice in *Egypt* what was an abomination to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of thoſe beaſts which they worſhipped (225): but the moſt probable reaſon of this averſion to ſhepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as ſuch was the great oppreſſion and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hykſos* or king-ſhepherds, as the word ſignifies, poured in upon them, enſlaved, and held them in ſubjection above five hundred years; and of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226).

(222) MUSCUL. MUNST. TREMEL. & *al. in loc.* (223) *Gen. xxxvi.* 34. (224) *Exod. viii.* 26. (225) *Chald. Paraph.* (226) *Vid. ſup. p.* 247. b. c. d. *vid.* MANETHO *apud* JOSEPH. *cont.* APION.

a them. He likewiſe bid him to ſend them a freſh ſupply of grain, and ſuch other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and beſt moveables; telling them, that they need not regard the ordinary ſtuff, ſince the good of the land was before them. *Joſeph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and, beſides the chariots and proviſions, ſent to his father ten aſſes loaden with the choiceſt commodities of *Egypt*; he likewiſe preſented his brethren with changes of garments, and diſtinguiſhed *Benjamin* by the addition of a large ſum of money; after which he diſmiſſed them with a ſtrict charge that they ſhould not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briſkly this time than the laſt. They found their father alive and b well, whoſe firſt care was to look out for his favourite ſon, whom having joyfully received he thought himſelf at the height of his happineſs. But when they acquainted him with *Joſeph*'s grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had cauſed them ſuch mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear ſo much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and being come to himſelf doubted, whether it was not a dream. At length when they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s preſents and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vaniſhed, and he cried out in an exceſs of joy, *It is enough for me that my ſon* Joſeph *lives, I have now nothing more to wiſh, but to go down and ſee him once more before I die* [a].

Joſeph *ſends for his father,* &c.

This great deſire of ſeeing ſo dear a ſon, whom he had ſo long mourned for, c in all his *Egyptian* glory, ſpurred him up to haſten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and all the other lumber of houſhold-ſtuff laid in his way. However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he ſaw himſelf bleſſed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him ſafe into *Egypt*, demanded ſome freſh act of religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba* to offer ſome ſacrifices there; both becauſe it was the place where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had lived ſo long and ſo happily, and becauſe it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmoſt boundary of *Canaan* towards the ſouth. Here God appeared again unto him, and bid him not fear to go down, ſince he would be with him and protect him, and in due time bring his d poſterity out of it, to enter into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land; adding moreover, that as for him, he ſhould have the comfort to live near his ſon *Joſeph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes cloſed by him. *Jacob*, thus comforted and encouraged, haſted his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*, and when he came within ſome ſmall diſtance from it, he ſent *Judah* before to acquaint *Joſeph* with his arrival, and to deſire him to come to him in the land of *Goſhen*, where he had promiſed to ſettle them (A). *Joſeph* was no ſooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father, and their mutual joy upon this occaſion was ſuch, as is better imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon as this tender greeting was over, *Joſeph* told them, that he would go out of hand to give *Pha-* e *raoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curioſity to ſend for them, and to enquire after their occupation; in which caſe he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were ſhepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have ſeen before †; but *Joſeph* had his ends in it, being afraid, leſt *Pharaoh* ſhould detain them in his ſervice, inſtead of ſending them into the land of *Goſhen* where he was deſirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and were aſked what their profeſſion was; they anſwered him as *Joſeph* had bid them, adding, that the famine, which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging, that he would be

Jacob *goes down into* Egypt.

Joſeph *acquaints* Pharaoh *with it.*

pleaſed

5 Z

[a] Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

† Vid. ſup. p. 456, *ſub nota* (Z).

(A) It is a wonder how the *Septuagint* came to place the land of *Goſhen* in *Arabia*, at leaſt ſome copies have it *Goſhen in Arabia*, ſince that was further off from *Egypt* than the land of *Canaan*. St. *Jerom* thinks, that it was the ſame as *Thebais* in *Æthiopia*, or bordering to it (227): but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, neither would *Joſeph* have been near enough to have ſeen and ſupplied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reaſon to his brethren in the former chapter for his chooſing this land, that they might be near him: but this *Goſhen* was ſituate between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On*, or *Hieropolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful ſpot of ground and fit for cattle, and therefore *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229): it was ſeparate from *Egypt*, and therefore fitteſt for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) Hieron. *loc. Hebr.* (228) Joseph. *Ant. l. 2. c. 7.* (229) *Id. ibid.* (230) *vid.* Jun. Merc. & *al.*

I

Jacob *ſtands before* Pharaoh.
Year of the Flood, 1294.
Year before Chriſt, 1706.

pleaſed to appoint them the land of *Goſhen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joſeph* likewiſe preſented his father to him, who wiſhed the King abundance of happineſs; and being aſked how old he was, anſwered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expreſſing, perhaps, ſome wonder, to ſee a man ſo old, and in ſo good a caſe, *Jacob* added, that his life had been ſo full of trouble, that he came vaſtly ſhort of the years of his anceſtors. After this *Joſeph* conducted him and the whole family to the land of *Goſhen*; where he took care to ſupply them with all the neceſſaries of life, during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewiſe ordered *Joſeph* to chooſe ſome of the ableſt of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did [b]. It will not be amiſs to give here the names of *Jacob*'s children and grand-children, which came down with him into *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjuſting the account of them, and reconciling it with ſome other places of ſcripture, we chooſe to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the hiſtory (B).

A Liſt

[b] Gen. xlvii. p. tot.

(B) *Moſes* makes mention of two numbers of ſouls in *Jacob*'s family, excluſive of his daughters-in-law, *viz.* ſixty ſix (233) and ſeventy (231); he doth likewiſe reckon thirty three ſouls to *Leah*, including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilphah* her handmaid ſixteen ſouls, including *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, and *Beriah*'s two ſons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235) and the two firſt ſums of ſixty ſix and ſeventy; It is to be obſerved, firſt, that in the number ſixty ſix *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the ſouls that came out of his loins; but in the number of thirty three he ſeems included, elſe we ſhall find but thirty two, *viz.* *Leah*'s twenty nine ſons, two grandſons by *Phares*, and *Dinah*, in all thirty two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this number ſeems intimated by the eighth verſe of the chapter in the words *Jacob and his ſons, viz.* by *Leah*. Accordingly *Joſephus* gives us a liſt of them to the number of thirty two, including *Dinah*; yet ſums them up thirty three, without acquainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though 'tis plain by the amount that he doth. This being premiſed, the whole account will ſtand thus:

Leah	33	including *Jacob*.
Zilphah	16	
Rachel	11	excluſive of *Joſeph* and his 2 ſons.
Billah	7	
	67	

out of which deduct *Jacob*, becauſe *Moſes* reckons here only thoſe that came out of his loins, and there will remain ſixty ſix.

To which add *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſeh*; becauſe this ſecond reckoning is of all the ſouls of *Jacob*'s family, in which caſe he may be included, and the whole amount will be ſeventy ſouls (236): but if we reckon *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, as *Joſephus* has done (237), and in all probability *Moſes* too, ſince he mentions her in his liſt, we need not to include *Jacob* in the number: for it will be ſeventy compleat without him.

It is true that St. *Stephen* (238) reckons the whole number of them ſeventy five, which diſagrees with that of *Moſes*; but it muſt be remembered, that the apoſtles and firſt preachers made uſe of the *Septuagint* verſion, as being the only one then univerſally underſtood by the *Jews*; which verſion adds five more to *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, namely, *Machir* and *Gilead*, ſons of *Manaſſeh*, *Sutalan* and *Tahan*, ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Eden*, *Sutalan*'s ſon. But, beſides that they differ from the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen inſtead of fourteen ſouls to *Rachel* (239): they likewiſe differ from themſelves; for fourteen and the five which they add will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some ancient fathers, thinking this knot inſoluble, have endeavoured to pick ſome myſteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the *Septuagint* verſion from error, which doth in ſo many inſtances differ from the original. However, there is ſtill another rational way to account for this difference between St. *Stephen*'s reckoning and that of *Moſes*, which is as follows. That St. *Stephen* follows the firſt number of *Moſes*, *viz.* ſixty ſix; out of which he excludes *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, and his two ſons, to which he adds nine of their wives; for *Judah*'s wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is ſuppoſed to be ſtill unmarried, *Joſeph*'s wife out of the caſe: ſo that if we add theſe nine wives, which though not of *Jacob*'s blood yet belonged to his family, and to *Joſeph*'s kindred (which is the expreſſion St. *Stephen* makes uſe of) to the number of ſixty ſix, it will amount to ſeventy five (241).

Some ancient and modern writers have ſuppoſed, that all theſe grandſons were not born when *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, but either ſoon after, or at leaſt during his Life; for which reaſon they think *Moſes* made no ſcruple to ſet them down with the reſt (242). So far are they from thinking, for inſtance, that *Benjamin* had ten ſons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The ſame thing they ſuppoſe of *Phares*'s two ſons, alledging, though falſely, that *Phares* was but one year old at *Jacob*'s departure (243). But all theſe ſuppoſicions are point blank contrary to the text, and if *Moſes* muſt have reckoned all thoſe that were born in *Egypt* before *Jacob*'s death, we don't know why he might not almoſt as well have reckoned ſeven hundred as ſeventy; ſince they muſt have encreaſed very faſt there, and married very young, elſe they could hardly from ſeventy have increaſed to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand in the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time of their abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reaſonable to ſay, according to *Moſes*'s account, that *Phares*'s two ſons were then born, though very young; for *Pharez*, being begotten of *Judah* in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at four-

(231) ℣. 26. (232) ℣. 27. (233) ℣. 15. (234) ℣. 18. (235) ℣. 22. (236) VILLET. *cap. xxxvi.* (237) JOS. *Ant. l. 2. c. 7.* (238) *Acts. vii.* 14. (239) *Gen. xlvi.* 22. (240) AUGUST. *Quæſt. in Gen. clii.* EUCHAR. & *al.* (241) BERRUYER. *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu, p.* 373. *Edit.* KIDDER *in pentat.* (242) CALMET. *Comm. in Gen. in loc.* & *Hiſtoire de Jacob, p.* 335. BERRUYER *loc. citat.* *St.* AUGUST. (243) PERRER.

A Liſt of *Jacob*'s ſons and grandſons. *A Liſt of* Jacob's *family.*

a The ſons of *Jacob*, and their ſons.

By *Leah*:
- *Reuben*; *Hanoch*, *Phalluc*, *Hezron*, *Carmi*.
- *Simeon*; *Jemuel*, *Jamin*, *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zohar*, *Shaul*.
- *Levi*; *Gerſhon*, *Koath*, *Merari*.
- *Judah*; *Er*, *Onan*, *Shelah*, *Pharez*, *Zerah*. (The two firſt died in *Canaan*.)
- *Iſſachar*; *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron*.
- *Zebulun*; *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel*.

By *Zilphah*:
- *Gad*; *Ziphion*, *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Eſbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Areli*.
- *Aſher*; *Jimnah*, *Iſhuah*, *Iſui*, *Beriah*, *Serah*, a daughter.

By *Bilhah*:
- *Dan*; *Huſhim*.
- *Naphtali*; *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, *Shillem*.

b The ſons of *Pharez Judah*'s ſon; *Hezron*, *Hamul*.
of *Beriah*, *Heber*, *Malchiel*.

By *Rachel*, *Benjamin*, *Belah*, *Becher*, *Aſhbel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ehi*, *Roſh*, *Muppim*, *Huppim*, *Ard*.

In all threeſcore and ſix, excluſive of *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter by *Leah*, and of *Joſeph* and his two ſons, which being added to the number, it will amount to ſeventy ſouls.

c Three things are to be obſerved in the liſt which *Moſes* has given us in this chapter, namely, 1. That the wives are not ſet down in it; becauſe they were not deſcended from him, any more than his ſervants and ſlaves. 2. That he doth not ſet them down according to the order of their birth as in other places[c], but mentions thoſe that were born of *Leah* and her maid, and then thoſe of *Rachel* and her maid. And 3dly, That the number ſixty ſix, in one part of the liſt, is only of the ſouls which *came out of* Jacob's *loins*, and the ſecond number of ſeventy is that of *all the ſouls* which belonged to the *Houſe of Jacob*; to which therefore *Joſeph* and his two ſons, and a grand-daughter named *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, muſt be added, in order to make the number of ſeventy compleat.

d Whilst *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty, by the provident care of his ſon, the *Egyptians* felt the diſmal effects of the famine, which encreaſing daily upon them, and *Joſeph* holding up his corn at a high rate, ſoon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to ſell their cattle, houſes, land, and at length their very ſelves for ſubſiſtence. By this means he bought all their lands and perſons for the king's uſe, and from that time they all became ſlaves to the crown, except the prieſts, who had a ſufficient quantity of proviſions alloted to them out of the royal ſtores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that *Joſeph*'s zeal for the king's intereſt carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not conſider, e that, whilſt he took ſuch an advantage over a ſtarving people, he raiſed the king's power to the degree of an abſolute tyranny, under which his family or their poſterity would one time or other ſeverely groan, as they effectually did. The text as well as *Joſephus*[d] tell us, that he tranſplanted the people from the one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miſerable multitude went ſome one way, and ſome another[e], ſubmitting to any miſery rather than ſtarving. However, when the ſeventh and laſt year of ſcarcity was come, *Joſeph* acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop againſt the next year, that the *Nile* would overflow, and the

The Egyptians *ſell their lands and themſelves for corn, and are tranſplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.*

[c] Gen. xxxv. 24. & ſeqq. & alib. [d] Ch. xlvii. ℣. 22. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7. [e] Vid. Hebr. Chald. & Arab. Verſ.

teen or fifteen, and ſo have two ſons before *Jacob* left *Canaan* (244). The ſame may be likewiſe ſaid of *Benjamin*, who might have a number of children and two grand-children at the age of thirty one. We have already given inſtances of men, if they may be called ſo, who have had children when they were ſome years younger than we ſuppoſe theſe (245); ſo that there is no reaſon to depart from the plain text of *Moſes*, to fall into more difficult ſuppoſitions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty, that is raiſed againſt this genealogical liſt, is the difference of the names here mentioned and in other places of ſcripture, where the ſame genealogy is rehearſed, as in 1 *Chronicles* and *Numbers* (246); but we have already obſerved, that it is very common for men to have two names in the ſcriptures, and to be called ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by the other *. Concerning which the reader may conſult our Commentators at their leiſure; as well as about the omiſſion of ſome of theſe perſons mentioned in *Moſes*'s liſt, which are left out by the author of the book of *Chronicles* (247).

(244) Mercer. Villet. (245) *See before, p.* 450 *ſub nota* (N). (246) 1 *Chron. iv.* 24 *Numb. xxvi. paſſ.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 441 *ſub nota* (X). (247) *Vid.* Villet. *in loc.*

the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and a
corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition
The fifth part of the product of their lands assigned to the crown. nevertheless, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands
should go to the king, and the rest should be theirs. The poor people were glad
to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expect-
ed. They all set about cultivating the ground that was alloted to them, and
from that time it past into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole
land of *Egypt* should belong to the crown, which law continued in force for se-
veral centuries after, 'till a new regulation and division was made †. However, *Jo-
seph* by this means gained the love and esteem both of the king and people.

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great success and policy, his family b
at *Goshen*, whom he failed not to visit often, did wonderfully encrease both in
children and wealth. At length *Jacob*, by that time he had lived there seventeen
years, finding himself to grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far
off, sent for his son *Joseph*, and spoke to him to this purpose: Though the de-
sire of seeing a son, so dear to me as you are, raised to the height of *Egyptian* glo-
ry, joined to the raging famine with which our land was visited, made me willing-
ly come down into this strange country; yet, *Canaan* being the inheritance which
GOD promised to *Abraham* and his posterity, and where he lies interred with my
father *Isaac* and some others of our family, in the ground which he purchased of
the inhabitants; my last and dying request to you is, that you will not suffer me c
Jacob's request to Joseph. to be buried here; but that you will swear to me to see me carried to *Machphelah*,
and there deposited with my ancestors: your great power with the king of *Egypt*
will easily obtain you and me that favour, which is the last I have to ask of you.
Joseph did not make his father wait long for that satisfaction; he promised and swore
to him that he would fulfil his desire; and *Jacob*, who in all probability had
sat up upon his bed whilst this ceremony lasted, bowed down his head towards
Year of the Flood, 1310. his bed's tester, in token of adoration and gratitude for the satisfaction, which his
Year before CHRIST, 1689 son had now given him (C) [f].

JOSEPH, who could not long be absent from the court, took his leave of his
father, not without giving strict charge to some of the family, that, upon the very d
first appearance of danger, they should immediately send for him. Accordingly as
soon as word was brought to him that his father was a dying, he took his two
Joseph brings his two sons to Jacob. sons *Manasseth* and *Ephraim* with him, and went to present them to him, begging
him, that he would give them his blessing before he died. *Jacob*, at the sight of them,
found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up upon his bed, and, addressing
himself to him, spoke with such chearfulness, and in such strong and lively terms,
as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He be-
gan with recapitulating all the glorious promises which GOD had formerly made
to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and
concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*. How tenderly I loved her, conti- e
nued he, my whole family can testify, but I design to giver her and you a further
proof of my affection: you have had two sons born in this strange land, which ac-
cording to the usual order of inheritance should have only the portion of grand-
children in the division of the promised land; but I will do more for them, and
Ephraim and Manasseh are made two tribes in Israel. they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and, as heads
of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of *Joseph*,
they

† Vid. sup. p. 257.

[f] Gen. xlvii. p. tot.

(C) In this place where *Jacob* is said to have bow-
ed himself, or rather to have worshipped towards
the bed's head; the *Septuagint*, if it has not been
corrupted, seems to have read מטה *Mate*, a staff,
for מטה *Mittah*, a bed. So that they have trans-
lated it, *he worshipped towards the end of his staff*;
and the *Rhemish* divines, *he worshipped the head of
his staff* (248). From which, and what the Apo-
stle to the *Hebrews* says (249), that he worship-
ped *leaning* on his staff, (where the word *leaning*
is added, to express the meaning of the particle
על *hal* in the *Hebrew*, and επι in the *Greek*; both
which signify *upon*, and presuppose his resting, or
leaning upon, and not worshipping the top of the
staff) they have not scrupled to defend the wor-
ship of the cross, of which this staff, they pretend,
was the type (250). But, without entring into the
controversy, it will be sufficient, in order to jus-
tify our version, to observe, 1st, that the Apo-
stle made use of the *Septuagint*, and so quotes it as
he finds it there, and not as it was in the original,
which the *Jews* did no longer understand. And
secondly, that he speaks there of a different ac-
on, *viz. Jacob*'s blessing *Joseph*'s children, which
did not happen till some time after, whereas here
Jacob makes *Joseph* swear not to bury him in
Egypt. Here he seems to have kept his bed,
and there to have received fresh spirits, and to
have sat on it, leaning, perhaps on his staff (251).

(248) *Bibl. Remens in loc.* (249) *Heb.* xi. 21. (250) *D' Annotat. in Heb.* xi. 21. & *al.* (251) *Compare Gen.* xlvii *and* xlviii. *vid.* VITRING. c. 47.

a they ſhall be called the two tribes of *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more ſons after them, they ſhall only be alloted the portion of grand-children. I have yet one thing more in ſtore for you above the reſt of your brethren, *viz.* the portion which I took out of the hands of the *Amorites* by my ſword and bow. This ſhall likewiſe fall to the lot of your poſterity, when GOD ſhall bring you into that happy land (D). He then deſired his two grandſons to be brought to him, which *Joſeph* accordingly did, placing the eldeſt at *Jacob*'s right, and the youngeſt at his left hand: But he was ſurprized to find his father croſs his deſign, by croſſing his arms and laying his right on the head of the youngeſt, and his left on that of the eldeſt. He would have hindered it, thinking, that it was done by a miſtake;

b but his father convinced him of the contrary, and in bleſſing of the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderneſs, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manaſſeh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in thoſe two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve [g].

Jacob *bleſſeth the younger before the elder.*

FOR *Jacob*, having now exhauſted his ſpirits, and finding his death approaching, reſolved to conſecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his ſons, whom he had gathered about him, what ſhould happen to them in the latter days; and as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we ſhall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible ſtile, than we have it in our

c verſion, without departing from the ſenſe of the original; and where any difficulty happens in our way, we ſhall acquaint him with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premiſe here, that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather propheſies, concerning his ſons, is not ſo much to be underſtood as foretold of them; as of their tribes; nor of what ſhall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till ſome time at leaſt after their entrance into the promiſed land. Thus, for Inſtance, when he ſays, that *Zebulun* ſhall dwell along the ſea-coaſts, or that *Naphtali* is a well ſpread tree yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain, that he means by the firſt, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* ſhould be by the ſea-ſide; and by the laſt, that the

d *Naphtalites* ſhould prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what ſhall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a moſt pathetick preface to draw their deepeſt attention, began with the firſt-born in theſe words:

Jacob's *laſt bleſſing to his twelve ſons.* Reuben.

" REUBEN, thou art my firſt-born, and waſt once the firſt-fruits of my might
" and my ſtrength, and as ſuch thou waſt entituled to the right of primogeniture,
" the beſt portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the prieſthood, and the ſu-
" preme authority over thy brethren: but all theſe prerogatives, like the unſtable
" waters, that paſs by and return no more, are gone from thee; becauſe thou, lit-
" tle regarding the ſacredneſs of thy father's bed, didſt defile it, and alienate it from
e " me [h]; for which crime, though thou continue ſtill to be a tribe in *Iſrael*, yet thou

[g] Gen. xlviii. p. tot. [h] Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MUNST. *loc.*

(D) There is a threefold queſtion ſtarted from this place, *viz.* 1. What portion this was which *Jacob* gave to *Joſeph*. 2. How he is ſaid to have conquered it by his ſword. 3. If *Sichem* be the place here meant, why he ſays, that he got it from the *Amorites*: Whereas *Homar* the father of *Sichem* was a *Hivite* (252). As to the firſt; it is generally agreed, that it was the city and territories of *Sichem*; for we don't read of any other conquests that *Jacob* made; and accordingly we find *Sichem* mentioned in St. *John*'s Goſpel (253) as the place which he gave unto *Joſeph*. 2. How he could ſay, that he got it by his ſword and his bow, when he ſo far diſallowed his ſon's barbarous action towards the *Sichemites*, as even to curſe their reſentment which was the cauſe of it, has puzzled all our ancient and modern expoſitors to account for, we ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt notable conjectures about it. 1. Some think, it was the ſword and bow of his innocence (254); others of his prayers (255); others of his money (256): others think, that he ſpeaks proleptically, and that it was to be conquered afterwards by *Joſeph*'s poſterity (257): others again think, that *Jacob* had atchieved ſome warlike exploit againſt the *Amorites*, as *Abraham* had againſt the four kings (258). But the moſt general and probable opinion is, that when his ſons had once got that city and territories by the murder of all the inhabitants, he was forced to ſtand up in his own defence, and to keep the poſſeſſion of it by force of arms, 'till he removed to *Bethel*, and to recover it again by the ſame means from the *Amorreans*, who, living intermixed with the *Hivites*, had taken poſſeſſion of it during his abſence. And this is the reaſon why he ſays he got, or recovered it from the *Amorites*, and not from the *Hivites* (259).

(252) *Gen. xxxiv.* 2. (253) *John iv.* 5. (254) HIERON. *tradit. Hebr.* (255) *Chald. Paraph.* (256) HIERON. *ibid.* AUGUST. (257) JUN. & *al.* (258) CAJETAN. ANDR. MASIVS. (259) R. SAL. N. de LYR. MERCER. VILLET. BERRAYER, & *al.*

" ſhalt ever be far inferior to the reſt of thy brethren, either in number, wealth, or a
" ſtrength (E).

Simeon *and* Levi.

" SIMEON or *Levi* might have ſucceeded to the right of primogeniture, which
" their brother's inceſt has juſtly deprived him of, had they not proved ſuch in-
" ſtruments of treacherous cruelty. May my ſoul be for ever preſerved from ſuch
" bloody councils, and my honour unſtained from their horrid guilt: For the
" fierceneſs of their anger hurried them to commit murder, and the impetuouſneſs
" of their fury made them break through all obſtacles that oppoſed them. Cur-
" ſed be their fury, for it was violent, and their malice, for it was inhuman. This
" cruel diſpoſition of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that they may never
" be rejoined in *Iſrael*[1]." Thus far the good old patriarch performed a ſevere and b
ungrateful task, and his prophecy againſt thoſe tribes was exactly verified in due time (F). Then caſting his eyes on *Judah*, with a joy equal to the indignation which he had expreſſed againſt his other brethren, he addreſſed himſelf to him thus:

Judah.

" JUDAH, thy name ſignifies praiſe †, and accordingly thou ſhalt have the
" praiſe of all thy brethren. They ſhall fall proſtrate before thee, as before their
" king and ſovereign, and thine enemies ſhall be forced to ſubmit their necks to
" thy yoke. Like a young lion ſhall my ſon fall upon his prey, and like an old
" lion, or a fierce lioneſs ready to ruſh upon it, who ſhall dare to rouſe him up?
" The ſcepter ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor the law-giver from between his c
" feet, until *Shiloh* be come and the people be gathered unto him (G); his portion
" ſhall abound with ſuch fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and paſture grounds, that

[1] Gen. xlix. ver. 5, 6, 7. † Vid. ſup. p. 441.

(E) The ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory ſhews, that the tribe of *Reuben* did ſtill remain in obſcurity, and without any of the marks of diſtinction, which uſed to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, ſuch as a double portion, ſupreme authority, and the prieſthood. Accordingly the *Jewiſh* expoſitors, eſpecially the *Bereſhith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Geneſis*, tell us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, *viz.* והמלכות הגבורה הכהונה primogeniture, prieſthood, and royal dignity. But becauſe thou art fallen, continues the commentator, thy primogeniture is given to *Joſeph* (who accordingly had two portions alloted to him), the prieſthood to *Levi*, and the ſcepter to *Judah*. And where itis ſaid of this laſt (261), *thy brethren ſhall praiſe thee*, he paraphraſes it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שמך Thy brethren ſhall be called by thy name, *i. e.* they will not ſay I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob*'s words imply a double diſperſion, *viz.* of the two tribes from one another, and their being interſperſed among the reſt. And accordingly *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities aſſigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon* it had properly but a portion of *Judah*'s inheritance (262), if we except ſome few places which they got upon mount *Seir* and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(G) The ſenſe, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much diſputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verſe more agreeably to the original, which in its plain and obvious ſenſe affirms, that the ſcepter ſhall not depart from *Judah*——till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This verſion is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not loſe their ſcepter, or *Sanhedrim*, which was their בית דין *Beth din*, or higheſt court of judicature and ſupreme legiſlative power, till the *Heathen* became converts to *Chriſtianity*, of whom *Cornelius* was the firſt (264): And the *Jews* themſelves own, that this ſupreme court did ſtill ſubſiſt from the time of *Moſes*, the founder of it, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*. They likewiſe own, that the word שבט *Sheveth*, which we tranſlate *Scepter*, doth not always ſignify the royal power of dignity, but ſometimes only the legiſlative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The latter *Jews* therefore, finding themſelves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretation of the ancients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various abſurd notions, which they are not aſhamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus ſome will have the meaning of this paſſage to be, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall not come, till *Shiloh*, the place ſo called, be deſtroyed, or the *Jewiſh* monarchy be at an end (266). Others by *Sheveth* underſtand a tribe, which that word alſo ſignifies, and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* ſhould not ceaſe to be a tribe till the coming of *Meſſiah* (267): in which they have been alſo followed by ſome *Chriſtians* (268); becauſe that tribe did viſibly ſubſiſt as ſuch till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but ſo did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* ſtand ſtifly to this ſenſe, and ſcruple not to affirm, that it has ſubſiſted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains ſtill a kind of ſcepter, or royal power, beyond the river *Euphrates*, and that the *Naſſi*, or head of it, is a prince lineally deſcended from *Judah*, whoſe ſplendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king) (269): but *credat Judæus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewiſe diſagree not

(260) BERESH. *Rab. ſect.* 98. (261) *Gen. xlix.* 8. (262) *Joſh. xix.* 1. & *ſeqq.* (263) 1 *Chron. iv.* 30 & 40. (264) *Acts* 10. *paſſ.* (265) *Vid. in* MEDE's *works, a ſermon on that text and* SAURIN's *Diſcours Hiſtoriques, &c. diſc. XLI.* (266) ABEN-EZRA *in loc.* & *al.* (267) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* (268) OLEAST. JUN. VITRET. & *al. in loc.* (269) BENJ. de TUDEL. *Itiner.* & *al.*

as he

" he ſhall tie his aſs to the vine and palm-tree, and waſh his garments in the juice of
" the grape, and his teeth with the milk of his kine (H) [k].
" ZEBULUN'S (I) dwellings ſhall ſpread themſelves along the borders of the Zebulun.
" ſea, and he ſhall ſtretch the number of his commodious havens as far as the city of
" *Zidon* [l].
" ISSACHAR, like a ſtrong, but indolent, aſs, ſhall chooſe to carry burdens in the Iſſachar.
" midſt of his brethren, rather than be deprived of his beloved eaſe, in the pleaſant
" land of his inheritance, and prefer ſervitude and tribute before the fatigues of war
" and conqueſt (K) [m]."

FROM the ſix ſons of *Leah Jacob* paſſes to thoſe of *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s maid. He begins with intimating, that the ſons of the handmaids ſhould have the ſame privi-
b ledge with thoſe of the miſtreſſes, and be heads and judges of their own tribes. Then alluding to the name of *Dan*, a *judge*, he declares, " that he ſhould judge his Dan.
" people, that is, his own tribe, like the reſt of the twelve;" and then adds,
" that like a ſerpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the ſand, which doth not
" openly aſſault its enemy, but bites him by the heel; ſo *Dan* ſhould overcome
" more by policy and ſtratagem, than by valour and open force (L) [n]." Here the

[k] Gen. ibid. ver. 8. & ſeqq. [l] Ibid. 13. [m] Ibid. 14. [n] Ibid. 16. & ſeqq.

not only with us, but even among themſelves, about the meaning of the word מחקק *Mechokėk*, law-giver. Concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to the two laſt-mentioned divines for further ſatisfaction (270).

As to the word שילה *Shiloh*, though it be almoſt univerſally owned to mean the *Meſſiah*, yet as to its original ſignification there is no ſmall diſagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Shaloach* from שלח *Shalach* to ſend, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שלה *Shalah* to be peaceable (272), and underſtand by *Shiloh* a peace-maker. Others derive it from שיל *Shil*, which they will have to ſignify a ſon, becauſe שלידה *Shiliah*, or *Shilijah*, ſignifies the ſecundine of a woman (273); but 'tis plain the firſt of theſe is no where to be found in the Old Teſtament, and the ſecond only in one place, where it moſt probably ſignifies the ſecundine (274). A modern critick takes the word *Shiloh* to ſignify the *end*, and the ſenſe of the words to be, that from the time the ſcepter comes into the tribe of *Judah*, it will continue in it till that tribe be at an end (275); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned Monſ. *Saurin*, in an elaborate diſcourſe on that ſubject †. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *Shulah*, to fatigue, be tired, ſuffer, and to be applied to the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah* (276): but without fatiguing our readers any further, the moſt probable ſenſe of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and ſome others (277) who read it שילו *Shelo*, that is, *he to whom it belongs*, ו and ה being often interchanged in the ſacred book *, the ſenſe will be plainly this, that the ſcepter or legiſlative power ſhall not depart from, but be depoſited in the tribe of *Judah*, until the right owner, or he, *Shelo*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This ſenſe ſeems the moſt eaſy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the moſt applicable to CHRIST the king of kings. As for the ו redundant in שילו *Shilo*, it is agreeable to the property of the word *Ebævi* as the Grammarians ſpeak.

(H) *Judah*'s lot did exactly anſwer this prediction, it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble paſture-ground for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eſhcol*, or the *brook of the grape*, was, a bunch of which was brought by two of the ſpies whom *Moſes* ſent to ſearch the land, as a ſpecimen of the richneſs of that ſoil: here was likewiſe the brook or torrent of that name, along whoſe banks were the moſt delicious paſture grounds: (278) and ſome travellers aſſure us, that there are ſtill very large grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be probably that along which that torrent runs (279.)

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Iſſachar* was elder than he, for which no certain reaſon can be aſſign'd, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the patriarch had a prophetick eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the *Meſſiah*; for *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* were in that tribe, and himſelf was denominated a *Nazarene* from the firſt of theſe cities (280); but this is a conjecture only. Certain it is however, that if *Jacob* had been preſent at the diviſion of the promiſed land, he could hardly have given a more exact deſcription of *Zebulun*'s lot, than he did then above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, to the lake of *Genezareth* on the eaſt ſide.

(K) No leſs wonderful and exact was he in the deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt, who is alſo followed by the generality of *Jewiſh* Rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: they read it thus, " *Iſſachar*, finding that his lot
" is fallen in a fertile land, ſhall ſubdue the in-
" habitants of it, and bring them under tribute;"
but the firſt ſenſe is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event: for that tribe had the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infeſted and ſubjected by ſtrangers, eſpecially in the time of the Judges.

(L) The word נחש *Nachaſh* in the original ſignifies a ſerpent in general, which having no ſuch qualities as are here deſcribed, the *Septuagint* have tranſlated it by the word *Ceraſtes*, which is a kind

(270) MEDE *and* SAURIN *loc. citat.* (271) HIERON. *quæſt. Hebr.* (272) MERCER. & *al.* (273) *Vid.* VILLET. *cap.* 49. & SAURIN *loc. cit.* (274) *Deut. xxviii.* 57. (275) LE CLERC *in Gen. Pentat. in loc.* † SAUR. *loc. cit.* (276) COUSSET *Comm. ling. Hebr. ſub voce* יגלה *fatigare Vid.* CALM. *ſub voce* Schilo. (277) *LXX.* TARG. ONKEL. *in loc.* MORNAY *cont. Jud.* OLEAST. & *al.* * *Vid.* 2. *Sam. xvi.* 10. & 18. *ap.* MUNST. *in loc.* (278) *Num. xiii. paſſ.* CALVIN. MERCER. JUN. GROT. & *al.* (279) *Vid.* CALMET. *Comm. in Numb. xiii. ver.* 24. 25. (280) *Matth. ii. ult.* & *cap. iv.* 13. & *ſeqq.*

prophetick

prophetick patriarch breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy Salvation*, O LORD. The meaning of which seems to be this, that whether his posterity were preserved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their success to the drawn sword of *Judah*, or the hidden snares of *Dan*; yet their safety and happiness did chiefly depend on the gracious promises of GOD, on whom he did rely. Others think however, that *Jacob*, foreseeing either the grievous oppressions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually did from the *Amorites* [o], from which nothing but a miracle could save them, or their defection from the true worship of GOD, that tribe being the first that set up the publick worship of idols [p], did breath out this short prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of these, and that his comparing *Dan* to a viper might bring into his mind that universal salvation, which was to be wrought by the seed of the woman, which was to bruise the serpent's head, and to have his heel bruised by it [q].

Gad. "GAD, continued he, shall be often infested by bands of robbers and plunderers, "but he shall conquer them at last (M) [r].

Asher. "ASHER's portion shall make him happy; it shall abound with excellent corn "and oil, the bread and dainty meats that shall be made of them shall be fit for a "king's table (N) [s]".

Naphtali. "NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well spread, or having grafts, which shoot out "pleasant branches." Or, according to our *English* version, *Naphtali*, like a hind newly escaped, or let loose, shall excel his brethren in swiftness, and be remarkable for the sweetness of his eloquence (O) [t].

THESE four last were the sons of the two hand-maids, from whom he passes with a seeming joy to those of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joseph*, whose turn came

o Judg. i. 34. Vid. TREMEL. in loc. p Ibid. cap. xvii & xviii pass. q Gen. iii. 15.
r Ibid. xlix. 19. s Ibid. ver. 20. t Ibid. ver. 20.

a kind of serpent, so called from its having two fleshy horns; its instinct is to hide itself in the sand, and by fastening on the horses heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think, that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled, when *Sampson*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which crushed him and the *Philistines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Christians*, suppose, that *Jacob* designed to intimate by it, that, though *Dan*'s tribe was but small, he having had but one son, yet it should produce one of the most famous Judges of all *Israel* (283): As for those who apply this prophecy to Antichrist, as if he was to come out of that tribe; because he is omitted in the Apocalypse in the list of the tribes that were sealed (284); they are scarce worth confuting, since they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moses* omits when he blesses the rest (285). Besides, *Jacob* pronounces these words as a blessing, not as a curse, to *Dan*, whose tribe moreover was dispersed, if not extinguished, a thousand years before Antichrist appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(M) What was prophesied of *Gad* was likewise exactly verified. His lot happened on the other side *Jordan*, where he was continually exposed to the excursions of the plundering *Arabs*, but, by the continual watchfulness and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but sometimes also caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. Others indeed understand it quite otherwise, and it must be owned, that the original is somewhat obscure in this place: they read it thus, *Gad*, being girded for the battle, shall lead an army, and bring it back conqueror, which they apply to *Jephtha*, who is thought to have been of that tribe; but, as this sense is rather too forced, others read it, *Gad* armed shall fight at the head of all *Israel*; which they think was in some measure verified, when, having received their portion on one side *Jordan*, they offered likewise to go and help their brethren on the other side to conquer theirs. But, besides that this is also far fetched; these prophecies seem rather to intimate the fate and success of the tribes in general, than any particular action or circumstance of theirs. And therefore we prefer the first reading, and think, that the prophecy refers chiefly to the continual conflicts the *Gadites* had with the *Hagarenes*, that is, with *Jetur*, *Nephish*, and *Nodab*, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and an hundred thousand men prisoners (286). This sense is likewise more agreeable to the character which *Moses* gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(N) The blessing spoken to *Asher* is capable of a double sense, and both verified by the event, namely, either that his country should be the most fertile, and produce the noblest corn in the whole land of *Palestine*, which it actually did; or else, that it should abound with the finest and most delicious oil, fit to be mixed in all kinds of pastry-work, which his portion was also remarkable for, insomuch that its oil was the most famed of all *Canaan*'s, as shall be shewn in the sequel: for which reason we have chosen to word it in such terms as should express the two excellencies of that noble soil, rather than to confine the sense to either particular; though *Moses* in his blessing of that tribe seems to intimate the latter, when he says that *Asher* should dip his foot in oil (288)

(O) We have also given this prophecy in both the senses which the original will bear; but as that which our *English* version gives us is somewhat

(281) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Hierozoic lib.* 1. *col.* 28. (282) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* VILLET. *c.* 49. (283) *Gedal. Paragh.* JUN. *in loc.* CALMET. *Hist.* O. T. (284) PERER. *contr.* 1. (285) *Deut. xxxiii.* (286) 1 *Chron. v.* 20, *ver.* 21. *vid.* MERCER. VILLET. JUN, & *al.* (287) *Deut. xxxiii.* 22. & *seq.* (288) *Ibid. ver.* 24.

N. N.

a next, heard his bleſſings pronounced in the moſt pompous and endearing terms.

Joseph. JOSEPH, ſaid the good old father, ſhall increaſe daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair ſex, the damſels ran upon the walls to ſee him. (P) Or, according to our Verſion, he ſhall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well ſide, whoſe branches run up and ſpread againſt the wall. Men armed with the poiſoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have cauſed him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he truſted, proved his ſtrong ſhield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out
b of priſon, to be a father and protector to the houſe of *Iſrael*; for this the LORD, even the GOD of thy father, ſhall bleſs thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatneſs of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous poſterity, and the fruit of the breaſt, and plenty of all ſorts of cattle. May all the bleſſings promiſed to me and to my forefathers, be doubled upon *Joſeph*'s head, even upon his crowned head (R); may they out-top and out-ſtretch the everlaſting mountain, and prove to him more fruitful and laſting than they [u].

Benjamin. BENJAMIN, the laſt of all *Jacob*'s ſons, who had been ſo great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a ſuitable bleſſing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foreſaw no extraordinary merit or happineſs attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it to ſhare in all its
c bleſſings, he contented himſelf with deſcribing him by his fierce and warlike diſpoſition, who wolf-like ſhould ſhed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their ſpoil (S). Having thus pronounced his prophetical bleſſing to every

[u] Ibid. ver. 22. & ſeqq.

what uncouth and unintelligible we have endeavoured to make the ſenſe of it a little plainer; though that reading be the moſt generally received both by ancient and modern expoſitors; and the firſt part applied to *Barach*'s overcoming *Siſerah*, and the latter to the ſweet words which *Deborah* and he ſang in the noble canticle which was made on that occaſion (289); yet as we have obſerved, that *Jacob*'s bleſſings have a more general ſcope, we prefer the firſt reading, which compares him to a well-ſpread oak, which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four ſons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muſter up upward of fifty three thouſand men fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; *i. e.* in leſs than 220 years. Thoſe who make a difficulty againſt our tranſlating the *Hebrew* אילה *Ailah* a great tree, becauſe it is contrary to the *Mazorah*'s punctuation, may find that verſion juſtified by the learned *Bochart* and *Le Scene*, as well as that of the whole verſe (291) which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* verſions.

(P) The original has בן פרת *Ben porath*; which if derived from the root פרה *Para*, he has fructified, as ſome do, the ſenſe will be, *Joſeph* is a fruitful ſon; and then the word בנות *Banoth* (daughters) muſt be underſtood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chooſe to derive the word from פאר *Paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the א being quieſcent in *holeim*, as the grammarians ſpeak, and then the literal ſenſe will be, *Joſeph is a ſon of beauty*; the daughters ran upon the walls to ſee him, and this reading has by far the moſt votes.

(Q) Our *Engliſh* verſion and ſome others render this verſe thus; *but his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong*: but this interpretation is ſomething forced, and the literal ſenſe runs thus; *but he continued in the ſtrength of his bow; and the hands of his arms (not weapons but the arms of his body)* יפוזו *Japhuſu* were (not ſtrengthned, as it is there rendered) but broken, ſcattered; which therefore may be more applicable to his fetters, in which ſenſe the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it; the ſame word alſo occurs in the firſt verſe of the 68th pſalm; *let* GOD *ariſe, and let his enemies be* ſcattered; is therefore rightly rendered there, and it would have been nonſenſe to have ſaid let his enemies be ſtrengthened, that verſe being the very words which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* uſed, whenever the ark was taken up, before they marched from one place to another (292): to which may be added, that the verb פז *Phaz*, has ſeldom any other ſignification than that we have given it, which however we ſubmit to the reader.

(R) We have here likewiſe ventured to depart from the *Engliſh* verſion, which renders the words נזיר אחיו *Nazir Achauf him that was ſeparate from his brothers*; for though the verb נזר *Nazar* ſignifies to ſeparate, whence the word *Nazarite* comes; and *Joſeph* was really ſeparated from his brethren when he was ſold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable, that *Jacob* would have couched ſo barbarous and unnatural an action in ſuch ſoft terms, when the original abounds with the moſt expreſſive: beſides, *Nazar* doth rather ſignify a ſeparating upon a religious account; it is therefore more probable, that he uſed the word *Nazir*, which ſignifies *crowned*, in alluſion to the ſuperintendants of the king's houſhold, in all the eaſtern empires, who were called *Nazirs*, and probably wore ſome kind of diadem about their heads by way of diſtinction and grandeur (293). This ſenſe will be more agreeable likewiſe to the ſolemn and pompous ſtyle, which the patriarch uſes throughout all *Joſeph*'s bleſſing.

(S) The warlike and untameable diſpoſition of this tribe was ſufficiently verified afterwards in

(289) *Judg.* c. iv. & v. p. tot. (290) *Numb.* xxvi. 47. (291) BOCHART. *Hieroſ.* LE SCENE. *Eſſ. or a new Tranſlat.* & al. (292) *Numb.* x. 35. (293) *Vid.* CALMET. *Hiſt. Old Teſt. in loc.*

tribe (T), he reminded them, especially *Joseph*, that they should bury him with his ancestors in the cave of *Mackphelah*; and they having renewed their promise to him, he laid himself again in his bed, and soon after expired [w], being 147 years of age, seventeen of which he spent in *Egypt* in the land of *Goshen* (V). a

And now *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length remembring his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians* on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, *viz.* seventy days, the ceremony of which was performed as follows; the body was sent to the physicians or embalmers, who first took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm-wine, impregnated with strong b

astringent

[w] Gen. xxix. p. tot.

in many instances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, first, by the fierce battles which they fought against the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cause, the *Levite*'s abused concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, tho' vastly inferior in numbers (295): and secondly, by the war, which the house of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *David* and the house of *Judah*, for the kingdom (296); however 'tis certain, that they are described in Scripture as the fiercest warriors, and experteſt archers in *Israel*.

(T) Some criticks have cavilled at the words of *Moses*, *he* (Jacob) *blessed every one of them with a separate blessing* (297); whereas they think the three first might have been more properly called curses than blessings; and this has given others and us unnecessary trouble of answering them. Some authors have been too fond of having recourse to the subtilties of the schools to elude this difficulty: thus St. *Ambrose* tells us, that they being rather prophecies than blessings must therefore be blessings because they are prophecies (298): and another *Romish* author (299) says, that they were called blessings from the greatest part being such; whereas it is said, that he blessed every one (300): others therefore have bethought themselves of that thread-bare solution, that the same word in the original signifies to bless and to curse, which has been applied to other cases as well as this, and to as little purpose. Thus, when *Job*'s wife bids him bless God and die, they have thought, that she meant curse God and die; whereas 'tis plain she only speaks ironically to him, and means nothing but that he blesses God in vain; since he would die as well as those that let it alone. As for *R. Salomon*'s answer, we mention it only for its absurdity and impiousness, who says, that *Jacob* designed indeed to bless all his sons, but that he was seized with a phrentick fit at the beginning, which made him curse the three first that came to hand. It will be sufficient to say, that he blessed them all, though not alike; and if his severe rebuke to the three eldest, and the punishment he pronounced against them, did bring them to a sense of their wickedness, it was a blessing to them, though not a temporal one; though even in this last sense he may well be said to have blessed them likewise, since he assigned each of them a lot in the inheritance of the promised land, which he had power to have deprived them of; and as *Moses* did afterwards bless them, 'tis plain, he did not think that they had received a curse from their father.

(V) Besides these prophecies of *Jacob*, which *Moses* has preserved to us, and which have been sufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute some other works to him, such as the treatise, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he saw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as cannonical; and a testament called by his name, *The Testament of* Jacob, reckoned by Pope *Gelasius* among the *Apocraphas*. The *Jews* do likewise use some prayers every night, which they pretend to have been composed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the 14 gradual psalms, and some others, whilst he lived with *Laban*; all which fables are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. However, as to the great praises which they give him, no one can blame them for it; and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* has justly summed up his character in few words, *chap.* xliv. 25, 26. Some divines, especially of the church of *Rome*, look upon him not only to have plainly foretold the coming of the *Messiah*, but to have been likewise a kind of type of him in his laborious and troublesome life; in his flights and travels; in his marriage with *Leah*, the figure of the *Jewish* synagogue; and afterwards with his beloved *Rachel*, the figure of the christian church.

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but also the father of all the prophets, who were all descended from him except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mohammed*. They likewise believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his posterity till the times of *John the Baptist* and Jesus Christ, and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from *Ishmael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, *viz.* the well and the ford of *Jacob*: the former was still known by that name in our Saviour's time, and we read of a famous church formerly built there in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers to drink some of its water for the recovery of their health. As for the ford of *Jacob*, it is not easy to guess whereabouts it was; but as for those who think, that he forded the *Jordan* near the place where it empties itself into the sea of *Tiberias*, they seem to have gone much out of the way, and it it is more likely, that he crossed somewhere near *Bethsan*, since he came back by that way, when he returned from *Mesopotamia*, and that he crossed the *Jabbock* at *Mahanaim*, and went from thence to *Peniel* and *Succoth*, which are near *Beth-san*, and his prayer, *that he had passed over that river only with his staff, and now with two bands*, makes it probable, that he came back the same way he went.

(294) *Judg. xix. p. tot.* (295) *Ibid. c. xx.* (296.) 1 *Sam. pass.* (297) *Gen. xlix. 28.* (298) Ambros. *de benedict Patriarch. Jacob. cap. ii.* (299) Perrer. (300) *Ver.* 28.

a aſtringent drugs; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinamon, and caſſia, and this laſted thirty days. They next put it into ſalt of nitre during the ſpace of forty days longer; ſo that they allow'd threeſcore and ten days to compleat the ceremony [x]. This method, however, was only uſed for perſons of the greateſt rank; the meaner people had a cheaper way, but *Joſeph* was too ſenſible of his Father's merit to ſpare any coſt for him. His being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged of ſome of *Pharaoh*'s officers to acquaint him with his father's death, and with his laſt commands, who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's juſt requeſt, and order'd moreover the chief officers of his houſhold, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the
b funeral pomp. All *Jacob*'s family went likewiſe along with it, none ſtayed behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade conſiſted of a great number of chariots, and a vaſt multitude of men on horſeback. As ſoon as they had croſſed the river *Jordan*, and were entered into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of ſeven days at the threſhing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel-Mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march 'till they arrived at *Mackphelah*, where *Iſrael*'s ſons depoſited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the reſt of their company. It was then that *Joſeph*'s brethren began to fear his reſentments for the former wrongs they had done to him; to prevent which, as much as
c they could, they ſent an humble meſſage to him, to acquaint him, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt to him, that he would forget all paſt injuries, and take them ſtill under his protection. Such an injurious and undeſerv'd ſuſpicion might have had a quite contrary effect than they deſir'd, had he been of a leſs generous temper; but *Joſeph* was ſo far from reſenting it, or enquiring into the validity of this pretended laſt requeſt of their father, which he never had heard of before, though he was the proper perſon to whom it ſhould have been made, that he could not refrain his tears, whilſt the meſſenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in: to remove which, he ſent immediately for them, and received them with the ſame affection as when *Jacob* was alive; he ex-
d cuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably very much amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers.

He outlived his father about ſixty years, and when he found his death approaching, he ſent for his brethren and told them, with the ſame prophetick ſpirit that *Jacob* had done before, that God would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, and depoſit it in ſome place where they might find it, and carry it away with them, and bury it in the ſpot
e of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his laſt will. He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after [z], and his brethren took care to fulfil his laſt requeſt, having firſt got him embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians* (W). The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews

[x] Vid. ſup. p. 214, & ſeq. [y] Gen. xlix. ver. 22. & ſeq. [z] Ibid cap. ult. p. tot.

(W) The *Jewiſh* rabbies have been very fertile in their inventions, in adding many particulars to the life and death of this great man, of which there is not the leaſt footſtep in ſcripture. An inſtance of the firſt kind is the bloody fight, which he had with one *Tzepho*, the ſon of *Elophaz*, at his father's funeral, who would have withſtood their burying him in that cave of *Mackphelah*, diſputing their title to that ground, whom *Joſeph* and his men having overcome, carried away with them into *Egypt*, and kept him there a priſoner as long as *Joſeph* lived; but as ſoon as he was dead, *Tzepho* found means to eſcape into *Italy*. This ſtory is quoted by ſome learned rabbies (301) out of *Joſephus Bengorion*, by which name the *Jews* call *Joſephus* the hiſtorian. After his death, they tell us, the magicians of *Egypt* told *Pharaoh*, that if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his dominions, he muſt hide the body of *Joſeph* in ſome place where they ſhould never find it; for it would be impoſſible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it: upon which his body was ordered to be put into a ארון של תק כיכרים cheſt that weighed 500 talents, which, even according to the *Syrian* talent which is but 12 pound, amounted to 6000 pound weight, which they carefully laid in the bottom of one of the branches of the *Nile*, after they had turned the courſe of it another way, whilſt they ſunk it in the mud: and that *Moſes* was forced to work a miracle to get it out and carry it away (302). Some tell us, that his coffin was carefully laid up in the king's treaſury, becauſe his magicians had foretold, that if ever it was carried out of *Egypt*, the land would fall into moſt terrible darkneſs,

(301) R. Abr. Sepharhadi, R. Mos. Gerund. (302) *Elle Haddevarim Rabba. ſect.* וזאת הברכה *See alſo the life of* Moſes, *publiſhed by* Gaulmain *in* French, *p.* 32. *and his notes, l. ii. c.* 2.

ſhews how punctually their poſterity fulfilled the later part of his will, taking his a body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He was

darkneſs, and be plagued with an infinite number of other evils (303): beſides theſe *Jewiſh* fables, *Joſeph* has likewiſe been thought to have inſtructed the *Egyptians* in all thoſe ſciences which they became ſo famous for, by applying to him that verſe in the pſalms, *that he might inſtruct his* (Pharaoh's) *princes, and teach his ſenators wiſdom.* In a word, he has been taken for *Serapis*, *Oſiris*, *Adonis*; for *Mercury*, *alias Hermes*; for the famous *Thaut*, or *Hermes Treſmegiſt*, the reputed inventer of arts and ſciences (304): on the other hand, ſome heathen authors (305) tell us, that he learned ſeveral magic arts in *Egypt*, and in particular that of interpreting ſigns and dreams, and there is a book of magick ſtill extant, which has been falſely attributed to him, intitled *Joſeph*'s *Looking-Glaſs*: it is mentioned by *Trithemius*, *Naude*, and others. He is thought to have been the inventor of the art of meaſuring, and contriver of land-marks; which latter is more than probable, becauſe he was forced to diſtribute the lands again to the *Egyptians*, after the famine was over, which might put him upon excogitating ſome kind of boundaries to them. And *Artaphanes*, quoted by *Euſebius*, tells us, that the *Egyptians* had their fields all in common, 'till he taught them to divide and bound them, that every one might cultivate his own inheritance; adding, that he likewiſe invented the art of meaſuring, which procured him the reſpect and admiration of that people (306); they do ſhew to this day in *Egypt* ſome wells, baths, and other works of that patriarch, but thoſe eaſtern nations have added ſo many ridiculous fancies of their own to hiſtory, that they do not deſerve to be credited (307).

(X) Notwithſtanding what was ſaid in the laſt note, we ſhall venture to tell our readers, upon the teſtimony of St. *Jerom* (308) that the *Iſraelites* raiſed a moſt noble monument to *Joſeph*'s memory, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his days. It ſtood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hamor*, and which he afterwards gave to him, in which field *Joſeph* was actually buried (309).

Mohammed in his *Koran Sarat* XII. gives us a long hiſtory of *Joſeph*, which he has ſtuffed with many fabulous circumſtances, and which the eaſtern people have ſtill more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have ſeveral books of his amours with *Zeleikkah*, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, his maſter *Potiphar*'s wife, which they make uſe of to kindle the love of God in their hearts, it being among them what the canticles are with the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that is, an allegory of the love of God and a pious ſoul. As for *Mahomet*'s hiſtory of *Joſeph*, though it differs much from that of *Moſes*, yet the reader may not think it amiſs to have a ſketch of it. It is to this purpoſe (311) *Joſeph* having acquainted his father with his dream of the ſun, moon, and 12 ſtars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, leſt the devil ſhould put it into their heads to conſpire againſt him, adding, that *Joſeph* would be the choſen one of God, *&c.* but his brethren, ſeeing that he was better beloved than they, reſolved to murder him; to which end they perſuaded their father to ſend him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diverſion to him, promiſing at the ſame time, that they would take great care of him: *Jacob* anſwered, that he was afraid leſt they ſhould be careleſs of him, to which they replied, are you afraid the wolves ſhould come and eat him in our preſence, or that we ſhall not have ſtrength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well; they came home that ſame night, and told him, that whilſt they were playing and running a race, and *Joſeph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their ſtory, they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s bloody ſhirt; upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly anſwer for it before God; after which he endeavoured to bear his loſs patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted ſome water, let down their bucket into the well, and *Joſeph* laying hold on it was drawn out; they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they ſold him for a little ready money. The perſon who bought him gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove uſeful, and be inſtead of a ſon to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his miſtreſs *Zeleikah* became ſo exceſſively in love with him, that ſhe ſhut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her paſſion to him: *Joſeph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door, but before he could open it, ſhe caught hold on his ſhirt, and tore it off his back: her husband happened to be behind the door, and ſhe no ſooner ſaw him, but ſhe began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joſeph* againſt her chaſtity, whom ſhe therefore deſired to be ſeverely puniſhed, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what ſhe ſaid: the child readily anſwered, that if the ſhirt was torn before, he was guilty and ſhe innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and ſhe accuſed him falſely. The ſhirt, upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joſeph*, and diſcovered the ill intention of his miſtreſs.

The whole city was ſoon filled with the noiſe of this adventure, and *Zeleikah* being informed that the ladies ſpoke of it much to her diſadvantage, reſolved to invite them to a feaſt, and, whilſt they were eating, to introduce *Joſeph* to them. She did ſo, and he no ſooner appeared, but his beauty did aſtoniſh them beyond meaſure; inſomuch, that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers inſtead of their meat, and whiſpered to one another, that he muſt be an angel and no man! By this means ſhe put a ſtop to their reflections; but it was not long before ſhe made another puſh at her ſervant, though with as little ſucceſs; which ſo enraged her, that ſhe got him ſent into priſon, where he expounded the butler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh*'s dream, which he did ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he was made ſuperintendent of all his finances.

Mohammed

(303) *Teſtam. XII. patriar. in vit. Simeon.* (304) *Vid.* Calmet *Hiſt. O. T. c. xxxv.* (305) Justin *ex* Trog. *lib. xxxvi.* (306) Artaph *ap. Euſeb. de præpar. lib. ix. cap. xxiii.* (307) *Vid.* Calm. *loc citat.* (308) Hieron. *qu. hæbr. in Geneſ.* (309) *Joſh. xxiv. 32.* (310) *Vid.* Marace. *notes on the Alcoran.* Herbel. *Diction. in the word* Jouſouph. (311) *Bibliot. Orient.* Jouſouph ben Jacub.

a was 110 years old, when he died, an age which came very ſhort of that of his anceſtors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great wiſdom and merit, had raiſed him. However, he had the pleaſure to ſee of his offspring to the third generation, which none of his fathers did, *viz.* *Shuttelah* and *Tachan*, the ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Hadan* the ſon of *Shuttelah*; as likewiſe *Machir* the ſon of *Manaſſe*, and *Gilead Machir's* ſon. Theſe five are thoſe whom the *Septuagint* verſion adds to the number of the ſeventy that came down into *Egypt*, though 'tis plain they were not born 'till ſome time after*.

b How the *Iſraelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, 'till they were at length brought under moſt cruel ſlavery, will be ſeen in the next ſection. In the mean time we hope, our readers will not be diſpleaſed, if we make a ſhort retroſpection on their forefathers, and add ſome few obſervations on the ſimplicity of their religion and manner of living, which were neither ſo obvious, nor could be interſperſed in their hiſtory, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with thoſe of the moſt polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, ſuch as were the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the diſtances of time, place, and other obvious circumſtances, they c will appear to be the moſt natural and perfect pattern of civil ſociety, and of a happy life. If therefore their poſterity, after they became poſſeſſors of that happy land, did ſo ſtrangely deviate from them, as it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory that they did, it can be attributed to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy, which their long and horrid thraldom had cauſed in them, which took ſuch deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, during which time a new generation was, as it were, ſprung up, nor the wholeſome laws, which providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moſes* had ſet before them in ſuch lively colours; nor, laſtly, all the heavy d judgments, which their invincible obſtinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

It muſt be owned, however, that unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that fond partiality which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn, not only thoſe of the ancient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have cloſely followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have commended them for it: that part of their religion which conſiſted in the butchering of a

* Vid. ſup. p. 458. *not.* (B).

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the ſtory of his brethren coming to buy corn; of his ſtopping his brother *Benjamin*, and of his diſcovering himſelf to them; and adds, that *Joſeph* hearing that his father had wept ſo much for him, that he had loſt his ſight, he gave them one of his ſhirts, and bid them go home, and lay it over his face, and he would recover his ſight; after which he charged them to come back to him with their whole family.

By that time the Caravan was got half way homewards, *Jacob* told thoſe that were with him, that he ſmelt the ſmell of his ſon *Joſeph*, deſiring them not to laugh at him, for he was ſure of what he ſaid. Accordingly a few days after one of his ſons brought him *Joſeph*'s ſhirt, and as ſoon as he laid it over his face, his ſight came to him again: he made all the haſte he could to go down into *Egypt* with his family, and all he had; where *Joſeph* met him, and taking him by the hand, deſired him not to be afraid of coming into *Egypt*. He then made him ſit down, whilſt his brethren did fall proſtrate before him, which made him take notice to his father that now his dream was fulfilled. Thus far *Mohammed*, whoſe followers further add, that *Joſeph* was 17 years old when he was ſold; that the king who then reigned was *Rian* the ſon of *Walid*; that he was likewiſe called *Pharaoh*, which ſignifies a deſpotick monarch; that *Joſeph* did afterwards inſtruct him in the knowledge of the true God; but that his ſucceſſor, named *Rabous*, the ſon of *Maſſaab*, proved a wicked prince: that the *Iſraelites* continued 430 years in *Egypt*, from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming down, to their being delivered out of it by *Moſes*, who took care to carry away the bones and coffin of *Joſeph*, which had lain buried in the bottom of the *Nile*.

Ebn Batrick, otherwiſe called *Eutychius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us, that *Joſeph* married *Azimah*, the daughter of the *Kaben* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the *prieſt*, or *diviner of the fountain of the ſun*, which was the name of the city of *On*, called alſo by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He aſſures us likewiſe, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the deſcription of which has been given before, *p.* 179, *&c.* and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the diſcharge of the waters of that river, were *Joſeph*'s own works. In a word, they attribute to him all the curious wells, ciſterns, aqueducts, and publick granaries, as well as ſome obelisks, pyramids, and other ancient monuments, all which are ſtill called by his name, and pretend, that he had ſomething ſhining like a ſtar upon one of his ſhoulders, which was an indelible character of the gift of propheſy, and a ſure token of his future grandeur.

number of living creatures; their plainness and simplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their seeming contempt of arts and sciences; their real one of ease, luxury, and high titles; all these, and many more, will be apt to be censured by the lump, and every deviation from it will be looked upon as an improvement in society, and a refinement of their dull insipid taste, which some will be apt to attribute to the increase of arts aud sciences, and others more absurdly to religion. But it is not to such partial judges that we appeal, for the justness of these remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced sort, whose judgment is not warped by emulation, custom, and example.

And here we need remount no higher, than where we began our history, that is, to *Abraham*. He had conversed with some of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather he had been educated in it, and was so great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of those nations he lived amongst, and brought up his children the same way. For here we must remember that in those days every family did as it were compose a kingdom or free estate, of which the chief was in all respects, if we except the name and a few needless and troublesome ceremonies, supreme and absolute monarch, and as such made either war or peace, and alliances offensive or defensive with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit [a]: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter did begin betimes to live in walled and fortified towns, whereas the former chose to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other respects it is plain, they were inferior to none of the cotemporary princes, though they despised those pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours so much affected.

Their riches consisting chiefly, in a prodigious quantity of cattle [b], such as sheep, oxen, camels, and asses (horses we read of none), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of servants and slaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-servants to *Lot*'s rescue, besides those he left behind to guard his substance, and his old men, women, and children [c]. As for gold, silver, jewels, and such like valuable things, we do not find, that he was possessed of any, 'till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped those rich presents on him, though they might probably barter some of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in those days; but neither this, nor his other kinds of riches, did exempt him or his posterity from a laborious life, to which their chusing to live in tents for the benefit of often shifting their habitations for the sake of their numerous herds, did unavoidably oblige them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances permitted it. Thus we find *Isaac* sowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the situation and the king's friendship invited him to make a considerable stay [d]; but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries where water was scarce, and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the complaint which *Jacob* made to his father-in-law [e]. Neither was the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it; and though *Abraham*'s posterity doth not afford us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female, viz. *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter, and she only remembred for her fatal curiosity; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in *Padan-haran*, we shall find, that neither their birth, youth, or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their flocks at proper seasons. This we find to have been the case of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and other fair damsels of that country, and of *Jethro's* daughters some hundred years after them. And how distasteful soever this primitive simplicity may appear to our present age, yet *Homer* [f] will tell us how much, and how long, it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whose politeness is to this day so justly admired; insomuch, that the chief employment of the seven sons of *Eetion*, king of the *Cilicians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks [g]; and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewise in *Syria*, and other countries above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in some of the most beautiful pastorals of antiquity.

This

[a] Gen. xiv. 13. ibid. xxvi 26, & seq. [b] Gen. xiii. 6. & seq. ibid. xxxii. 16, & seq.
[c] Gen. xiv. 24, &c. [d] Gen. xxvi. 11, 12, & seq. [e] Gen. xxxi. — 40, & seq. vid. sup. p. 444.
[f] Homer Iliad Δ. Idem Iliad Z.

a THIS laborious life ſeldom failed to keep both men and women in a good ſtate of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digeſtion, ſo they were the more ſimple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a diſh of veniſon, were reckoned a rich feaſt; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his Heroes in his *Odyſſes*, after that of the patriarchs, ſo far was he from thinking ſuch a life unworthy of the greateſt men. Whoever conſiders that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and conſequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Eſau*, will no doubt wonder at his being ſuffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles, for ſo far it was at leaſt from *Beer-*
b *ſheba* to *Padan-haran*, without a ſervant, or any other conveniency for travelling than his bare ſtaff; but yet it appears, that he had been ſo well inured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himſelf down in the open field, as ſoon as night came upon him, and taking the firſt ſtone that came to hand to ſerve him for a pillow [h]. That he took care to breed up his ſons in the ſame hardy way, is plain by his ſending his favourite *Joſeph* at the age of 16 as far as *Hebron*, to enquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamreh*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joſeph*'s hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles further, diſcourage him from continuing his journey 'till he had met with them [i].

c THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigour, but was likewiſe an effectual means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths ſweet and eaſy. If we except *Iſaac*, who is deſcribed rather as a contemplative than a laborious man [k], and began to fail in his ſtrength much ſooner than the reſt; we read of no diſeaſes they were ſubject to, nor of any phyſicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All thoſe, whoſe age is ſet down by *Moſes*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joſeph*, whoſe courtly way of living may probably have ſhortened his days [l].

d THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues. how far otherwiſe ſoever it may appear at firſt ſight: *Abraham* lived in a country where poligamy was allowed, and a numerous offſpring eſteemed one of the greateſt earthly bleſſings; he ſaw himſelf unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and though maſter of vaſt poſſeſſions, yet choſe to make his ſervant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither doth he take *Hagar* to his bed 'till he is promiſed an heir that ſhould come out of his loins, and is perſwaded to it by his wife [m]. The children he had of *Keturah*, after *Sarah*'s death, ſhew, that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Iſaac* and his promiſed poſterity had the nobleſt title to all the bleſſings that were denounced to *Abra-*
e *ham*; *Rebecca* proves barren for a conſiderable time, and had but two ſons at laſt, and yet we do not find, that ever he expreſt a deſire of taking another wife [n]. *Jacob* indeed was unwarrily drawn in to marry two ſiſters, and afterwards to take their maids to be his concubines; but whoever conſiders how contented he would have been with *Rachel* alone, that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him; that *Rachel*'s barrenneſs, and deſire of children, and his fondneſs for her, made him accept of her handmaid; that when he had once done it for one ſiſter, he could not decently refuſe it to the other [o]; that it was the cuſtom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as conſiſtent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I ſay, conſiders all theſe, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealouſies and diſcords between the two ſiſters, and probably between the miſtreſſes and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his ſons to follow
f his example, ſince we do not read of one that did not reſt contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is juſtly taxed with incontinency, but it muſt be remembered, that his adventure with *Thamar* was wholly accidental, and unſought for by him, and that he did not give himſelf that liberty, 'till after his wife's death [p]. However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much leſs do we intend to write panegyricks upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hoſpitality to ſtrangers, their faithfulneſs to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conſpicuous for, and ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few words concerning their religion, and ſhewing, that that, joined to their primitive ſimplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and

[h] Gen. xxviii. 11. [i] Ibid. xxxvii. 17. [k] Ibid. xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1 & ſeq. [l] Gen. l. 26. [m] Gen. xv. 3. ibid. xvi. 2. [n] Ibid. xxv. 21, & ſeq. [o] Ibid. xxix, & xxx. paſſim. [p] Ibid. xxxviii. 12, & ſeq.

and a happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively instance of the early depravity of mankind, but casts no reflexion on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and absolute sway over his whole family, obliged him to breed them up in the knowledge and fear of the true God, and a strict observance to his laws, which was the most effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that ease and tranquility, for which they are so justly admired.

As for their religion, it was not only the freest from idolatry and superstition, but the simplest and purest in the world, or, at least, that the world was then capable of. It consisted chiefly in a ready obedience to God's commands, under whose immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promises under all dangers and difficulttes, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgment for all his blessings and deliverance. This last part seems to have introduced the religious custom of tithes, if they were not of a much older date: accordingly we find *Abraham* giving the tenths of all the spoils of his late gotten victory to *Melchisedech* [q], and *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his possessions to God, if he would bless and bring him back safe to his father's house [r]. How these were at first paid, or to whom, is not easy to guess, whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their descendants, who still held the high priesthood; or, as is most likely, by consecrating a tenth part to religious uses, such as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of sacrifices to God, since such things as are consecrated to God's worship are, in the language of scripture, said to be given to God. These sacrifices have indeed something in them that is shocking and unnatural, as we observed before, and when we consider how soon they began, and how universally they spread themselves, reason will be at a loss how to account for their introduction and progress, any other way than by supposing them to be of God's own instituting, as types of that grand sacrifice which Christ was to offer up for the sins of the world: but this is rather a point of divinity than history, and so out of our sphere. In all other cases, it is plain, their religion was pure, simple, and uniform, and might have continued such after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and stubbornness obliged their divine law-giver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing those of other nations with their own, as the sequel of their history will shew. We shall only add, that as other nations seem to have received from the ancient patriarchs the ceremony of sacrificing beasts to their gods; that is, of substituting an innocent lamb, sheep, &c. in their guilty stead, without retaining the notion of the design, or typical institution of them; so it is very probable, that the intended sacrifice of *Isaac*, by the father of the faithful, by which he gave such a glorious testimony of his faith, and reliance on God's promises, may have given birth to the bloody custom of sacrificing of children, which became afterwards so universal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Israelites* themselves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch, only as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it than the great applause and blessings he received upon that account; from which they might conclude as it were *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved so meritorious, much more would the real sacrificing of their own children be: and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of such a bloody ceremony consisted chiefly in the stifling all sense of humanity and natural affection, it was easy for them to infer, that the more they did so by the cruel torments they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the sacrifice; but this we submit to the reader's judgment.

[q] Gen. xiv. 20. [r] Ibid. xxviii. ult.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The history of the Jews *from their* Egyptian *bondage, to their entrance into the land of* Canaan.

The great increase of the Israelites *in* Egypt.

WE return now to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, who did so prodigiously increase both in number and in strength, during the 215 years of their abode there [a], (A) that the jealous *Egyptians* had already long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not formidable People. And indeed if we consider to what a prodigious multitude these seventy souls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increased, insomuch that *Moses* tells us, they amounted to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards [b], all able to bear arms; besides those under 20 years of age, old men from sixty to a hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer than that, and women, which may be reasonably supposed to have been much more numerous than the men, who were allowed a plurality of wives. I say, if we consider this wonderful increase (which in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought 70 wives with them, which is the utmost that can be supposed) will be as 140 to 280,000, that is as 20,000 to one) we shall not wonder at *Egypt*'s fearing, lest they should in a short time cover the whole face of it. Neither need we have recourse to miracles, as the *Jews* do [c], for this prodigious increase (B). We have already given in a former chapter some tables * of the probable increase of mankind in any number of years; and if this seems to out-do that Calculation, it must be remembred, that they had a peculiar promise for it, and a peculiar blessing from GOD attending them. Neither was their courage ar strength less to be feared than their number. The sons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, tho' unsuccessful, attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the Cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in *Egypt*. This adventure, though not recorded by *Moses*, has been preserved to us by the author of the first book of *Chronicles* [d], and might easily let the *Egyptians* see, what the united force of twelve such fructifying tribes might do in process of time, when one single one, of so short a standing, could venture upon such a hazardous enterprise. However that be, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born; sure it is, that form, or even before, that time they began to be more and more cruelly oppressed by the *Egyptians*, whose unheard of treatment towards that oppressed people might be owing to more causes than one; such as

The sons of Ephraim's *incursion on the* Gathites.

 their

[a] Exod. i. 7. [b] Numb. i. 46. [c] Vid. ABEN-EZRAH, & MUNSTER in loc.
* Vid. sup. p. 105. [d] 1 Chron. vii. 21. OSIAND in loc.

(A) *Moses* was so surprized at this wonderful increase of his people, when he came to take an account of them, that he makes use of four of the strongest verbs in the whole *Hebrew* tongue to express it, *viz.* פָּרָה *pharà*, they fructified, or multiplied like the fruit of trees; יִשְׁרְצוּ *jisrezzù*, they multiplied like fishes; רָבוּ *rabbù*, they daily increased in number; יִעְצְמוּ *jabatzmù*, they grew stronger and stronger (1). Had their hard bondage suffered them to have increased as much in wisdom and greatness of mind, they had not given him so much trouble, as we find they did, both in *Egypt* and in the wilderness.

(B) St. *Austin* (2) thinks, that this prodigious increase of the *Israelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben-Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or 4 at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once (3). This he seems to have taken from *Aristotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who says, that in *Egypt* the women were sometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourse to such prodigious births, which happen but seldom, we need but suppose, that the *Israelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful, that they began soon, and continued long in begetting, which has been shewn in the former section to have been the fact. We see no impossibility for 70 males, in the compass of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler*'s computation, 70 persons, if they beget a child every year, will in 30 years time have above 2000 children; of which admit that one third part only did come to procreate, in 30 years more they will amount to 9000; the third part of it will in 30 years more be multiplied to 45,000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be at least 2,760,000. If therefore there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours and cruel bondage.

(1) *Exod. i. 7.* (2) AUG. *de civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7.* (3) ABEN-EZRA. *ap* MUNST. *in loc.* PELICAN *& al.* (4) *Histor. animal. lib. vii. c. 4.*

their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Israelites*, both as shepherds and *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon those beasts that were worshipped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to see them so successful and the like; but the main, and indeed sufficient motive mentioned in the text, was, their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, lest upon any war they should join with their enemies, and drive them out of the land [e]. This last made such an impression upon them, that though they were resolved to crush them as much as possible, if not totally to destroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kind of oppression, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

THIS terrible persecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king [f], who knew not *Joseph* (D), or had forgot the

Their cruel bondage.

[e] Exod. 1. 9, 10. [f] Ibid. ver. 8.

(C) It is to be observed, that the original words שרי מסים *Sarè Massim*, which we translate task-masters, do properly signify tax-gatherers; the burthens are mentioned afterwards under another name; so that they lay heavy tributes upon them to impoverish, and heavy burthens to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burthens above their strength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and servers; that they were employed in Brick-making, digging, and building: that if any of them dropt dead under their burthens, they were not suffered to bury them. *Josephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into channels; to wall whole towns, casting up dikes and banks to keep off inundations; nay to erect phantastical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn several laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual restless labour. Another author tells us (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourselves further than with what *Moses* tells us, we shall find their work hard enough (8); they were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and seek out for stubble instead of straw, without the least diminution of their tasks, of which if they chanced to come short, which could not possibly be avoided; their overseers were severely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by these three ways to bring them under, *viz.* by exacting a tribute to lessen their wealth, laying heavy burthens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increasing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulness, taking the words of *Moses* in their literal sense, if we consider, that kings were then only elective, and all the subjects looked upon as their slaves (10). Archbishop *Usher* mentions seven king's between *Joseph*'s death and this who knew not *Joseph*, *i. e.* in about 60 years, which was more than sufficient to obliterate all his signal services. Some indeed, thinking this impossible, there being still so many monuments extant of them, have understood *Moses*'s words in a less strict sense, as if he had not forgot, but refused to acknowledge them. Thus St. *Paul* is made to say (11), that he knew not that it was the high-priest that caused him to be smitten, when every child might have known him both by his particular dress, and the place where he sat: whereas it is thought, that he meant, he did not acknowledge him to be the high-priest, because he had obtained the mitre by bribery (12); but as *Moses* calls this a new king, probably because he was of another family, if not a stranger, there will be no reason to depart from the literal sense. Who this new king was is not so easily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Assyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (13) *My people went down into* Egypt *to sojourn, and an* Assyrian *oppressed them.* But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles, any *Assyrian* kings either before *Moses*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whose ninth year *Joseph* is supposed to have died, and the bondage to have began (14); because *Levi* outlived *Joseph* above 23 years (15); whereas the thraldom did not commence 'till all the patriarchs were dead. Some therefore suppose, that it was *Amenophos*, because *Eusebius* thinks, that *Moses* was born in the 18th year of his reign, and so doth St *Jerom* (16). This king is also called *Memnon*, the speaking stone, whose statue did use to speak at the sun-rising, and is thought by some to have continued 'till our Saviour's time (17). Archbishop *Usher*, after *Mercator*, thinks, it was *Rameses Miamun*, the latter part of whose name seems to have been deduced from the forepart of *Amen-Ophis*, by which name sundry of his predecessors, as well as his son after him, were called. This king the above-mentioned Primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frighted at the number and strength of the *Israelites*, he began to oppress them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, besides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building also of royal magazines, storehouses, and the whole cities of *Raamsis*, or *Rameses*, and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (18), but we shall find a great difficulty here, *viz.* how to reconcile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* says (19), that this *Rameses* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moses*. Upon the whole, the reader is desired to remember, what we said in the history of *Egypt* concerning the difficulty of adjusting their chronology, and particularly, who those kings were under whom the *Israelites* suffered this slavery †. As for those

(5) PHILO *in vit.* Mosis. (6) *Antiq. l. ii. c.* 9. (7) EUPOLEM *ap* EUSEB. *præp.* (8) *Exod. i.* 14. (9) *Ibid. c. v. passim.* (10) DIOD. SICUL. *l. ii. c. i. Gen. xlviii.* 19, 20. (11) *Act. xviii.* 5. (12) LE SCENE *Essay d' une novelle version & al.* (13) *Isai. lii.* 4. (14) VINCENT *in loc.* (15) *Exod. vi.* 16. (16) EUSEB. HIERON. *in Chronic.* (17) PERRER. SIMLER. *& al.* (18) USHER'S *annal. p.* 12. (19) PLIN. *lib. xxxvi. c. viii.*

† *Vid. sup. p.* 258. *not.* I.

a the great ſervices which that glorious miniſter had done, both to the crown and nation of *Egypt*. This we need not wonder at after ſo many years, when *Ahaſhuerus* could ſo ſoon forget *Mordecai*, who had ſo lately ſaved his life [g]. Though it muſt be owned, that had *Joſeph*'s merit been never ſo freſh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically conſidered, had nothing ſtrange or uncommon, ſince it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man, that had been dead above 50 years, had prevented his taking all the cautious meaſures to ſecure his own kingdom, againſt the danger it ſeemed threatned with from a people, who from an indigent family were become ſuch a numerous and formidable hoſt. The religion of the *Iſraelites* ſo oppoſite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their ſtrict union among themſelves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joſeph*'s life; their b indefatigable induſtry in feeding their numberleſs herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily ſtrength and warlike temper; in all which, and many other reſpects, they ſeem to have been far ſuperior the *Egyptians*: all theſe I ſay did ſufficiently juſtify *Pharaoh*'s fears, if not in ſome meaſure to authoriſe thoſe violent meaſures which he took againſt them (E). We have ſeen in our days chriſtian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions againſt their own natural ſubjects, of whoſe fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs, than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Iſrael*; and yet theſe perſecutions have been juſtified, nay canonized, whilſt *Pharaoh*'s have been branded with the worſt of epithets, and are c not mentioned without horror.

HAD indeed the *Egyptian* court been leſs a ſtranger to the *Iſraelites*, they would have had little cauſe to fear being driven out of their own country, againſt which theſe were ſo far from deſigning any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themſelves but as ſojourners for a while, ſtill waiting for the happy day when GOD ſhould call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wiſely concealed this ſecret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loath to loſe the ſervice of ſuch a numerous people, not to prevent their going by all poſſible means. Beſides, had it been known, there was ſtill that danger of their joining with their enemies, upon any war or invaſion, in or- d der to facilitate their eſcape. *Pharaoh* indeed makes the great advantage of their ſervitude a pretence for not letting them go where *Moſes* deſired [h]; but had that been all, it is not likely, he would have taken ſuch effectual methods of depriving himſelf of it, by totally deſtroying them: for when he found, by the experience of at leaſt ten years, that neither the hardſhips he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people uſed towards them, could prevent their multiplying as faſt as, if not faſter than ever [i], he ſent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiprah* and *Phuah*, (F) and ſtrictly charged them, that, when they perform-

Pharaoh's *cruel orders to the* Hebrew *midwives.*

ed

[g] Eſther vi. 23. [h] Exod. xiv. 5. [i] Ibid. c. i. 12.

thoſe who pretend, that the *Iſraelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (20), or that they groaned under that ſlavery all that time, as *Joſephus* (21), they'll ſend us ſtill farther to ſeek for a king that will fit them; but we hope, we have ſufficiently proved their error in our notes in the former ſection, *p.* 425. *not.* K, and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(E) *Joſephus*, not thinking all theſe ſufficient to alarm the king of *Egypt*, tells us (22), that there was a certain ſcribe famous for his predictions, who went and told him, that there was a *Hebrew* child to be born about that very time, that would prove a ſcourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the glory of his nation, and that, if he lived to grow up, he would be eminent for his virtue and courage, and make his name famous to poſterity: that *Pharaoh* was ſo ſtartled at this prediction, that he ordered the *Egyptian* midwives, under pain of death, carefully to attend the labour of all the *Hebrew* women, and to deſtroy all their males. But, as *Moſes* doth not hint any thing like it, the reader may as ſafely reject as admit it.

(F) Though *Moſes* mentions but two midwives, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they could ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt number of women. Some therefore think, that theſe two only attended on the nobler ſort of *Hebrew* women, whoſe children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23): whereas his charge was to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think, that the *Hebrew women, being ſtrong and eaſily delivered* (24), might probably ſhift with two midwives; but it is to be conſidered, that this was not ſo much the real fact, as an excuſe of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable, that theſe two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the reſt (25); and that there was ſuch a precedency or ſuperiority among the midwives, whatever *Cajetan* ſays to the contrary, appears very probable at leaſt from what *Plutarch* tells us, that among the *Grecians*, there were ſome, to whom the care of that buſineſs was committed, and that publick ſchools were kept for that purpoſe (26). Several learned expoſitors, eſpecially among the *Romiſh* (27), following the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* verſions, which read המילדות העבריות *Hamia-*

(20) GENEBRARD *chronogr. p.* 11. *ſub An. M.* 2660. (21) *Antiq. l. ii. c. ix.* (22) *Ibid.* (23) CAJET. *in loc.* (24) *Exod. i.* 9. (25) PELICAN. VATABL. OUTRAN. *& al.* (26) *Vid.* JUN. *in analys.* VILLET *& al.* (27) PERRER. ARET. SIMLER, *&c.*

ed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they ſhould deſtroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But theſe women, who feared God and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, being extremely provoked at it, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatning tone aſked them, how they dared to diſobey his orders? The women had not their anſwer to ſeek, for they readily told his Majeſty, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being luſty and ſtrong, and bringing forth more like the beaſts of the foreſt than like women (G); ſo that their children were born before they could come to them. *Moſes* tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that God bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity [k] (H): not becauſe their having told a lye to the king made them worthy

They are reproved for their diſobedience,

and rewarded by God for their piety.

[k] Ibid. ver. 21.

Hamialedoth haghibrioth, the midwives of the Hebrew *women*, inſtead of the *Hebrew midwives*, as the grammatical conſtruction rather requires, have fancied, after *Joſephus* (28), that they were *Egyptian* midwives, as being moſt likely to obey the king's bloody command, and that the *Iſraelites* had no midwives among them. This laſt is wholly improbable, and contrary to ſeveral places of ſcripture; beſides, their being influenced by the fear of God to diſobey the king's order, is more applicable to the *Hebrew* than to the *Egyptian* midwives. Laſtly, their names, which were wholly *Hebrew*, ſhows them to have been ſuch; for the word *Shiphrah* comes from שפר *Shaphar*, which ſignifies to be, or to make beautiful; and therefore the *Jewiſh* etymologiſt gives us this reaſon for her being called ſo, *viz.* becauſe שמשפרת את היולד ſhe ſhaped the babe into form. The other was called *Phuah*, from פעה to cry out, either becauſe they generally make the women to cry out luſtily, that they may be the ſooner rid of their burthen; or becauſe they are moſt accuſtomed to the cries of the mothers and the children. And whereas *Joſephus* ſays, that *Hebrew* women would have been too partial to their people, the ſame reaſon did hold againſt *Pharaoh*'s ſetting up *Hebrew* task-maſters over them, which yet we find he did, and the fear of death might as eaſily influence the one as the other nation to obey the king (29.) As for thoſe who think, with ſome *Hebrew* Rabbies (30), that theſe two midwives were *Jockabedh*, *Moſes*'s mother, and *Miriam* her daughter, and that they are here only ſirnamed in alluſion to their office; they are not worth confuting, ſince *Miriam* could not be above ſix or ſeven years old when this order was given, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

(G) The word חיות *chaioth*, which we tranſlate *lively*, doth likewiſe ſignify wild beaſts, and may be taken in that ſenſe in this place, ſeeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beaſts of the field, needed no help to be delivered. A great deal of learned duſt has been raiſed about this anſwer of the midwives; as, 1. whether it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a lye. 2. Whether, and how far, it was excuſable in them. 3. Whether the reward mentioned by *Moſes* was given them for the lye, or for their mercy, or both. It is plain, this anſwer of theirs was the effect of their fear of the king's diſpleaſure, and not of that merciful diſpoſition which they ſhewed towards the poor children: this laſt was the virtue here rewarded, whatever betided them for the lye they told, if it was really ſuch; for it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more ſtrictly than the looſe and maſterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much eaſier labours than they, and ſo have leſs need of midwives. Their anſwer might therefore be true in part, though not in the whole, and as to their ſtretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good deſign, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, who made their wives paſs for their ſiſters, though they were only ſo in a far fetched ſenſe.

(H) Our *Engliſh*, and ſeveral other verſions, having followed the *Hebrew* too literally, have rendered this place, *the lord made them houſes*, which though it may imply the ſame ſenſe we have given it, yet it is too obſcurely expreſſed, and has led ſome expoſitors, for want of attending to the *Hebrew* idiom, into ſome abſurd notions. Thus St. *Jerom* underſtands it of houſes in heaven (31); others of ſtrong houſes built by the *Iſraelites*, to defend them againſt the rage of *Pharaoh* (32); others, thinking them to have been *Jochabedh* and *Miriam*, have underſtood it of the kingdom and prieſthood, which was afterwards ſettled upon their poſterity; becauſe *Jochabedh* was mother to *Aaron*, and *Miriam* to *Caleb* (33); but, beſides that *Miriam* was too young for ſuch an office, it is not certain, ſhe was *Caleb*'s mother; on the contrary, *Joſephus* tells us (34), that ſhe was the wife of *Hur*. Some again, taking them to have been *Egyptians*, have underſtood it of their being incorporated into the common-wealth of *Iſrael* (35), as *Rahab* afterwards was. Others think, that their families were enriched by a particular bleſſing (36); but the trueſt ſenſe is, that their houſes or families were greatly increaſed. For the word בן *Ben*, a ſon in the *Hebrew*, comes from בנה *Banah*, to build, becauſe he is as it were the builder of the houſe or family: in this ſenſe *Sarah* gives her maid to *Abraham*, that ſhe might be built, that is be made a mother by her (37). Accordingly the *Pſalmiſt* (38) ſays, *who maketh the barren woman* to become *a houſe* or family, and to be *a joyful mother of children* (39).

There is ſtill one difficulty more in the text, which is, that the word להם *lahem, to them*, is of the maſculine gender; whereas if it had related to the midvives, it ſhould have been להן *lahen*, from which ſome have imagined, that it refers to the *Egyptians* who built themſelves ſtrong houſes to put the pregnant *Hebrews*

(28) *Ant. l. ii. c. ix.* (29) S. Aug. *lib. contr. mendac. cap. xv, xvi.* (30) Rab. Abr. Sepharad. *& al.* (31) Hieron. *in cap. lxv. Iſai.* (32) Sepharadi *in loc.* (33) R. Salom. *& al.* (34) *Ant. l. iii. c. 9.* (35) Vatabl. Pined, *&c.* (36) August. Theodor. (37) *Gen. xvi.* (38) *Pſ. cxiii. 9.* (39) D. Kimchi, Perrer, Le Scene, *&c.*

a thy of no better than a temporal reward, excluſive of any other, as ſome ancient fathers have thought [1]: but *Moſes* records this temporal recompence, as beſt ſuiting the carnal people he had to do with, who ſeem to have had little thought of another life, if they could but make themſelves comfortably happy in this.

However, *Pharaoh*, finding that theſe underhand ſtratagems proved ineffectual, reſolved to act more openly againſt the *Iſraelites*, and to make the parents become the executioners of their own children. To this end he iſſues out an order, under the ſevereſt penalties, that every *Hebrew* male child that was born, ſhould be caſt into the *Nile*, and that none but the females ſhould be ſuffered to live; by which the people ſaw themſelves obliged either to drown their own chil- b dren, or to ſee it done by the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they were diſcovered, and themſelves ſeverely puniſhed for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted *Iſraelites*, too prone naturally to deſpond and deſpair of God's promiſes. They thought themſelves on the eve of their deliverance from the hardeſt of ſlaveries; a glorious deliverer was promiſed to them, whom they now ſee condemned to die as ſoon as born. But God, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated either by the private artifices, or open violence of the king of *Egypt*, made him the inſtrument of bringing up that very child whom he took ſuch pains to deſtroy.

The Iſraelites *commanded to drown all their male Children.*

Amram, the ſon of *Kohath* and grandſon of *Levi*, had married *Jocabedh*, c the daughter of *Levi*, his own aunt (I), by whom he had had two children before the king's edict, *viz.* *Miriam* and *Aaron* (K); but *Moſes* not being born 'till ſome time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, God inſpired them with a more than ordinary reluctancy to obey it; ſo that

Moſes *is born,*

[1] Gregor. lib. viii. moral.

Iſraelites in, that they might not elude the king's deſign: but if that had been the caſe, he muſt rather have built large cities to have ſufficed the vaſt multitude of *Hebrew* women. Others think, that it was the *Iſraelites*, and not the midwives, that were ſo multiplied; becauſe, ſay they, women cannot be ſaid to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the bleſſing which was given to *Ruth* (41), that *ſhe might prove like* Rachel *and* Leah, *which two did build the houſe, or family of* Iſrael. We rather therefore think it more probable, that the *Mem* is put for the *Nun*, which very often happens, and the maſculine for the feminine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the maſculine relative is applied to *Jethro*'s ſeven daughters, and many other places beſides (43); and that the maſculine pronoun is given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the ſacred tongue.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jocabedh Amram*'s aunt, though the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and after them many learned expoſitors, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have thought, that ſhe was no more than his uncle *Kohath*'s daughter, and conſequently his couſin-german, becauſe the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For though the word דוד *Dod* in the original, doth ſometimes ſignify an uncle's ſon (2), and דודה *Dodah*, an uncle's daughter or couſin-german; yet ſeeing *Moſes* tells us (3), that ſhe was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram*'s aunt (4), in another place, we thought, we might ſafely give her that name after many learned men (5). And here we cannot forbear taking notice of a miſtake, which *Calmet* muſt have been led into by ſome *Ammanuenſis*, who mentions the learned *Uſher* in the number of thoſe who think, that ſhe was but firſt couſin to *Amram*; whereas the contrary appears by the very place quoted by him, where that prelate calls her *Levi's daughter, and* Amram's *aunt and wife*. Some *Hebrew* writers (6) pretend, that ſhe was born about the time that *Jacob* came down to *Egypt*; at which rate ſhe muſt have been 135 years old when *Moſes* was born, that is, above 40 years older than *Sarah* was when ſhe bore *Iſaac*: but had *Moſes*'s birth been ſo miraculous, we need not doubt, but he would have recorded it as well as that of *Iſaac*. It is therefore more likely, that *Levi* begot her in *Egypt* in the 100th year of his age, which was nothing wonderful, ſeeing *Abraham* begot ſeveral children of *Keturah* after the 137th of his; and *Jacob* begot *Benjamin* when he was 107; and as for *Jocabedh*, ſhe may be ſafely ſuppoſed to have bore *Moſes* when ſhe was 68 years old, nothing being more common than for the *Hebrew* women in thoſe days to bear children at, and even after, that age (7); and then we need not to go ſeek for another *Jocabedh*, to make her coincide with the time of *Moſes*'s birth, as ſome have done, ſince whatever other of that name were found, ſhe muſt be *Amram*'s aunt, as the text calls her in the places above quoted.

(K) Though *Moſes* doth mention nothing of the age of his ſiſter, either when ſhe was born, or when ſhe died, yet it is plain, ſhe was the eldeſt of the three, becauſe ſhe was old enough to watch *Moſes* when he was expoſed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he; but that ſhe ſhould be ſo old as the *Jews* make her, *viz.* to have been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expoſitors, who make her but ten years old at moſt when *Moſes* was born.

(40) Simler. Jun. Villet *in loc.* (41) *Ruth iv.* 11. (42) *Exod ii.* 17. (43) Vatabl. Piscat. Munst. & *al. in loc.* (1) Nic. De Lyr. Moutan. Cajetan. Perrer Castal. & *al. in loc.* (2) *Jerem. xxxii,* 12. (3) *Numb. xxvi.* 59 (4) *Exod. vi* 20. (5) Chald. Paraph. Jun. Munst. Pagnin. Simler. Usser. & *al.* (6) Calm. *Hiſt. O. T. lib. ii. p.* 296. *not. b.* Usser Annal *ad An. Mund.* 2385. (7) Vatabl. *in loc.*

Year of the Flood, 1428. Year before Christ, 1371.

that they ventured to keep him privately during the ſpace of three months (L); 'till at laſt, fearing the extreme danger of a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themſelves, they were forced, though with the utmoſt regret, to expoſe him like the reſt. However, nature, ſhrinking at the thoughts of his immediate death, made them contrive to make him a ſmall ark of bull-ruſhes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the *Egyptians* made their paper [m], which was ſtrong enough to hold out the water, and ſmooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was beſmeered, and by its lightneſs fitteſt to ſwim with the child's weight. This ark being daubed with pitch within and without, they put the child in it, and committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of providence, they left *Miriam* his ſiſter, who was then about 8 years of age, at a convenient diſtance to watch and ſee what would become of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds [n], ſoon ſtopped the cradle from being carried by the current, and here it was that GOD ſent him a happy deliverance, from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

and concealed three months,

and expoſed to the common fate,

WHILST his ſorrowful mother was retiring from him, providence directed thither the princeſs, whom he had made choice of to breed him up as her own. It was *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who, being come to the river with a deſign to bathe herſelf, ſpied the ark as ſhe was walking along the ſhore. Her curioſity ſoon made her ſend one of her retinue to fetch it to her. It was not long before her ſurprize at the ſight of ſo beautiful a child, was ſucceeded by an irreſiſtible love and pity for him, whoſe cries and tears would have reached a heart leſs gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of ſome of thoſe unfortunate *Hebrews*, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom; her pity told her, that ſo lovely a boy deſerved a better fate, and that it was her duty, ſince chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to ſave him from the common ruin.

and taken up,

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this ſcene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own ſon, and into young *Miriam*'s head to approach the princeſs, and to offer herſelf to fetch her an *Hebrew* nurſe to ſuckle him. She was no ſooner bid to go, but ſhe flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful *Jocabeth*, who did not make them wait long, before ſhe came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princeſs, and with him an expreſs order, to take the ſame care of him as if it had been her own. At the ſame time ſhe told her, that as ſhe did not know the boy's name, ſhe would give him that of *Moſes*, ſeeing ſhe had drawn him out of the water (M); and having promiſed her an ample reward for one after another, the child did ſcornfully turn away his head from their breaſt, and that *Miriam*, who was then preſent, told that princeſs, that if the nurſe and the child were of different nations, her milk would never agree with it, but that if an *Hebrew* woman was fetched, he would probably take the breaſt from her. Upon which ſhe was bid to go for one, and quickly brought the child's mother, whom he fell a ſucking moſt heartily, to the admiration of the princeſs and all the by-ſtanders. Thus far *Joſephus*. The *Jews* obſerve further, that the word river here uſed, is not נהר *Nahar*, which ſignifies a great river ſuch as the *Nile* was, but יאר *Jeor*, which ſignifies a river, or rather canal, that is drawn from the great one to water the country (12); and as the land of *Egypt* abounded every where with the latter, the *Iſraelites* needed not to go far for a place to drown their children in.

and brought up by Pharaoh's *daughter.*

(M) *Moſes* is here thought to have *Hebraized* his name, in order to expreſs the ſenſe of the *Egyptian* one, which had been given him by *Pharaoh*'s daughter †. The word *Mo*, or *Moy*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, according to *Joſephus* (12), ſignifies water; and *Yſes* or *Iſes* ſignifies preſerved, and ſo *Mo-yſes* one preſerved out of the water. But

(L) This pious concealment is ſufficiently juſtified by St. *Stephen*, and the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is alſo mentioned by *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, but alſo upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, *Joſephus* tells us, that *Amram*, finding his wife with child, and being ſollicitous about the king's edict, prayed earneſtly to GOD to put an end to this dreadful perſecution, and that GOD appeared to him and told him, that he would ſhortly free his people from it, and that the ſon, that ſhould ſhortly be born to him, ſhould prove the happy inſtrument of their glorious deliverance, and eterniſe his own name thereby——that this made them conceal him as long as they could, but fearing a diſcovery, they reſolved to truſt him to the care of providence——who accordingly conducted *Pharaoh*'s daughter to the river's ſide, and inſpired her with ſuch ſentiments of pity, that ſhe adopted him for her ſon. He calls that princeſs *Thermuthis*, and after him *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, and others: *Artaphanes* (10), *Meris*, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle *Myrina*. *Joſephus* adds farther (11), that *Thermuthis* having ſent for ſeveral wet nurſes

(M) But

[m] JOSEPH. Ant. l. ii. c. 9. [n] Iſai. xviii. 2. HERODOT. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL lib. i. & al.

(8) *Act. vii.* 20. *Hebr. xi.* 13. (9) *Ant. l. ii. c. ix.* (10) *Ap* EUSEB. *præp. lib. ix. cap. xv.* (11) *Ant. loc citat.* (12) *Ibid.* † *Vid ſup.* 153.

a for her care of him, ſhe returned to the palace without acquainting any one with the adventure, whilſt the joyful mother went home to impart to her huſband the news of this happy accident.

THIS ſignal care of providence failed not to make them look upon *Moſes* as a child deſigned for ſome glorious purpoſe, and to give him an education ſuitable to the idea they had conceived of him, whilſt he ſtayed with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopted him for her ſon, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for[q] (N). *His education.* However, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his parents had ſo well inſtructed him in their religion, and taken ſuch care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by heaven to be b the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other uſe of the education which the princeſs gave him, but to confirm himſelf more and more againſt the ſuperſtitions and Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himſelf fit to anſwer thoſe ends, for which he ſeemed deſigned by providence. It was this noble motive, which made him ſympathize with the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and deſpiſed name of *Iſraelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court[r]. It was this generous love to his People, which made him venture to viſit and commiſerate them, and, where it was in his power, to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion, though at the hazard of his own life. For having obſerved one day an *Egyp-* c *tian* uſing an *Hebrew* with ſome uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of thoſe cruel taſk-maſters whom *Pharaoh* had ſet over the *Hebrew* ones, and who uſed to beat them, upon the leaſt default of thoſe that were under his inſpection; *Moſes* was ſo exaſperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about and ſee that the coaſt was clear, before he fell upon him, killed him, and buried his car- *He kills an* caſs in the ſand. If what *Joſephus* tells us[s] be true, that he had before this time *Egyptian,* been at the head of *Pharaoh*'s troops, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful campaigns againſt the *Æthiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered ſome provinces of *Egypt* (O), we ſhall

[q] Act. vii, 22. [r] Hebr. xi, 24, &c. [s] Ant. lib. ii. c. x.

But *Aben Ezra* (13) tells us, out of an *Arabick* book, entituled, עבורת האדמה, or, *the cultivation of land*; that *Moſes* was called, מוניום *Monios*, or *Monious*, which in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies drawn out (13); but it is very likely, that if his name had differed ſo much, and had been altogether *Egyptian*, *Moſes* would have taken notice of it, as he doth of the new name that was given to *Joſeph*, or as *Daniel* doth his own, and that of his three friends. It is therefore moſt likely, that the word *Moſeh* is derived from the verb משה *Maſſah*, which ſignifies to draw out, and is taken in that ſenſe by the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſ.* xviii. ver 17. ימשני ממים רבים *he ſhall draw me out of many waters*. Which verb might probably be common both to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in ſound and ſignification (14), only with this difference perhaps, that in the *Egyptian* it may be in the paſſive, and ſignify drawn out; whereas in the *Hebrew*, it is the participle active, drawing out, and may allude to his bringing the *Iſraelites* out of their bondage.

(N) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, tells us (15), that *Moſes* was taught arithmetick, geometry, phyſick, muſick, and hieroglyphicks, or otherwiſe called enigmatical philoſophy: to which *Philo* adds (16), aſtronomy which he learned from the *Chaldeans*, and the *Aſſyrian* characters, from the *Aſſyrians*; and that they ſent for the beſt maſters from *Greece*, to inſtruct him in all liberal arts and ſciencies: but that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the reſt of the world in all ſorts of learning, to ſend for maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; ſo that when *Moſes* is ſaid to have been inſtructed in all the learning of *Egypt* it plainly implies, that he had the beſt and moſt learned education, that the whole world could then give him. If it be asked how the *Egyptians* came by all thoſe ſciences, as we can affirm nothing certain or new concerning it, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to what has been ſaid of it, in the deſcription of that country in a former chapter. An ancient author, quoted by *Clement* biſhop of *Alexandria*, and by *Euſebius* (17), calls *Moſes* the firſt of all the ſages or wiſemen, and ſays, that he was the firſt inventor of the art of grammar, which he taught to the *Iſraelites*, from whom the *Phœnicians* received it, and the *Greeks* from them.

(O) A great deal of pains have been taken to find *Moſes* ſuitable employment for thoſe forty years of his abode in *Egypt*. *Joſephus* has given us ſeveral remarkable particulars of his life during that time, which having nothing contrary to the text, but ſeeming rather to have been univerſally known and believed by the *Jews* of his time, the reader may perhaps be glad of an abſtract of them. He tells us, that the princeſs *Thermuthis*, having no children of her own, and having adopted *Moſes* on the account of the ſingular beauties of his body and mind, brought him to her father, who took him into his arms, and received him with great tenderneſs and taking his crown off his head, laid it on that of the boy's; but *Moſes*, inſtead of being pleaſed with it, took it off, flung it to the ground, and ſet his foot upon it: whereupon the ſame prieſt, who had foretold his birth, cried out, that he ought to be put to death immediately, and that *Egypt* could not be ſafe otherwiſe. But *Thermuthis* ſoon ſnatched him away,

(13) ABEN EZRA *in loc.* OSIANDER *in loc.* VILLET *in Exod. ch. ii. quæſt.* 17. (14) SIMLER, (15) CLEM. ALEX. *lib. i.* (16) PHILO *in vit.* Moſis. (17) EUPCLEM *ap* CLEM. ALEXANDR. *ſtrom. lib. i. & ap* EUSEB. *præp. lib. ex. cap. xxvi.*

ſhall not wonder at his martial temper ſhewing itſelf upon ſuch an occaſion as this; but, as we are not ſure, that what this hiſtorian ſays is really fact, ſeeing *Philo*, who had purpoſely wrote *Moſes*'s life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of all the particulars of it as *Joſephus* had, is alogether ſilent about it, and *Moſes*, himſelf is ſo far from mentioning any ſuch warlike proweſs, that he rather deſcribes himſelf as a man of the utmoſt meekneſs and patience; we ſhall be forced to ſuppoſe, that he was ſtirred up by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Iſrael*. This ſeems to be hinted at by St. *Stephen* [c], and we may probably ſuppoſe, that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of ſuch a nature, that it deſerved death; or that it could not be prevented but by the death of the *Egyptian*. However that may be, *Moſes* was not ſo ſafe as he thought himſelf, for endeavouring ſoon after to compoſe a difference between two *Hebrews*, whoſe cruel ſlavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the moſt guilty of the two gave him a very ſaucy anſwer, aſking him, whether he deſigned to kill him as he had done the *Egyptian* (P)? Finding therefore that the fact was known, and fearing, leaſt, if it ſhould come to *Pharaoh*'s knowledge, he would ſuſpect him of

[c] Acts vii. 15.

away, the king no ways oppoſing it, and left the old prophet to rave at his leiſure, who ceaſed not to contrive means to be rid of a perſon ſo dangerous to the kingdom.

After this *Moſes*, being grown to man's eſtate, had an opportunity offered him of ſhowing his courage and conduct. The *Æthiopians*, who inhabited the upper lands, on the ſouth ſide of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful incurſions, plundered, and ravaged all the neighbouring parts of the country, and beat the *Egyptian* army, which *Pharaoh* had ſent to oppoſe them, in a ſet battle, and were become ſo proud of their ſucceſſes, that they began to march towards the capital of *Egypt*. In this diſtreſs the *Egyptians* had recourſe to the oracle, which anſwered, that they muſt get an *Hebrew* general at their head. As none was more promiſing than *Moſes*, the king deſired his daughter to conſent, that he ſhould go and head his army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated with her father, how unreaſonable it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the aſſiſtance of a man, whom they had been ſo long plotting againſt, did not give her conſent, 'till ſhe had his promiſe and oath, that no attempt ſhould be hatched againſt her ſon. *Moſes*'s firſt care, as ſoon as he was at the head of the *Egyptian* army, was to reach the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and inſtead of going up the *Nile*, as was uſual before, he choſe to croſs the country, and thereby ſhorten the way, and ſurprize the *Æthiopians*, who could not expect him to come by that way, becauſe that whole country was infeſted by flying, and other poiſonous ſerpents, which did even poiſon the very air, but *Moſes* found out a method to rid his army of that danger, by carrying with him a vaſt number of Birds called *Ibis* in iron-cages, whoſe nature is to devour all ſorts of ſerpents, and to be friendly to all other creatures. His project ſucceeded to admiration, and the birds being once let looſe, made a ſpeedy end of all thoſe venemous creatures, and opened to him a quick and ſafe paſſage to the enemies army, which having taken at unawares, he cut it all in pieces. He afterward entered their country, took ſeveral of their cities, and obliged them to retire into the city of *Saba*, called afterwards *Meroe* by *Cambyſes*, where he cloſely beſieged them. The place being ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated in the middle of an Iſland, kept him employed ſome conſiderable, time, and the ſiege would in all probability have laſted much longer, had not *Tharbis*, the king of *Æthiopia*'s daughter, fallen in love with him, as ſhe ſaw him fighting, with the utmoſt gallantry and valour, from the top of the city wall. She therefore ſent privately to him to let him know, that the city ſhould be ſurrendered to him, upon condition that he ſhould marry her immediately after. *Moſes* conſented to the conditions, and, having taken poſſeſſion of the place and of the Princeſs, returned with his victorious army to *Egypt*, where, inſtead of reaping the fruits of his lawrels, the ungrateful *Egyptians* accuſed him of murder to the king, who, having already taken ſome umbrage at his valour and great reputation, was reſolved to rid himſelf of him. *Moſes*, having ſome ſuſpicion of it, made his eſcape, and, not daring to go by the common roads for fear of being ſtopped by the king's guards, was forced to go through a great deſart to reach the land of *Midian* *. Thus far *Joſephus*, from whoſe account we may gather, that there were three motives why *Pharaoh* and his people ſought *Moſes*'s death. Namely, 1. their envy at his great ſucceſs and conſummate wiſdom in this warlike expedition. 2. Their jealouſy leſt he ſhould attempt to make ſome dangerous inſurrection in *Egypt*. And laſtly, the propheſies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Philo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* did already look upon as his moſt dangerous enemies.

(P) A jeſuit, who has lately writ the hiſtory of the people of God, thinks it highly probable, that theſe two quarrelling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by the apoſtle (19) to have withſtood *Moſes*, becauſe they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel, though GOD had made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think ſo is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reaſon he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians whom *Pharaoh* made uſe of in oppoſition to *Moſes*. But in order to make theſe names *Hebrew*, he muſt with ſome *Jews* call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonah* and *Jambri* (21); but we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that theſe two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians who mimicked ſeveral of *Moſes*'s miracles, though they could not follow him throughout.

* *Ant. lib. ii. cap. x. & xi.* (18) PHILO *in vit.* Moſis. (19) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (20) BERRUYER *Hiſtoir. du peuple de Dieu. Tom. ii. p.* 25. (21) BUXTORF, *Lexic. Talmudic.* FABRIC *de Apocryph. Vet Teſt.*

a of being too much in the intereſt of the *Iſraelites*, and puniſh him for the death of the *Egyptian*, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother, or having perhaps already diſclaimed her adoption, as ſome are inclined to think. It is ſuppoſed however, that he had made uſe of that princeſs's intereſt long before, to get that bloody edict againſt the *Hebrew* male children recalled, ſince the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that that order had not been put in force for ſome time. It was well for him, however, he left *Egypt* ſo ſoon; for the news of the ſlain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackeſt circumſtances by the courtiers, who could not but hate a man in ſo high eſteem as he was; ſo that if b *Pharaoh* could have caught him, he would infallibly have put him to death: but *Moſes* was out of his reach, having paſt thoſe great deſarts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and being ſafely got near hoſpitable *Jethro*'s habitation. At his arrival in that country he met with much ſuch another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-Haran* [r], at the well where the damſels uſed to come to water their flocks. An account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the hiſtory of the *Midianites* [t] *.

and is forced to fly into Midian.

How he ſpent his time in thoſe forty years retirement, ſave that he kept *Jethro*'s flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this ſtrong argument on their ſide, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance c of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either *Job* or his friends, conſidering what kindred and country they were of, could be either ſo ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppreſſed people, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms, during their long and intricate controverſy about the various diſpenſations of providence. And indeed, were not *Job* ſo often mentioned by *Ezekiel* † with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be ſaid for thoſe who look upon this hiſtory as a parable, or rather a dramatick piece, written on purpoſe to comfort the afflicted *Iſraelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

d We have already taken notice in the hiſtory of *Edum* [u] §, how uncertain and unſatisfactory every thing is that relates to the genealogy of this holy man, or the author of his hiſtory; but as ſome of our readers have expreſſed a deſire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that ſubject, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin them here in few words.

[r] Gen. xxix. 9. [t] Exod. ii. paſſ. * Vid. ſup. p. 301. † Ezek. xiv. paſſ. [u] Gen. xxxvi. p. tot. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 312. a, b, c, d.

(Q) We muſt remember not to confound this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given *, with another of that name, whoſe chief city was alſo called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was ſituate by *Arnon* and *Areopolis*, according to St. *Jerom*, who tells us, the ruins of it were ſtill to be ſeen in his days (22). Whereas this, which *Moſes* went to, was in *Arabia Petrea*, whoſe metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro*'s flocks (23); which mountain was either near that of *Sinai*, or more probably *Sinai* and *Horeb* were two tops of the ſame mountain (24); the former of which St. *Paul* places in *Arabia* (25); though it is more probable, that *Horeb* was the common name of the whole ridge of mountains on which *Sinai* was ſituated; and that it was called *Horeb*, or as the original has it, *Choreb*, from the exceſſive drineſs of it (26). *Philo* adds (27), that it was full of buſhes, and that at the bottom of the mountain grew that in which God appeared to *Moſes*, which the original calls סנה *Sinah*, which ſignifies a buſh or ſhrub, that is ſo full of thorns, that the birds cannot pearch in it without being ſtripped of their feathers. The *Hebrews* ſay, that mount *Sinai* had that name from it (28). However that be, this mount is alſo called the *Mount of* God, not from any religious worſhip that had been performed there before that time, as *Joſephus* thinks (29), or becauſe of its height and ſupereminency, as ſuch things are frequently ſo called in ſcripture, as the cedars of God, &c. (30) but it is ſo named by anticipation, as it became famous upon many accounts, ſuch as 1. God appearing to *Moſes* in the buſh. 2. His being afterwards worſhipped there, and ſhew himſelf by the moſt wonderful viſible ſigns at the delivery of the law (31). 3. The ſtriking the rock with *Moſes*'s rod (32). 4. *Moſes* lifting up his hands to make *Joſhua* prevail againſt the *Amalekites* (33). 5. The law being given to *Moſes* there (34). 6. His faſting twice forty days and nights (35). 7. Bringing the two tables of ſtone from thence (36). 8. The noble viſion which the prophet *Elijah* had there (37), and ſome others of leſs conſequence.

* *Vid. ſup. p.* 299 *& ſeq.* (22) Hierom. *loc. Hæbraic.* (23) *Exod. iii.* 1. (24) Jos. *Antiq. l. ii. c. xii.* (25) *Galat. iv.* 5. (26) Cajetan. Villet. Jun. *in loc. & al.* (27) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (28) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.* (29) *Ant. lib. ii. c. xii.* (30) *Pſal. civ.* 16. (31) *Exod. iii.* 2. *& cap. xix. & xx. paſſ.* (32) *Numb. xx.* 11. (33) *Exod. xvii.* 11. (34) *Exod. xxiv. & ſeq. paſſ.* (35) *Ibid. xxxiv.* 28. *Deut. ix.* 9. (36) *Exod. xxxii.* 15, 16, *& alib.* (37) 1 *Kings xix.*

A digression concerning Job.

The most ancient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Aristeus*, *Philo*, *Polyhistor* [w], and several ancient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church [x], is an addition to that history, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabick*, and *Vulgate* versions, and affirmed to have been taken from the ancient *Syriac* one, to this purpose; that *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumæa* and *Arabia*; that his first name was *Jobab*, and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a son named *Ennen*. As for *Job* he was the son of *Zerah*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumæa*. The order of the kings, that reigned before and after him, is as follows; *Balac* the son of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denabah*; after him reigned *Job*, called also *Jobab*; who was succeeded by *Asom* prince of *Teman*. his successor *Adad* the son of *Bedad* was he, who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Jethem*. *Job*'s friends, who came to visit him, were *Eliphaz* king of *Teman*, of *Esau*'s posterity; *Bildad* king of the *Zeucheans*, and *Zophas* king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preserved by *Theodotion*, in his version of the book of *Job* [y]. If this genealogy be admitted, and that *Job* is the same with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Genesis* [z] and *Cronicles* [a], it will follow, that he and *Moses* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Isaac* thus;

Isaac,

Jacob,	*Esau*,
Levi,	*Reuel*,
Amram,	*Zerah*,
Moses,	*Jobab* or *Job*.

It will likewise be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Deneba* or *Dinhabah*; for so the author of the first book of the *Chronicles* expressly affirms [b]; but how to find such a city in the land of *Uz*, seeing *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* place *Dinabah* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heshbon* [c]; whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been according to the ancient tradition of the inhabitants of *Palestine*, the city of *Astaroth Kernaim* on the other side *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jaabock*, between *Mahanaim* and *Edras* [d], is not so easy to determine. However that be, those who embrace the notion that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in those two places of scripture above quoted, and consequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moses*, have with much straining pumped out two passages in his history, which, they pretend, to make express mention of *Pharaoh*'s pride and overthrow, and of the *Israelites* passing through the red sea. The first is, where *Eliphaz* says of the wicked, that *trouble and anguish shall make him afraid, and prevail against him as a king ready to battle* [e]. Which words they apply to *Pharaoh*'s pride and hardness of heart, though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after those two verses, that *Job*'s friends speaks only of the wicked in general, such as he supposed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* says, that God *divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding smiteth through the proud* [f]. And this they think to allude to the passing of the *Red Sea*, and to *Pharaoh*'s overthrow in it. But here, besides that the word in the original doth more properly signify to *still* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenour of the whole chapter, that *Job* speaks only of the wonderful power and providence of God in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that *Job*'s desire of vindicating his own integrity, did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance, of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alledged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, God would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him [g]. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since this

[w] Apud Euseb. præp. l. ix. c. xxv. [x] Vid. Fred. Spanheim in vit Job c. iv. Mercer Pineda Dieg. de Stunica & al comm. in Job. [y] Vid Calm. dissert, in Job. [z] Gen. xxxvi. 32. [a] 1 Chron. i. 43, 44. [b] Ibid. [c] Loc. Hæbr. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Job xvi. 24, 25. [f] Ibid, xxvi. 12. [g] Vid. particularly cap. xxii. 25, & alib. pass.

this miraculous deliverance of the *Iſraelites*, in order to adjuſt the genealogy above-
mentioned, ſince it will be ſufficient to ſuppoſe, that thoſe four generations on
Eſau's ſide, were by ſome few years ſhorter than thoſe on *Jacob*'s, which is not at
all improbable, ſeeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives [h], and then it
will be poſſible enough for *Job* to have ſeen an end of all his ſufferings before
Moſes left the land of *Midian*; in which caſe, he being juſtly ſuppoſed to be the
moſt ancient writer, he has been likewiſe thought the author of his hiſtory, by
the majority of writers. That his poetick genius was equal to this excellent per-
formance, thoſe few canticles, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch*, will not per-
mit us to doubt of. However, there is one main objection againſt this notion,
b which is, that if *Jobab* be the ſame with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moſes*, it
will be impoſſible for the latter to have outlived him by ſo many years as to be
able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous poſterity; for it is
ſaid, that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his ſufferings were ended, and
that he ſaw his ſons children to the fourth generation: whereas *Moſes* lived but
forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of
it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by ſuppoſing, that the
three or four laſt verſes of the book were added afterwards by ſome inſpired per-
ſon, in order to make the hiſtory compleat; in the ſame manner as *Joſhua*, or
ſome other, added the account of *Moſes*'s death and burial at the end of *Deutero-*
c *nomy*: but how far this ſuppoſition may be allowed, we chooſe to ſubmit to our
reader's judgment.

BEFORE we cloſe this digreſſion, we ſhall beg leave to ſay ſomething of the
book itſelf. Though ſome learned men have thought it to have been writ original-
ly in *Syriac* or *Arabick*, either by *Job* himſelf, or by one of his friends [k]; yet it is
now univerſally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth
to the former notion is, its being ſo blended with *Syriac* and *Arabick* expreſſions
and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly underſtood [l]. It is juſtly ſup-
poſed to be written in verſe, from the loftineſs of the ſtile, the ſublimeneſs of the
thoughts, the livelineſs and energy of Expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and
d variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and
unconfined. Thoſe who have been moſt coverſant with it, will readily allow,
that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, elo-
quent, pathetick, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold
critick, indeed [m], has not ſcrupled to tax him with oſtentation, and with making a
vain ſhow of prophane learning and poetick fiction, and for putting ſuch ex-
preſſions in the mouth of that holy man, as are not only incompatible with his
character, but even of a dangerous nature, being, in his opinion, more fitted to
corrupt than to edify his readers. But it is certain, that that learned author was
only acquainted with the *Greek* verſion of it, which abounds, it muſt be owned,
e with expreſſions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had
he been acquainted with the original, he would eaſily have acquitted it of ſuch
an unjuſt imputation. Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that the eaſtern nations had
a much more lively, ſtrong, and paſſionate way of expreſſing their thoughts than
we; ſo that it is impoſſible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right
judgment of thoſe hyperbolical expreſſions, without lowering them very much
from their literal ſignification. The *Jews* have added ſeveral particulars to the
hiſtory of *Job*, ſuch as that he was a king and high prieſt in *Idumæa*, and that
he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter [n]; which latter can hardly be credited, un-
leſs we ſuppoſe him to have been of much older date than *Moſes*. The *Eaſtern*
f writers, eſpecially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according
to cuſtom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them,
thoſe who are deſirous to be informed in that particular, may conſult *Herbelot*'s
Bibliotheca Orientalis [o].

WE return now to our *Jewiſh* Law-giver in the land of *Midian*, whom
we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have had ſuch convincing reaſons to look upon
himſelf as the deliverer of his afflicted people, that he could not but have
many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long,
'till he ſaw that glorious promiſed deliverance happily fulfilled. Nay, this long delay
ſeems

[h] Vid. ſup. p. 471, c. [i] Vid. Exod. xv. p. tot. Deut xxviii. 31. [k] Vid. CALM. Diſſ. in Job. [l] HIERON, præfat. in Job. [m] THEOD. MOPSUEST. Vid. Synod. V. OEcum. Collat. iv. art. 63. [n] Chald. Par. il MAIM more Nevoch & al. [o] Bibl. orient. Sub Art. Ajub.

ſeems to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if GOD had either made choice of ſome other inſtrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their ſins to ſuſpend it for ſome longer time. For when GOD was pleaſed to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning buſh, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the buſh not having one leaf conſumed though all over in a bright flame (R), evidences that it was the GOD of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, that ſpoke to him, and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his deſigns there; *Moſes* did not leave one plea untried to be excuſed from the difficult taſk, whilſt GOD was graciouſly pleaſed to diſpel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him ſuch promiſes of his miraculous aſſiſtance, as would have emboldened the moſt fearful, which was not *Moſes*'s caſe.

GOD appears to him in the burning buſh.

THE divine viſion (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Iſraelites* groaned, were grown to ſuch a height, and the cruelties of their enemies ſo enormous, that the time was now come both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promiſed land, as a recompence for their long patience and ſufferings; bidding him at the ſame time to go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name to demand their diſmiſſion, and aſſuring him, that thoſe who ſought his life were now all dead, and that he had now nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. In vain did *Moſes* plead his weakneſs and inſufficiency for ſuch a work, GOD told him, that it was not to be performed by an arm of fleſh, but by his own irreſiſtible power, which ſhould manifeſt himſelf in ſuch miraculous deeds, that not only *Egypt*, but all the world ſhould be aſtoniſhed at them. Here *Moſes* objected further, that he very much doubted, whether the *Iſraelites* had not ſo far forgot the GOD of their fathers, that when he came to acquaint them with his Commiſſion from him, they would be apt to aſk what his name was, in which caſe he would be at a loſs what anſwer to make them (T). Here GOD was pleaſed to anſwer

Commands him to return into Egypt.

(R) The word flame in this place is לבת *Labath*, and not *Labebah*, which is the common word for flame; and though ſome *Jews* do think with us, that it ſignifies the ſame thing, yet others will have it, that it is put for לב *Leb*, or לבב *Lebaſ*, which ſignifies the heart or middle of any thing, and that it is here uſed to expreſs, that it was only the centre of the buſh that appeared inflamed. The large comment on *Exodus* adds, that GOD was pleaſed to appear in that manner at this time, to convince *Moſes* (who was afraid leſt the *Iſraelites* ſhould one time or other be deſtroyed by the *Egyptians*, if they were not ſo already during his forty years abſence), that as the buſh remained unconſumed in the midſt of the flames, ſo ſhould *Iſrael* in the midſt of all their fiery trials (38). As to the time when this viſion was ſeen by *Moſes*, St. *Stephen* (39) tells us, it was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*; that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for ſo old he was when he came and ſtood before *Pharaoh* (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that going to viſit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aulâ ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is ſuppoſed to have wrote the books of *Job* and *Geneſis*, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41)

(S) We need not repeat here what has been ſaid before about theſe apparitions, whether they were angels ſpeaking in the perſon of GOD, which we think we have ſufficiently confuted, or GOD himſelf, or, as the moſt received opinion is, CHRIST the SON of GOD. All that need be added here is, that this, which appears now in the buſh, is the ſame who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Iſraelites* in the deſert; that is, not an angel, or GOD the FATHER, but CHRIST himſelf, as St. *Paul* affirms (42); for neither the FATHER nor HOLY GHOST are ever called by the name of angel, *i. e.* a meſſenger or perſon ſent; whereas the SON is called the *Angel of the Covenant* by the prophet *Malachy* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for thoſe who think not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to gueſs, that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joſhua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apoſtle, but even abſurd, if not impious. For can they prove that *Michael* was a created angel, ſeeing that name ſignifies one like unto GOD, and can only be applicable to CHRIST? can a created angel be ſtiled the captain of the LORD's hoſts, as he is called in *Joſhua*, or the prince of the people of GOD, as he is in *Daniel*, which office and title the apoſtle tells us (48), belong only to CHRIST, who is the captain or prince of our ſalvation? did ever any angel ſuffer himſelf to be worſhipped, as that which appeared to *Joſhua* did? ſuppoſing, therefore, that it was the ſame that appeared to *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerius* thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel or miniſtring ſpirit; on the contrary it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the king of men and angels, bleſſed for ever (50).

(T) The Cabbaliſtical *Jews*, and after them *Joſephus* (51) and ſome *Romaniſts* (52) think, that *Moſes* did not aſk for the name of GOD, but

(38) ELLESHEMOTH RAB. *in loc.* PHILO *loc citat.* (39) *Acts vii.* 23. (40) *Exod. vii.* 7. (41) PERRER. *ex* PHILON. VILLET *& al.* (42) 1 *Cor. x.* 4. (43) *Malach iii.* 1. (44) THEODOR. OSIAND SIMLER, *& al.* (45) AUG. *de Trinit. lib. iii. c. xi. & Tractat.* 3 *in Johan. N.* 17, 18. HIERON. *epiſt. ad Galat. iii.* GREG. *moral. lib. xxviii. cap. i.* (46) *Joſh. v. paſſ.* (47) *Dan. x. paſſ.* (48) *Hebr. ii.* 10. (49) PERRER, *& al.* (50) VILLET *in cap. iii. Exod. quæſt.* 6. (51) *Ant. lib. ii. c.* 12. (52) GENEBRAD. BELLARMIN. BERRUYER *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu Tom.* 2. *p.* 36.

anſwer a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to *Jacob* *, though in ſuch terms as might eaſily make him ſenſible of the irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of it; for

6 G

* Gen. xxxii. 29.

but for the true pronunciation of it, which they think had been loſt through the wickedneſs of mankind: for which reaſon the former affirm, that the word עֹלָם *Holam*, uſed by GOD preſently after (53), being written without a ו *Vau*, ſhould not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root עָלַם *halam*, *to hide*, not conſidering, that if that was the caſe, it ſhould be written עֹלוּם *Holum*, and not *Holam*. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the *Jews* called *Shem Hamphoraſh*, the unutterable name, which *Joſephus* in the place juſt now quoted ſays, was never known or heard of before GOD told it to *Moſes*, and adds, that he dares not ſo much as mention it: for which reaſon they never pronounce it, but uſe the word *Adonai*, or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *Haſhem*, *the name*, to expreſs it. Thus in their letters and common diſcourſe, inſtead of ſaying, the LORD bleſs or protect you, they ſay, *the Name bleſs you*, &c. and they think, that the words uſed by *Daniel* in his prayer (54) למען ארני *Lemaghan Adonai*, do not mean, as we underſtand them, for the ſake of the LORD or the MESSIAH, or, as we expreſs it, for CHRIST's ſake, but for the ſake of the world *Adonai*, which they were obliged to uſe 'till the MESSIAH came, and taught them the true pronunciation of the name יהוה: not but their high-prieſt did pronounce it *Jehovah* once a year on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity to the laſt deſtruction of the temple; but they had but few diſciples near them that could learn its pronunciation, and during the time of the bleſſing in which this name was repeated, the prieſts and levites did ſing louder than ordinary, that none elſe might hear it. But even then they were very far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the *Tetrogrammaton*; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might ſhake heaven and earth with it, work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt ſecrets of the Deity. They tell us, that *Moſes* had it engraved upon his rod, and by vertue of that ineffable word wrought all thoſe mighty wonders in favour of his people: that *Noah* could ſteer the ark which way he pleaſed by it, and that JESUS CHRIST having ſtolen it out of the temple, or, as others affirm, brought it with him from *Egypt*, and clapped it between the skin and the fleſh of his thigh, had obtained the power of working all his miracles, which they ſay any man elſe might do. that could pronounce that name right (55).

They add, that *Simon* ſirnamed the *Juſt*, one of their high Prieſts, who flouriſhed about the year of the world 3702, and died 3711, *i. e.* about 289 years before CHRIST, was the laſt that knew it; but that the number of prophane people encreaſing, they thought it beſt to ſubſtitute another name to it, conſiſting of twelve letters, which the high prieſt made uſe of when he bleſſed the people (56). *Tarpho*, a noted Rabbi, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Trypho* of *Juſtin* martyr, tells us, that being got one day near the high prieſt, to hear this bleſſing, he found, that he only muttered the name of GOD in an articulate manner, whilſt the *Levites* did drown his voice with their ſinging, that it might not be learned, and abuſed by the wicked. But ſince *Simon Juſtus* it has been wholly loſt, not to be recovered again 'till the MESSIAH come. In the mean time the *Talmud* has left a moſt horrid curſe againſt thoſe that ſhall dare to utter it, becauſe they think, the very angels themſelves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, thoſe who think that *Jehovah* is the right pronunciation are far enough from being ſure of it. It is plain, that the ancients did write it very differently from them. *Sanchoniathon* ſpells it *Jevo* (1); *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6) pronounced it *Jao*. The *Samaritans*, and after them *Epiphanius* (7) and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave*, or *Jabe*. Others of the ancients write it, *Jaboh*, *Javo*, *Jaon*, *Jaho*, and *Jahod*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Javo*; *Druſius*, *Jave*; *Hottinger*, *Jehva*; *Mercer*, *Jehovah*; *Caſtalio*, *Jovah*, and *Le Clerk*, *Jawoh* or *Javoh*. Something like theſe the *Romans* had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* ſeems to allude when he ſays, *Deum Judæorum eſſe Jovem*, that *Jove was the God of the* Jews, as St. *Auſtin* alledges out of him in the firſt book of his defence of the goſpel, c. xxii. The *Moors* likewiſe call GOD *Juba*, or *Jubah*, and the *Mohammedans Hou*, which with them ſignifies the ſame as *Jehovah*, *i. e.* he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their parents, paſſes, and the like, and do often repeat in their prayers. Some of their devotees will ſometimes repeat that word ſo often, and with ſuch quickneſs and vehemence, that they drop down with giddineſs. However, it is plain, that the four letters of which that great name conſiſts may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and ſeveral others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

As to the uttering of it, beſides what we have already obſerved out of the *Talmud* and *Joſephus*, we have ſtill another witneſs of the *Jewiſh* exceſſive and even ſuperſtitious reſpect for that word, *viz. Philo*, who affirms (10), that, after the ſtoning of the blaſphemer to death in the wilderneſs (11), GOD commanded *Moſes* to publiſh a new law, that *whoſoever ſhould curſe the* LORD *ſhould be guilty of ſin, and whoſoever ſhould pronounce the name of* GOD *ſhould be put to death*; which is the verſion which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have given us of the 15th and 16th verſes of the above-quoted chapter: whereas in the original it is, *whoſoever curſeth* אלהיו *his* GOD, *or* GODS, *ſhall bear his own ſin*; *and whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the name of* יהוה *the* LORD *ſhall ſurely be put to death*. This Law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundeſt wiſdom, the firſt part of which forbids the curſing or blaſpheming the falſe gods of the *Gentiles*; and

(53) *Exod. iii.* 17. (54) *Dan. ix.* 17 (55) *Vid.* MIDRAS TEHILLIM *in Pſal. xii.* DRUSS. *de nomine Tetrogrammat.* (56) MAIMONID. *More Nevochim. Part I. c. lxii.* (1) SANCHONIAT. *ap.* EUSEB. *præp. lib. x. c.* 9. (2) DIOD. SIC. *Bibliot. lib. ii.* (3) MACROB. *Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii.* (4) CALEM. ALEX. *Stromat. lib. v.* (5) HIERON. *or ſome other under his name, in Pſal. viii.* (6) ORIG. *contr. Celſ. lib. vi.* (7) EPIPH. *Hæreſ.* 40. (8) THEODORET *in Exod. quæſt.* 15. (9) HERBELOT *Bibliot. Orient. p.* 460. *ſub. voc.* Hou. & *p.* 326. *ſub.* Eſma. (10) PHILO *in vit.* Moſis. (11) *Levit. xxiv.* 11, & *ſeq.*

for, as *Justin Martyr* rightly observes, names are given only to shew the difference of things: whereas GOD being one, and there being none other but him, there needs

and the second the uttering of the name of GOD in a vain or loose manner, or by way of ornament to our speech; which he thinks deserves the worst of punishments. But as to the first part of this law, according to *Philo*'s exposition, that author seems to have forgot, that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a little before they were carried into the *Babylonish* captivity, that, when they came thither, they should not only speak against the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce death and destruction against them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not understood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is observable, that this verse is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the rest being in *Hebrew*. But to return from this digression: it is not easy to determine, whether the seventy had lost the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purposely concealed it under the name of Κύριος LORD, or whether they did make use of that *Greek* word at all. For first, they could not but be sensible, that the word יהוה was no relative word as Κύριος, or LORD, is; for though we can properly say, Κύριός μου, Κύριος ὑμῶν &c. *i. e. my* LORD, *our* LORD, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have, as *Elohai*, *Elohenù*, &c. for which reason, even St. *Jerom* chooses to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exod.* vi. 3. and *nomen meum* Adonai *non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* ובשמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם *but by my name* Jehovah *was I not known to them.* Those versions therefore, which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or LORD, as our own, don't seem to have sufficiently attended to what we have just now observed; for יהוה not being a relative, one ought not to have been rendered by one that is so. The *French Geneva* translation has made use of a much better word to express it, *viz. L' Eternel*, the eternal Being; which name in the first place is not relative (for we cannot properly say, *Mon Eternel, vôtre Eternel*, &c.) and secondly, expresses the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than Κύριος, *Dominus*, or LORD, as we shall shew by and by. But secondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this, as well as some other names of GOD, such as *Jah*, *Sadai*, *Zabaoth*, &c. untranslated, 'till the second revision of that version; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters) as being less understood by the rest of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* ones were), or under the *Greek* capitals ΠΙΠΙ which bore a resemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a sound so different from it, that they would never lead the *Heathen* reader to the true pronunciation of it. St. *Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Eusebius* (15), assure us, that they had seen copies of the *Septuagint* written in the two above-mentioned ways, and that, even in their time, the *Jews* chose to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their reason for which was, lest that venerable name should be abused by the *Heathen* to ill purposes: though *Origen* adds, that these precautions did not prove so effectual; but that they made use of it in their exorcisms, in their charms against diseases, and other superstitious rites (16). And *Clement* of *Alexandria* informs us (17), that those *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the *Sun*, did wear the name *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewise in some magick verses against the gout mentioned by *Trallian* the names *Jas* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras*'s golden verses, where there is an oath by Τετρακτὸς, *i. e.* by him whose name is spelt with four letters (18); as also the inscription, *Tu es*, in that famous frontispiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of GOD. Such was also that of the *Egyptians*, I AM, written over one of their (20). *Cicero* gives an instance (21) of some names of the heathen gods which they did not dare to pronounce, to which *Lucan* adds that the very naming of them would have shook the earth (22).

There remains, that we enquire into the signification of the name יהוה, in which we shall not find such a dissonancy among expositors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For first, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root היה *hajah*, he has been, and denotes GOD's self-existence and eternal nature. Accordingly in this place we are annotating upon, he calls himself אהיה אשר אהיה *Ehjeh Asher, Ehjeh*, I am that I am, or rather I am because I am. Where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the present or perfect tense, and implies his immutability as continuing the same that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewise more than probable, that GOD chooses to express himself in the future tense, to shew that he is the only Being that can truly say, I shall or will be what I am, *&c.* (24). *Aretius* makes the two words *Ehjeh* to be proper names (25); but it seems to be only in the first *Ehjeh* in the sense in which it is taken in the latter part of the verse. *I am Ehjeh*, has sent me, and the second *Ehjeh* to be assigned as the cause of the first; namely, I am because I am (26). Neither was this name unknown to the wiser sort of heathens, as we have seen by some of their inscriptions, to which we shall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of GOD, *viz. I am whatsoever was, is, and shall be.* According to which *Thales* of *Miletum*, being asked what GOD was, replied, *that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end.* Thus *Plato* truly says (27), that nothing really exists but that which is immutable; for which, and some other of his wise sayings, he is supposed to have read *Moses*'s books, or conversed with some of his disciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable,

(12) *Jerom. x.* 11. (13) JEROM. *præfat in lib. Reg. & in Ezek. ix.* (14) ORIG. *Fragm. in palæograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. i.* (15) EUSEB. *in Chronic. ad an.* 4740. (16) ORIG. *cont. Celsum lib. i.* (17) CLEM. ALEX. *Stromat. lib. v.* (18) *Vid.* SELDEN *de Diis Syr. Synagog. ii. c. i.* (19) EUSEB. *præpar. lib. xi. c. x.* (20) PLUTARCH *Tract. de iis inscript. forib. Templ. Delph. cap. ii.* (21) CIC. *de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.* (22) LUCAN *l. vi. ver.* 744, 745. *ap.* CALMET. *sub voc. Jehovah.* VILLET. *c. vi. in Exod. & al.* (23) GREG. NAZIANZ. *Homeil. in loc.* S. AUGUST. *in loc. Revel. i.* 8. (24) SIMLER, VILLET. *& al.* (25) ARET. *in loc.* (26) SIMLER. JUN. PINED, MUNST. *& al.* (27) PLATO *in Timeo.*

a needs no name to diſtinguiſh him *. GOD therefore ſaid to him I AM THAT I AM, and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had ſent him to them, that he was the GOD of their fathers, of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* (V), and that he would

* Dial. cont. Tryph.

ble, ſeeing *Ariſtobulus*, who flouriſhed in the *Maccabees*'s time, writes to *Ptolomy Philometor*, that *Moſes*'s books having been tranſlated into *Greek* in *Alexander*'s time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28). Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainſworth*, think, that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*, and that it doth not only ſignify to be, but to cauſe to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewiſe his faithfulneſs and truth are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and ſure to make good his promiſes (29). Upon all theſe accounts therefore *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of GOD, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of theſe ſenſes; whereas thoſe of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

We ſhall not trouble our readers with all the myſtical notions, which cabaliſts have raiſed from the letters that compoſe this awful name, nor with the preference they give to it, above all the other names of GOD, as being, as it were, a monarch upon his throne, and the others only as guards or officers under him (31); but conclude this note with a ſhort enquiry, why the word *Jehovah* is thought ineffable, not only by the *Jews*, but alſo by ſome Chriſtians. Firſt, *Genebrard* confidently affirms, it is neither a *Hebrew* nor Chriſtian word or name; that it is neither received by the fathers, nor by the rabbies, nor ever known or uſed by CHRIST or his apoſtles. But to this it may be anſwered, that they all were forced to uſe the *Septuagint* verſion then in vogue, which every where tranſlates that word by Κύριος LORD, as has been already obſerved. Secondly, *Bellarmin* pretends, that becauſe St. *Jerom*, and *Origen* in his *Hexapla* after him, read it *Adonai*, and that the vowel points are the ſame in both; therefore it ought to be read and pronounced *Adonai*, and not *Jehovah*. But had theſe gentlemen conſidered, that theſe two words are of different originals and ſignifications, and written with different letters, that the one is relative, and the other not; that the one is communicable and the other incommunicable; that the points, or vowels, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be of human invention, can be of no authority here, and that their likeneſs, though not ſameneſs, in both theſe names was owing to a ſuperſtitious reſpect which the *Mazorites* had for one of them; that St. *Jerom* might be too much influenced by his *Jewiſh* maſter in this, as well as in many other caſes; and that both he and *Origen* have not ſcrupled to pronounce it *Jao*, as we have hinted above; that their writing it by *Adonai* might be more owing to a ſuperſtitious fear, than to any judgment or conviction of the unlawfulneſs of pronouncing that name; and laſtly, that they have no where ſaid that it was ineffable; had they, I ſay, conſidered theſe things, they could never have fallen into that *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. As for the general reaſon that is given on all hands by thoſe of that ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* that the right pronunciation having been loſt, whether during the captivity, or at any other time or place, it is unlawful to ſubſtitute any other inſtead of it, it may be ſafely anſwered, that the deſign of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of thoſe things of which they are but types, the differences will be very ſmall, whether the pronunciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much miſtaken, whatever theſe gentlemen ſay, if in this caſe the pronouncing the word *Jehovah*, which conveys the moſt perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronunciation be never ſo wrong; is not much ſafer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which, being a word of a vaſtly inferior ſignification, and applicable to every man that has any maſtery or ſuperiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with leſs awe and reſpect. This is ſo true in fact, that one may obſerve thoſe ſcrupulous gentlemen, eſpecially of the *Jews*, who would be ready to ſwoon at the hearing the name *Jehovah*, pronounce that of *Adonai*, though carrying the ſame idea, with leſs ſeeming reverence than they would that of a king or lord-mayor, and one would hardly think they can be in earneſt, when we find them branding their adverſaries with the epithet of *Jehovaiſts*. However, it muſt be owned, that though all the names of GOD ought to be uttered with the utmoſt awe, yet this, if poſſible, with a greater, and that we ought to be cautious not to uſe it without a warrantable occaſion. And when we converſe with *Jews*, or with ſuch Chriſtians as are againſt pronouncing of that name, if we make uſe of the word *Adonai* in complaiſance to them, it will be much better than to make them uneaſy, or break off converſation by pronouncing it in our own way. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* againſt uttering this ſacred name is that of *Leviticus* (32), where it is ſaid, *he that blaſphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of* GOD *ſhall be ſtoned*: where the word נקב *Nakab*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies to pierce, and is therefore often uſed for writing, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the ſpeaking it: for *Nakab* never ſignifies to utter, unleſs it be in a bad ſenſe, as *curſing*, *or blaſpheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be ſtretched beyond that, it muſt be only againſt doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lighter degree of prophaning; but as they allow that the name may be lawfully writ, though the word *Nakab* do ſignify alſo to write; nay, ſince they allow, that the high prieſt may and doth actually uſe it in that publick bleſſing, which is preſcribed by GOD himſelf (33), Jehovah *bleſs thee and keep thee*, it is plain, the prohibition is not againſt naming, but againſt blaſpheming, or uſing it with contempt or diſdain, or to an ill purpoſe, as to curſe our neighbours and the like; as the word *Kallal*, uſed in the foregoing part of this prohibition, ſufficiently ſhews (34).

(V) It is aſked here why GOD calls himſelf ſo particularly the GOD of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*,

(28) *Ap.* PERRER. VILLET. & *al.* (29) SIMLER, OUTRAN, BURRATIUS, AINSWORTH, & *al.* MUNST. &c. (30) PERRER. JUN. (31) PERRER. & *al.* (32) *Levit. xxiv* 16. (33) *Numb. vi.* 24. (34) SIMLER, VILLET. MUNST. & *al. in loc.*

would be remembered and acknowledged by that name throughout all generations, as their great redeemer and deliverer: not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your firſt or ſecond aſking, nor indeed at all, 'till I have convinced him both of my juſtice and power, by the terrible puniſhment I ſhall ſend upon him and his land, for their oppreſſion of my people; neither ſhall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel ſervitude; for I will inſpire the *Egyptians* with ſuch ſentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they ſhall part with their ſumptuous raiments and choiceſt jewels to them, and make them thus far amends for their paſt labours and hardſhips * (X).

and to bring his people out of bondage.

AFTER ſuch ample aſſurances, one would hardly expect, that *Moſes* would have ſtarted any new difficulties, at leaſt without receiving ſome ſevere rebuke for it; nevertheleſs he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly diſpelled; he knew the temper of the *Iſraelites* too well, not to foreſee, that they would moſt likely call his miſſion in queſtion. He therefore begged to be informed what he muſt do in ſuch a caſe, and GOD was pleaſed to clear this doubt alſo by two miracles which he wrought in his preſence. The firſt was by turning his rod into a frightful ſerpent, and then into a rod again. The ſecond was by ſmiting one

* Exod. iii. p. tot.

Jacob, ſeeing he was the GOD of all the *Iſraelites*, as well as of thoſe three; for firſt, it could not be upon the account of their ſanctity, nor excellent virtues, ſeing *Abel*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*, whoſe GOD he likewiſe was, were at leaſt as holy as they; nor ſecondly to hint unto *Moſes* the myſtery of the Trinity, as *Perrerius* imagines (1), becauſe the word GOD is there thrice repeated; for it is rather repeated four times; *viz.* the GOD of thy father, that is of *Amram*, the GOD of *Abraham*, and ſo on. It is more probable therefore, that they are particularly mentioned, becauſe it was to them that the promiſe of a numerous poſterity, of their being ſtrangers in *Egypt*, and brought out of it, of their inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and eſpecially that of the MESSIAH, had been made,

And now we are upon this text, it will not be improper to enquire, why our SAVIOUR chooſes to alledge it againſt the *Sadduces*, rather than ſome others in the Old Teſtament, which do more fully prove the reſurrection of the body; to this it may be anſwered, that the objection, being made out of the *Pentateuch*, was more fitly anſwered by it, eſpecially to the *Sadduces*, who, as St. *Jerom* tells us (3), admitted of no other books of the Old Teſtament. The main queſtion therefore will be, how theſe words, *I am the* GOD *of* Abraham, *&c.* which ſeem at moſt to prove only the immortality of the ſoul, can be urged here to prove the reſurrection of the body? to which ſome ancient fathers anſwer (4), that theſe names being given to them, whilſt they conſiſted of ſoul and body, and the former of them being here plainly affirmed to be living with GOD, it follows, that the latter cannot be dead, but aſleep for a time, and that they will be re-united and live again, and both together enjoy the reward of their labour. Others ſay, that if the immortality of the ſoul be granted, the reſurrection of the body muſt follow of conſequence, by reaſon of the natural deſire which the former has to the latter, without which it cannot be ſaid to be perfectly happy; and this induced *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other philoſophers, who held the immortality of the ſoul, to provide her with a conſtant ſupply of bodies, either by remigration of returning into its own body again, or tranſmigration or paſſing into ſome other body (5). But the beſt ſolution ſeems to be that of St. *Jerom* (6), that the *Sadduces* believing neither the immortality of the ſoul, nor reſurrection of the body, both which were received by all the reſt of the *Jews*, the moſt effectual way to remove the ground of their error was, to prove by this text the being and living of the ſoul after death (7).

As to thoſe places where GOD commands *Moſes* to put off his ſhoes, and of *Moſes* covering his face, we hope, we need not acquaint the reader, that they were both marks of reverence uſed then, and ſince, by all the eaſtern nations. The firſt of theſe, *viz.* putting off the ſhoes, has a threefold ſignification in ſcripture, *viz.* firſt, it was common and uſual to put them off in token of mourning and grief, as *David* is ſaid to have gone from *Jeruſalem* barefoot when he fled from *Abſalom*; whilſt his retinue went with their faces covered in token of reſpect (8). Secondly, it ſignified the yielding of one's right to another, and is ſo preſcribed in *Deuteronomy* (9), and practiſed by *Boaz* (10); the third was in token of reſpect and reverence, as appears by this command of GOD to *Moſes*, and the reaſon aſſigned for it, *viz.* that the ground whereon he ſtood was holy, or ſanctified by GOD's immediate preſence.

(X) That ſome retaliation was due in ſtrict juſtice from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great ſervices they had done to them, is what can hardly be denied; however, we do not pretend to anſwer all the objections which have been raiſed againſt this action. We think it ſufficient to ſay, that the former were ſpoiled with the ſame juſtice for their unheard of Oppreſſion to the latter, as the *Canaanites* and other nations were deſtroyed for their abominable wickedneſs. GOD indeed could alone appoint thoſe puniſhments, and make uſe of what inſtruments he pleaſed to inflict them; but, ſince *Moſes* gave ſufficient proof of his being authorized by GOD, we cannot ſee where the injuſtice is in either caſe, nor the pretended ill tendency of ſuch a precedent, ſince it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no caſe to be followed, unleſs it be evidently commanded by the ſame divine authority.

(1) PERRER. *in loc.* (2) *Matth. xxii.* 31. *Mark xii.* 26. *Luke xx.* 37. (3) HIERON. *in Job xix. & alib.* (4) IREN. *lib. iv. cap. xi.* CHRYSOST. *in Mat. xxii. & al.* (5) TH. AQUIN. *cont. Gent. cap. lxxix.* (6) HIERON. *Com. in Mat. xxii.* (7) CAJET. VILLET *& al.* (8) *2 Sam. xv.* 30 (9) *Deut. xxv.* 9 (10) *Ruth iv.* 3.

a one of his hands with leproſy upon his pulling it out of his boſom, and then healing it again by the ſame way; adding moreover, that if the working of theſe two miracles before the *Iſraelites* did not give a ſufficient ſanction to his meſſage, he ſhould then have liberty to try the ſucceſs of a third, by taking ſome water out of the *Nile* and ſpilling it upon the ground, which would immediately turn the river into blood.

Moses had ſtill, he thought, one material objection to make, namely, an impediment in his ſpeech, which, he ſaid, rendered him unfit to ſpeak, either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Iſraelites*. He had probably raiſed many more, had not God removed this difficulty alſo by telling, that his brother *Aaron*, b who was now by his appointment to meet him, ſhould be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh* and to the *Hebrews*, and commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey, and not ſpend any more time in raiſing new ſcruples and objections [u]. There was certainly ſomething very ſurpriſing in this reluctancy of *Moſes*, as well as in the patience with which God heard him; yet, when he found that he had removed all the obſtacles which his diffidence had ſuggeſted to him, he could not forbear having recourſe to prayers, earneſtly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than himſelf, to make choice of ſome other to execute his command, and leave him to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and obſcurity. Had *Moſes* been leſs ſincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakneſs of his, ſo little to his credit; c and which nothing could excuſe or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confeſſion of it. Being therefore afraid, leſt he ſhould incur the divine diſpleaſure by a further refuſal, he made the beſt of his way towards *Midian*, reſolved for the future to be as ready, as he had before been backward, to obey the divine command.

Moſes *begs to be excuſed.*

Whether he acquainted *Jethro* with his commiſſion, or, as he tells us [x], only expreſſed a deſire to go and viſit his brethren in *Egypt*, he eaſily obtained his diſmiſſion from him, and taking his wife *Ziphorah* (Y) and his two ſons with him, the leaſt of which, being too young to walk, he ſet upon an aſs; with this d mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly to

Obeys at laſt, and leaves Midian,

Egypt.

[t] Exod. iv. 9. [u] Ibid. ver. 13 ad 17. [x] Ibid. ver. 18.

(Y) This *Ziphorah*, having afterwards a ſquabble with her ſiſter-in-law *Miriam*, in which *Aaron* took the latter's part, is by them called a *Cuſhite*, or *Ethiopian* (11), though it is plain ſhe was a *Midianite*, being one of *Jethro*'s daughters. To reconcile which ſome have affirmed, that *Midian* was in the land of *Cuſh*, or at leaſt very near it, from the words of the prophet (12), *I ſaw the tents of* Cuſhan *in affliction, and the curtains of the land of* Midian *did tremble*. Others think, that it was not *Ziphorah*, but *Tharbis* the *Ethiopian* princeſs, whom *Moſes* is affirmed by *Joſephus* to have married, and whom he would now have forſaken (13). But it ſeems more probable, that *Cuſhite* was a term of reproach or contempt, as *Gipſy* is with us; and that they called her by that name with no other view. The words therefore might be properly rendered thus; and *Miriam* and *Aaron* reflected upon *Moſes*, *upon the ſcore of his* Cuſhite, *becauſe he had taken a* Cuſhite *to wife*, there being nothing more frequent than ſuch repetition in the Old Teſtament. As for the reaſon of this quarel, 'tis likely, that *Ziphorah* had ſpoken, as they thought, too much in praiſe of her husband, upon the account of his having converſed ſo often with God, which made them reply, *has* God *ſpoken to him alone, has he not ſpoken to us alſo*? Upon this God called them to the tabernacle, ſharply reproved *Miriam* and *Aaron*, and highly extolled *Moſes*'s merit, but not a word is mentioned about his wife.

(Z) Concerning this ſtaff, from which *Ziphorah* had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful ſtory; *viz.* that it grew in *Jethro*'s garden, was called *Zaphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradice on the ſixth day, and brought away by *Adam*, and had paſſed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*. That *Jethro* had been one of his mildeſt councellors, and daily adviſed him to lighten the burthen of the *Iſraelites*, whilſt *Balaam*, courtier like, peſtered him with contrary councils: that, being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and ſtuck it in his garden, where it took ſuch deep root, that no force could pluck it up. That when *Moſes* came firſt to him, and acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* cauſed him to be cloſely confined, intending to ſend him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Ziphorah* being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he conſented that he ſhould be ſet at liberty and marry her, if he could pluck up the *Zaphir* rod which grew in his garden, and at the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant ſhould have his daughter in marriage. That immediately a great number of luſty men came and tried their ſtrength in vain; for *Moſes* alone was the man that could perform the feat, which he did with wonderful eaſe by vertue of the name

(11) *Numb. xii.* 1. (12) *Habak. iii.* 7. (13) Hieron. Perrer. Jun. *& al.*

Aaron's *children during his brother's absence.*

During *Moses*'s retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Elizabeth*, the ſiſter of *Naaſſon*, both deſcended from *Judah* by their father *Aminadab*, the ſon of *Ezron*. He had already had four ſons by her, *viz.* *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* [y], the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Phutiel* [z]. This was the State of *Aaron*'s family, when God commanded him to go to meet his brother [a]; but before he could reach to the mount of God (*Horeb*), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moſes*, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it being but darkly expreſſed in the original, and having been miſunderſtood and miſtranſlated in moſt verſions, and particularly our own, we ſtill venture to depart from it, where the original and the authority of thoſe, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out, not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

Moſes was upon his firſt day's journey, as is probably ſuppoſed by the ſmall diſtance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother, when God appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all thoſe wonders which he had ſhewed him before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the diſmiſſion of his people *Iſrael*, whom he calls here by way of excellency his firſt-born, aſſuring him, that he would be with him, and that in caſe of an obſtinate refuſal, which he foreſaw he would certainly meet with, he would ſlay all the firſt-born of *Egypt*. *Moſes* was by this time got to the end of his firſt day's journey and arrived at the inn, when God appeared to him again, but with an angry look, and ſtruck him with a terrible diſeaſe (A). *Moſes* doth not tell us, whether

Moſes *ſmitten by the angel in the inn.*

[y] Exod. vi. 23. [z] Ibid. ver. 25. [a] Ibid. cap. iv. 27.

name of God, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and ſo obtained *Jethro*'s daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14). Theſe abſurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew, into what monſtrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plaineſt truths. Were thoſe reverend gentlemens heads as long as their beards, they could never think, that ſuch ſtories can be of any credit either to their great law-giver, or to the inventors of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more ſparing of their curious, though fabulous, conceits of *Jethro* and his rod. As for *Jethro*, he was, they ſay, the ſon of *Taskir*, the ſon of *Midian*, whom they make the immediate ſon of *Iſhmael* (15), though *Moſes* mentions no *Midian* among the ſons of *Iſhmael* *. They tell us that he made a preſent of this wonderful rod to his ſon-in-law: that he had the gift of prophecy, and was ſent by God to preach the Unity of the Godhead to the *Midianites* (16), which as *Mohammed* tells us (17), he confirmed to them by miracles, and that when he went up to the top of a mountain to pray, it lowered its head to receive him. Another of his commentators adds, that *Jethro* made it his chief buſineſs to reprove the *Midianites* for their horrid robberies, falſe weights, and meaſures; but that thoſe incorrigible wretches, inſtead of taking his wholſome counſels, threatned to drive him and his diſciples out of the country: that God provoked at their wickedneſs, ſent the angel *Gabriel* to deſtroy them by an earthquake, in which none were ſaved but *Jethro* and his diſciples, who went afterwards to meet his ſon-in-law in the wilderneſs (18), as we have it in the book hf *Exodus* (19). They add, that the advice which he gave to *Moſes* there, got him the name of *preacher to the prophets* (20).

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted ſomething concerning this adventure, in the hiſtory of *Midian* †, but reſerved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greateſt part of commentators and expoſitors have ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the caſe of many a meek man, and that ſhe had conceived ſuch an averſion to the ceremony of circumciſion, that he had been forced for peace and quietneſs to neglect the performing it upon his youngeſt ſon, 'till the danger ſhe ſaw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctancy and ill language, to perform the operation. We ſhall therefore endeavour to ſet this matter in a clearer light, and ſhew, that they have quite miſtaken the ſenſe of the original and that there was neither quarrel nor ill language in the caſe, but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the ſolemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could poſſibly require.

Firſt then, as to the words, *the* Lord *met him at the inn and ſought to ſlay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and ſome other verſions render (21), *the angel of the* Lord, &c. it is plain, that they relate to *Moſes*, and not to the child, as *Tertullian* thinks, becauſe if it had been the latter, *Moſes*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This ſhews likewiſe, that the words import no more, than that God ſmote him with ſome grievous diſeaſe, which ſo diſabled him from circumciſing the child, that *Ziphorah* was forced to do it herſelf, though otherwiſe unfit. Thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue

(14) R. R. Tanchum-Mechit. & Scip. Sgambat. *L. ii. Arch. Vet. Teſt.* (15) Herbelot's *Bibli. Orient. ſub voc.* Schoaib. *p.* 790. * *Gen. xxv. paſſ.* (16) *Ex. lib. Arab.* Leb Tarik. (17) Koran Araf. (18) *Comment. in ſupradict. cap.* (19) *Exod. xviiii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (20) *Vid.* Calm. *ſub voc.* Jethro. † *Vid. ſupr. pag.* 301. (21) Pelican, Jun. & *al.*

a whether the divine anger was occaſioned by his incumbering himſelf with a wife and

tongue know, that the phraſe here uſed ſignifies no more. Some ancient interpreters have indeed underſtood it in a different ſenſe, ſome thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn ſword ready to kill *Moſes* (22). Others among the *Jews* telling us (23), that the viſion was a monſtrous large ſerpent which ſwallowed up *Moſes*'s body מרושו וער המילה from the head to (the place of) circumciſion, where he ſtuck, by which ſhe gueſſed at the cauſe of his danger, and having forthwith circumciſed the child with the uſual form of חתן דמים לי אתה (which words we miſtranſlate a bloody husband thou art to me); ſhe obſerved with joy her husband ſpewed up again unhurt; upon which ſhe began to exclaim in praiſe of circumciſion, which ſhe ſaw accompanied with ſuch virtue. All that is worth obſerving from this *Jewiſh* comment is, that *Ziphorah* expreſſed no paſſion againſt her husband during the whole action, much leſs in the words ſhe ſpoke, ſeeing they were part of a form uſed in circumciſion, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cauſe of GOD's anger againſt *Moſes*, St. *Auſtin* and ſome others (24) ſuppoſed it to have been becauſe he had taken his wife and children with him, the encumberment of whom did not ſuit with the buſineſs he was ſent about; for which reaſon, ſay they, he diſmiſſed her as ſoon as ſhe was delivered from his danger. But, unleſs there had been ſome indication of GOD's forbidding it, it is plain, it was his duty to take her and them with him, ſince man is to forſake all other relations to cleave to his wife (25). *Theodoret* thinks (26), that *Moſes* was afraid to go on for fear of *Pharaoh*, but that doth not appear, ſeeing he was on his journey thither. The true reaſon therefore ſeems to be the neglect of circumciſing the child, ſince *Moſes* was delivered from the danger as ſoon as *Ziphorah* had done it (27).

Thirdly, it is not eaſy to gueſs, how long, or why *Moſes* deferred the circumciſing of the child. Thoſe who follow the *Jeruſalem Targum*, which ſays, that *Jethro* and *Ziphorah* took offence at it (28), ſeem to forget, that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, deſcended from *Abraham* by *Kethurah*, and conſequently, that circumciſion was moſt probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Iſmaelites* and all other deſcendants of that patriarch. Beſides, they are fallen into this notion by miſtaking the words and action of *Ziphorah*, and thinking, that there was a ſharp diſpute between *Moſes* and her about it, which we ſhall preſently ſhew not to have been the caſe. Some think, that *Moſes* did not ſuppoſe circumciſion ſo neceſſary in a ſtrange land, eſpecially his children, being only *Iſraelites* by the father's ſide (29). But the moſt learned of the *Jews* rather think moſt probably, that the child was not above eight days old, or ſo much, and that *Moſes*, being in haſte to fulfil GOD's commands, would not ſtay 'till ſhe was brought to bed, and took her along with him, though ready to lie in (30). Neither is it plain from the text, that ſhe went that firſt day's journey with a deſign to follow him quite to *Egypt*; for ſhe might only accompany him thus far, thinking to have been back time enough to have lain in at her father's houſe. Though it fell out otherwiſe, and her labour came upon her ſooner than ſhe expected, being perhaps accelerated by the fatigue of the journey.

Fourthly, We come now to enquire into her behaviour and words after ſhe had performed the ceremony, which have proved the main ſtumbling block of moſt tranſlations. For firſt, they have underſtood it, that ſhe flung the child's fore-skin at his (*Moſes*'s) feet, though the text doth not ſay whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet, and the words be ſo far from ſignifying flinging, eſpecially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal ſenſe is, ſhe made it touch his feet. This has made *Lud. Brugenſis* and ſome others think, that ſhe humbly laid it at the angel's feet, beſeeching him, that for the ſake of that circumciſion-blood ſhe had now drawn, her husband's life might be ſpared: and that her prayer having been heard, and ſhe ſeeing *Moſes* free from the danger, congratulated him and herſelf with the words in the text, which he renders, *thou art now become, as it were, a new husband or bridegroom to me by this child's blood* (31). But we are going to ſhew, that the words were neither ſpoken to *Moſes*, nor to the angel, but to the child. Only let it be obſerved here by the by, that it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſhe ſhould fling the child's fore-skin in anger at her husband, who could not be blamed for the misfortune that had happened to him; much leſs likely is it, that ſhe would have dared to have flung it at the angel, if any ſuch had appeared to him at the inn; whereas, as we hinted before, the words do not imply an apparition, but *Moſes* being ſmitten with a deadly diſeaſe.

Fifthly, as to the words, *A bloody husband art thou to me*, &c. one of our learned divines has fully proved them not to have been ſpoken to *Moſes* but the child (32). He very judiciouſly obſerves, firſt, that the word חתן *Chatan*, which we tranſlate husband, ſignifies only a bridegroom, and it is not likely, that *Ziphorah* ſhould call him by that name after having been married ſo long, and having had two children by him, that appellative ceaſing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial ſolemnity were over. Another obſervation he makes is, that this word *Chatan* doth properly ſignify a ſon-in-law, and ſo expreſſes not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reaſon it never has any affixed pronoun, unleſs it be with relation to the latter. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the word כלה *Calah*, bride, or rather daughter-in-law; it being uſed only with relation to the husband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי *Calathi*, my daughter-in-law, but the bridegroom never calls her by that name to ſignify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to expreſs a bridegroom or bride, with reſpect to the relation they bear to one another. It would therefore have been nonſenſe in *Ziphorah* to have called him by the name of *Chatan*, which neither expreſſed an old or a new husband; the queſtion then

(22) THEODORET *in loc.* (23) ELLESHEMOTH RAB. R. SAL. *& al.* (24) AUGUST. *Serm. de temp.* (25) *Geneſ. ii.* 24. (26) THEODORET *in loc.* (27) D. KIMCHI RUPERT. TOSTAT. PERRER. MUNST. VILLET, *& al.* (28) TARG. JEROS. *in loc.* JUN. SIMLER, PELICAN. PISCAT. *& al.* (29) FERU *& al.* (30) ABEN-EZRA R. TANCHUM. (31) LUD. BRUG. *in loc & in Oper. Criticor. Tom. ix.* (32) JOS. MED. *ſermon on the words.*

and two children, when he was ſent upon ſo glorious and important a meſſage, or becauſe he had deferred to circumciſe his youngeſt ſon, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaiſance to his wife, who might fear leſt ſuch an operation ſhould make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. *Ziphorah*, however, taking it in the latter ſenſe, made what haſte ſhe could to get a ſharp ſtone, with which ſhe cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the ſame time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumciſion.* The ceremony was no ſooner over, but *Moſes* was reſtored again, and able to purſue his journey towards mount *Horeb*, whilſt his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, reſolved to wait there, 'till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her huſband.

Ziphorah circumciſes her ſon, and Moſes *is reſtored.*

IN the mean time *Moſes* and *Aaron* met at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and after the firſt embraces of two brothers who had not ſeen, or perhaps heard from, one another during the ſpace of forty years, *Moſes* acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from GOD. *Aaron* expreſſed a ſenſible joy at the news, and was ſo far from conceiving the leaſt uneaſineſs to ſee his younger brother ſo far preferred before him, that he promiſed to be obedient in all things to the divine will. After this they continued their journey towards *Egypt*, and being happily arrived at the land of *Goſhen*, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders or heads of the *Iſraelites*, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance; whilſt *Moſes*, to confirm their heſitating belief, failed not to work thoſe miracles before them, by which GOD had commanded him to eſtabliſh his credit and authority among them. Theſe firſt eſſays were received with incredible joy by the whole aſſembly, every one of them bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity of their miſerable ſlavery [b]. But this docile diſpoſition laſted no longer than they thought their deliverance would coſt nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon *Moſes* and *Aaron*; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became ſo reſty and deſponding, that *Moſes* found them as hard to be perſuaded to embrace their *freedom*, as *Pharaoh* was to grant it to them (B).

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

Declares his commiſſion to the Iſraelites.

MOSES and *Aaron*, however, did not delay to open their commiſſion before the *Egyptian* king, but the preamble of it, *Thus ſaid the* LORD GOD *of the* Hebrews, ſounded ſo ſtrangely in his ears, unuſed to ſuch an expreſſion, and perhaps to the naming of any other GOD beſides himſelf, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldneſs, telling them, that he knew no ſuch GOD, and that as to the

Delivers his meſſage to the king of Egypt.

[b] Exod. iv. p. tot.

then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the *Hebrew* doctors are beſt able to help us out, who tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women to call the circumciſed child *Chatan*, חתן (33). *Kimchi* ſays, that it ſignifies originally one that gives joy, and is therefore uſed to expreſs the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumciſion of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the *Arabians* called the circumciſed מחתון *Machtun*, or one that is made a *Chatan*, in the ſame manner as we call a baptized child chriſtened. The words then uſed by *Ziphorah* ought to have been tranſlated, *thou art* (now) *to me a joyful circumciſed ſon.* To which if we add the laſt obſervation of the ſame learned author that the word לי *Li*, which we tranſlate, to me, doth more properly ſignify here by me, as it doth in a great many other places of ſcripture, the ſenſe will be ſtill more plainly this; thou art now by me made a circumciſed child, which was the form of words uſed in the circumciſion, and might be more properly rendered, I do pronounce thee circumciſed. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally uſed in this form, not only to expreſs the uſual joy of a child's circumciſion, but likewiſe his admiſſion into the alliance made by GOD with *Abraham* and his poſterity, or his ſpouſal with the church of GOD; in both which ſenſes that word is very fitly applied; from which it is moſt probable, that it was at the child's feet that ſhe laid the foreſkin, when ſhe ſpake the words above-mentioned. This is ſo far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. *Mede*, that we find ſeveral ancient verſions expounding it after the very ſame manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any ſquabble between *Moſes* and his wife, nor any indecency or ill-language uſed by her.

(B) Some hiſtorians have ventured to give us the name of this *Pharaoh*. *Apion* calls him *Amoſis*, or *Amaſis*; *Euſebius*, *Chrencris*; but archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks after *Manetho*, that it was *Amenophis* the ſon of *Rameſes-Miamun*, and father of *Sethoſis*, called alſo after his grandfather *Rameſis*. He is alſo of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the ſame monarch whom the *Greeks* call *Belus*, the father of *Egyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Aſſyrian* and father of *Ninus* [36]; the truth is, that we have ſo little light from hiſtory as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it *.

(33) *Idem ibid.* (34) D. KIMCHI *in Radic.* (35) CHALD. SEPTUAGINT. & *al.* (36) USSHER AN. *p.* 13. & *ſeq.*

* *Vid. ſupr. p.* 235.

a the *Iſraelites*, they ſhould not find him ſo eaſy to part with them. This was indeed what they were bid to expect; nevertheleſs they ventured to tell him, that they knew that great GOD of whom they ſpoke, though he did not; and that he had charged them, that they ſhould all go three days journey to celebrate a feſtival to him, and that if they ſhould omit complying with his command, he would ſoon puniſh their diſobedience, either by peſtilence or by the ſword. *Moſes* could not expect, that *Pharaoh* ſhould concern himſelf about their danger upon that account; but he was not perhaps as yet commiſſioned to make uſe of more urgent motives. He was therefore diſmiſſed with his brother *Aaron*, with a ſevere reprimand, for putting ſuch idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them
b from their work, bidding them to return to their own taſks, and they ſhould ſoon know the ſucceſs of this wiſe embaſſy. As this proved the beginning of that famous conteſt between *Moſes*, or rather the GOD of *Iſrael*, and the king of *Egypt*, ſo it did likewiſe the fatal ſource of new ſorrows and complaints to the *Iſraelites*. For *Pharaoh*, fearing their exceſſive numbers, and thinking, or at leaſt pretending, that idleneſs and wantonneſs were the cauſe of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their taſk-maſters to harden their work ſtill more, and, inſtead of giving them ſtraw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, ſince they had ſuch an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themſelves ſtubble inſtead of it, without diminiſhing one tittle of their work. This was indeed expecting impoſſi-
c bilities from them, but their mercileſs taſk-maſters, not regarding it, failed not to puniſh their overſeers, whenever they found them come ſhort of their appointed taſk. Theſe therefore, not thinking perhaps, that *Pharaoh* could be the author of ſuch a cruel and unreaſonable order, went in a body to make their grievances known to him; but he, inſtead of minding their piteous complaints, only accuſed them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and diſmiſſed them with the utmoſt unconcern. They were ſcarce got out of *Pharaoh*'s palace before *Moſes* and *Aaron* met them, probably to enquire of their ſucceſs, but if they had not read it in their dejected looks, they could not fail of hearing of it, for the poor overſeers had no ſooner caſt their eyes on them, but they began to inveigh
d againſt them in the bittereſt terms, as the authors of this new addition of miſery, which could terminate in nothing but death and deſpair. It would have been in vain for *Moſes* to have offered any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviſable to apply himſelf to GOD, and in the humbleſt terms to expoſtulate with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage.

The Iſraelites *burthens increaſed.*

MOSES had no ſooner made an end of his complaint, but GOD gave him freſh aſſurances of his love and compaſſion for his groaning people. He bid him go to them, and aſſure them from him, that he would ſpeedily let all *Egypt* for that he was their GOD, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that
e land, which he had promiſed to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of *El Saddai*, GOD Almighty or All-ſufficient, though never 'till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C). But, continued he, I will ſignalize their deliverance, by ſuch tokens of my juſtice on that obſtinate Monarch and his cruel people, that they ſhall be forced at laſt to acknowledge the divine hand that ſmiteth them, and diſmiſs my people, though never ſo much againſt their will. This was more than enough to give a new life to *Moſes*, though

Moſes *is bid to go again to* Pharaoh.

e Exod. v. p. tot.

(C) Thoſe who conclude from this paſſage, that the name *Jehovah* (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or laſtly the true pronunciation of it (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, &c. and that *Moſes* uſed it by way of anticipation, and ſpoke according to the time in which he wrote, when GOD had made it fully known to his people, ſeem to forget, that *Abraham* called the mountain on which he was to have ſacrificed his ſon *Jehovah jired*. However, it muſt be owned, that there is a great obſcurity in the words of *Moſes*, out of which many *Hebrew* and Chriſtian commentators have endeavoured to bring ſome myſteries, which we ſhould be loath to vend after them. The moſt natural expoſition is, that which renders the *Hebrew* word *Shem* by character inſtead of name, and then the ſenſe will be this; In my character of *El Shadai*, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-ſufficient power for the fulfilling my promiſes to them; but now I'll be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of thoſe promiſes (40). *Vid.* our notes under the word *Jehovah*, pag. 484, not. T.

(37) KIMCHI, ABEN-EZRA, OLEASTER, &c. (38) PAUL BURG. RUPERT. LYRA. CAJETAN. TOSTAT. (39) OLEAST. GLOSS. BERRUYER, &c. (40) SIMLER, JUNIUS, & *al.*

though all too little and insufficient to administer the least comfort to his unhappy people, who, sinking under the weight of their oppression, did hardly give an ear to what he said to them. *Moses* was going away from them, grieved at his heart to behold their misery and despair, when God commanded him to go immediately to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in his name, not to detain his people any longer at his peril. But *Moses* was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear showing an excessive reluctancy to obey. Alas, said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect, that they will be regarded by that faithless king, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To which God was pleased to answer, behold *Moses*, I give thee a miraculous, a divine power, over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother shall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him. And though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (D), 'till thou hast wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be assured, that I will bring *Israel* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* shall know that I am the Lord. *Pharaoh* indeed will not consent 'till he is forced to it. For, since he refused to acknowledge me and hardneth himself against my commands, it is but just I should so far forsake him, that, though my wonders are multiplyed before him, and the whole land is astonished at them, he alone shall continue obdurate and insensible of them. Go then, let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at least, that your message is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he[d]. *Moses* and *Aaron* did forthwith obey, and, having presented themselves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their message by the first miracle, and *Moses* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a serpent. *Pharaoh*, though somewhat surprised at it, yet failed not to try what his magicians could do, who were no sooner come but their rods were likewise turned into serpents, so that all the superiority which *Moses* shewed over them at that time was, that, whilst the king and court were applauding their skill, his rod swallowed up those of the *Egyptians* (E). However this

First Miracle. Moses's *rod turned into a serpent.*

The Magicians do the same by theirs.

[d] Exod. vi. p. tot.

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which make God the cheif hardner of *Pharaoh*'s heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion, which however embraced by the Predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool there is no God, than to believe him capable of such manifest injustice. We shall have occasion to resume this subject in the sequel of this history upon another occasion, and to shew, that the *Jews* have been the first broachers of this monstrous doctrine, and, by their versions and paraphrases, have led the way to others to render these, and many other texts of the old testament, in a sense, in which neither the original, nor the whole tenour of scripture, nor the notion of a deity, nor even the context in this particular case, could bear them out. For who can deny, but what God did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, was much more proper to soften, than to harden, his heart, especially when it is observable, that it was not 'till after seeing the miracles, and after the ceasing of the plagues, that *his heart* is said to be *hardened?* we think ourselves therefore obliged to do justice to those learned criticks, who have been at the pains of clearing the scriptures from charging the great judge of heaven and earth with such foul injustice, by proving, even against the *Jews*, that the verbs here used are in the conjugations *Piel* and *Hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians, and signify often a bare permission, of which they have given us very many unquestionable instances, which we shall not trouble our reader with here, seeing he may consult the authors themselves whose names he will find in the margin (41). From all these, and many more, authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been translated, as we have, that God *suffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, as all those who are never so little versed in the *Hebrew* will readily own. As for those places where it is said, *for this cause have I set thee up, that I might shew my power*, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered; for this cause have *I suffered thee to subsist or to stand*, &c, that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or spared thee from the common ruin, &c. which bear quite another sense, and only shew, that, though he had long ago deserved to be destroyed, yet God thought fit to let him subsist, 'till he had by his many wonders delivered his people in spight of all his opposition.

(E) The *Talmud* has preserved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moses*, when he began to work his miracles among them; *thou bringest straw to Affa*, a place in *Egypt* where straw abounded; meaning, that he had chosen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks, in a country that was so well stocked with conjurers. *Origen* says, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not absolutely deny the miracles of *Moses*, but only pretended, that they were done by delusion, and not by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egyptian* magicians speaking to *Pharaoh* and his court to this

(41) Arr. Montan *de Ideom Hæbr. N.* 42. Fin. *Con. Theol. Cent.* 2. Gerhard *de Provid.* Calov. & Rung. *in Exod.* Hunnin. *qu. de Provid.* 57, 91. Meitzer. *diss. Giess. Tom. p.* 745. Mesner *Anthropol. dec.* 1. Pfeifer *dubia V. T. Cent.* 1. *l.* 8. Pelling & Whitby *against Predest.* Leclerc *in loc.* Grot. Le Scene *Effect* & *al.*

(1) Orig. *cont. Celf. lib. iii.*

a this advantage made no great impreſſion on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only to

this purpoſe; *why are you frighted, we are not ignorant of ſuch things, ſeeing we profeſs the ſame ourſelves* (2)?

And here, ſince we are entering into a long ſcene of *Moſes*'s miracles, the greateſt part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiſs to enquire, who the latter were, by what power they did perform thoſe wonders, and why they came ſhort of ſome of thoſe of *Moſes*. As to the firſt we promiſed in a former place to prove that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* * mentioned by St. *Paul* to have withſtood *Moſes* (3), or as *Pliny* calls them *Jamnes* and *Jotapha* (4), when ſpeaking of the ſect of the magicians, he ſays, that *Moſes*, *Jamnes*, and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrated in the *Talmud* † under the names of יוחני וממרי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam*'s ſons, and that they went along with him to *Balak* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewiſh* authors call them *Janes* and *Jambres*; others *Jochanan* and *Mamre*, and others *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6), and pretend that they were drowned in the red-ſea with the *Egyptians*, though others think, that they were not deſtroyed 'till the war which *Phineas* waged againſt the *Mdianites* (7). The apocryphal book entitled *Jannes* and *Mambres*, quoted by *Origen* (8), and by *Hilary* the deacon (9), affirm them to have been two brothers; and *Numenius* quoted by *Euſebius* (10) gives us this account of them, "*Jannes* and *Jambres*, interpreters of the myſteries of *Egypt*, were in great repute at the time when the *Hebrews* were driven out of *Egypt*, being in the opinion of all men inferior to none in the art of magick. For, by the general voice of the *Egyptians*, they two were choſen to oppoſe *Moſes*, ringleader of the *Jews*, whoſe prayers were of all others, moſt prevalent with God; and they only were able to fruſtrate and undo all thoſe moſt grievous plagues which *Moſes* brought upon *Egypt*, in the open view and ſight of all the *Egyptians*." Thus much for the names and character of thoſe magicians.

The *Mohammedans*, however, have not failed, according to cuſtom, to ſtuff this part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory with ſome of their fables. We ſhall juſt give a ſhort ſketch of what they have writ of it. They tell us, that *Moſes* having wrought ſome miracles before the king of *Egypt*, and very much ſurpriſed him with them, he was adviſed by his council to amuſe him with fair hopes, 'till he had ſent for ſome of the moſt expert magicians from *Thebaide*. Accordingly *Sabur* and *Gadour*, two brothers renowned for their magick ſkill, were ſent for; but before they repaired to *Pharaoh*'s court, they went to conſult the *Manes* of their father about the ſucceſs of their journey, acquainting him withal, that the two magicians, whom they were ſent to oppoſe, had a rod which they turned into a ſerpent, and devoured all that made head againſt it. Their father's ghoſt anſwered, that if that rod turned itſelf into a ſerpent whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. Upon their arrival at *Memphis*, their firſt care was to inform themſelves about this material circumſtance, and found, that their rod did guard them in the ſhape of a ſerpent whilſt they ſlept, and let none come near them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the head of his other magicians, to the number, as ſome make it, of 70,000. Beſides theſe there were two other excellent ones with their diſciples, and laſtly, the *Egyptian* High-prieſt at the head of all the magicians of that country. All theſe had prepared rods, and cords filled with quick-ſilver, which, being heated by the ſun, imitated the winding of a ſerpent, but they were ſoon deſtroyed by that of *Moſes*, to the great ſurprize of all the beholders, but eſpecially of *Sabour* and *Gadour*, who thereupon renounc'd their profeſſion and embraced *Moſes*'s religion, and were put to death for it by order of the *Egyptian* king, as holding ſecret correſpondence with *Moſes* (11).

From this account it is plain, that the *Mohammedans* looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as *Hocus Pocus* tricks, than ſuper-natural works. However, though this opinion has been likewiſe maintained by ſeveral eminent perſons, both *Jews* and Chriſtians (12); yet that of St. *Auſtin* (13), that they were done by the power of the devil, has been more univerſally received, and that for the two following reaſons; firſt, becauſe the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament ſeem to attribute ſome ſuch power to evil ſpirits; and ſecondly, becauſe *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf in ſuch terms as manifeſtly ſhew, that they really imitated him in all thoſe wonders they wrought. For in this caſe of their rods being turned into ſerpents he doth not ſay, that they made them appear to be ſuch by a *deceptio viſus*; but that ישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became ſerpents*. And in all the other caſes wherein they imitated him, he expreſſes it thus; יעשו גם הם ויעשו כן חרטומים and *the magicians did ſo likewiſe*; or, *and the magicians*, even they, *did ſo likewiſe*. If it be aſked why God did ſuffer them to borrow this power from the devil to invalidate, if poſſible, thoſe miracles, which his ſervant wrought by his divine power, the following reaſons may be given for it, namely, firſt, it was neceſſary that theſe magicians ſhould be ſuffered to exert the utmoſt of their power againſt *Moſes*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magick or ſorcery; for as the notion of ſuch an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this ſtrenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to have attributed all his miracles to his ſkill in magick, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was neceſſary in order

(2) Phil. *in vit.* Moſ. *vid.* Warren *cont.* Burnet, *p.* 40. (3) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. † Tract. מנחות *cap. ix.* (4) *Lib. xxx. c. i.* (5) *Targ. in Num. xxii.* 22. (6) Buxtorf *Lexic. Talmud.* Fabric *de Apocr. Vet. Teſt.* (7) *Num. xxv.* 17, 18. (8) Orig. *in Matth. Tract. xxxv.* (9) Ambrosiast. *in* 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (10) *In* Aristob. *ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. viii.* (11) Herbelot *Bibliot. Orient. p.* 648, *& ſeq.* Monosah *ap.* Calmet. *ſub. voc.* Jannes. * *Vid. ſup. p.* 220. e (12) Jos. *Ant. lib. ii. c. xiii.* Justin Mart. *quæſt Orthod. xvi.* Tertul. *lib de anima.* Greg. Nyssen. Ambros. Hieron. *cont. Jovin. lib. ii. & al.* (13) August. *lib. xxxviii. quæſt.* 79, 98, *& lib. iii. de Trinitate cap. vii.* Theodoret *in Exod. lib. xviii.* Aquin. Tostat. Lyra. Burg. Cajet. Usher. *Ann. in loc.*

to his ſuperior ſkill in magick. This miracle therefore was ſoon followed by another, which was turning all the running and ſtanding waters of *Egypt* into blood; ſo that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink: how long they continued ſo *Moſes* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the laſt verſe of this chapter, that ſeven days were compleated after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the ſpace between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For as the diviſion of the bible into chapters was of latter invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the laſt verſe of the ſeventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And ſeven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the* LORD *ſpake*, and ſo on, which is the ſame as if he had ſaid, and ſeven days after the turning of the waters into blood GOD ſpake to *Moſes*. However, this change continued long enough to kill all the fiſh, and oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink, none of the reſt being fit for that or any other uſe. The miracle was likewiſe imitated by the magicians, but whether upon ſea-water brought on purpoſe, or ſome freſh water fetched from the land of *Goſhen*, or ſome of that which they had drawn out of their new digged wells, is not eaſy to gueſs; though it is more probable, that they ſtaid 'till the waters of the *Nile* and other places were reſtored to their former colour and taſte. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convined [e]; wherefore *Moſes* was again ſent to him to threaten him, that if he did not let *Iſrael* go, his whole kingdom ſhould be filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds, and tables ſhould ſwarm with them; but *Pharaoh* ſtill deſpiſing their threats, and bidding them defiance, was ſoon made ſenſible of his raſhneſs. His magicians indeed went on to perſuade him that *Moſes* was only ſuch another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating alſo this miracle and bringing a freſh ſwarm of frogs. They might indeed have ſhewed their ſkill to a better purpoſe, if they had tried to have removed thoſe inſects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this freſh ſupply, but it ſeems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to ſend for *Moſes*, and to promiſe him, that he would let *Iſrael* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that plaguy vermin. Whether there was any ſincerity in this promiſe, or whether it was only forced from him by the preſent calamity, *Moſes* took him at his word, and deſiring him to name the time when he ſhould rid the land of thoſe creatures, did preciſely perform his part; ſo that by the next day, the time appointed by the king, there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilſt his ſubjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their ſtench being like to have bred an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promiſe, not conſidering, that he only made way for another plague.

Second Miracle. The waters turned into blood.

Third miracle. Frogs.

FOR when *Moſes* found himſelf baffled, he touched the duſt with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as ſome think, into gnats, which inſect, they ſay, is more common, and their ſting more tormenting in *Egypt* than any where elſe. But our verſion ſeems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of ancient and modern tranſlations and expoſitors [f]. Theſe infected man and beaſt in ſuch quantities, that one would have imagin'd, that all the duſt of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* ſent for his magicians, and bid them try their ſkill; but in vain, for either their power proved too ſhort, or was curtailed by a ſuperior hand, ſo that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of GOD did plainly diſplay itſelf in this miracle (F). However *Pharaoh* not regarding

Fourth miracle. Lice.

[e] Exod. vii. p. tot.

[f] CHALD. TARG. JOSEPH. Ant. ii. l. xiv. RABBIN. MONTAN. MUNSTER VATABL. JUN. BOCHART. &c. al.

der to confirm the faith of the wavering and deſponding *Iſraelites*, by making them ſee the difference between *Moſes*'s acting by the power of GOD, and the ſorcerers by that of *Satan*. And laſtly, in order to preſerve them afterwards from being ſeduced by any falſe miracles from the true worſhip of GOD (14).

(F) What has been ſaid under this head in the laſt note, will eaſily lead us to an anſwer to the next queſtion, why the magicians could not go through ſtitch with all the miracles of *Moſes*, and in particular in not being able to bring forth lice, when they had been able to bring ſwarms of frogs and other inſects. For without having recourſe to the common ſolution, that this was a new creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expreſly calls them *lice*, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that herein *Moſes* ſhewed his ſuperior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all reſpects as eaſy

(14) RUPERT. PERRER. SIMLER, FERUS, VILLET, TREMEL, *& al. in loc.*

regarding their words, *Moſes* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obſtinacy would only bring more and worſe plagues upon him, the next of which would be ſuch mixed ſwarms of flies as would darken the air; that GOD however, would put a difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that there ſhould none be found in all the land of *Goſhen*, though the reſt of the kingdom did ſwarm with them; adding, that the next day ſhould bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning, the air was filled with thoſe inſects, whoſe bite was ſo venemous and painful, that the miſchief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable [g], and forced the king to ſend for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to ſacrifice to their GOD, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they anſwer'd, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their lives, ſeeing they ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice ſuch creatures as the *Egyptians* worſhipped, who would therefore be ready to ſtone them, as guilty of the moſt horrid and abominable ſacrilege. They therefore inſiſted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might ſafely perform their GOD's command. This anſwer, which gave him juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible *nonplus*. On the one hand he was very unwilling to hazard the loſing of the *Iſraelites*, and on the other the flies did ſuch an incredible deal of harm, that he heard nothing but complaints on all ſides. At length, being become more ſeemingly flexible, he promiſed, that they ſhould go, provided it was at no great diſtance from *Egypt*, and they promiſed him faithfully to return again in a little time, and he to their great ſurpriſe, deſired that they would pray for him. He could not indeed have choſen a more powerful or a more ready interceſſor, had not the tokens of God's clemency, as well as thoſe of his ſeverity, been equally loſt upon him. However, *Moſes* aſſured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the LORD for him, and deſired him to keep his word; but no ſooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from the plague of thoſe venemous inſects, than the king drew on another by his obſtinacy and breach of promiſe [h].

Fifth miracle. Swarms of flies.

THE next judgment fell, according to *Moſes*'s word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greateſt part of which died by the next day, whilſt that of the *Iſraelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boil which break out upon man and beaſt, by *Aaron*'s throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air. *Pharaoh*, according to cuſtom, had recourſe to his magicians, who, being themſelves ſmitten with the boils, and being perhaps afraid of ſomething worſe, dared not appear before *Moſes*. Notwithſtanding this, *Pharaoh* continued obſtinate, and choſe rather to endure the ſmart of his boils, than the loſs of *Iſrael*. However, it was not long before *Moſes* was ſent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the God of *Iſrael* ſhould be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in ſuch dreadful ſtorms of hail, as had not been known ſince the foundation of *Egypt*. He adviſed him likewiſe not to exalt himſelf againſt the *Iſraelites*, ſeeing their GOD hath hitherto preſerved him from ruin, only to convince him of his almighty power by all theſe ſigns and wonders, and to perſuade him to confeſs and adore him, and prevent thereby the future effects of his wrath; for, added he, if all theſe judgments will not humble thee, know, that GOD hath a great many in ſtore againſt thee, which ſhall force thee at laſt to ſubmit, tho' never ſo much againſt thy will. He, who alone did ſet thee on the throne, might indeed have cut thee off from thy firſt refuſal, but, ſince he hath ſpared thee hitherto, remember, it is either to force thee to glorify him by thy ſubmiſſion, or to be glorified by this and future ages, by the puniſhment which thy pride and obſtinacy do force from him, after ſo many gracious invitations and miraculous warnings (G). He gave him but that one day to conſider of it, aſſuring him, that the next day would prove a diſmal one to the *Egyptians*, unleſs he reſolved to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites* before

Sixth miracle. The cattle of the Egyptians *killed by murrain.*

Seventh miracle. Boils upon men and beaſts.

Eighth miracle. Hail-ſtorms and thunders.

[g] *Vid.* Pſal. lxxviii. 45.

[h] Exod. viii. p. tot.

easy as any they had done 'till then. For this was more than ſufficient to extort this confeſſion from them, that he acted by a ſuperior power, and that the finger of GOD was in it (15). *

(G) This verſion, wherein we have departed from all others and kept cloſe to the original, the reader may ſee juſtified in a former note †.

(15) *Exod. viii.* 19. * *Vid.* LESLEY's *eaſy method with the Deiſts.* † *Vid. ſupra, p.* 494. *Not.* D.

before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* God would put such a difference, that the land of *Goshen* should be entirely free from the terrible punishment, with which *Egypt* would be half undone. However, finding the king still too hardned and incredulous to prevent this new judgment, he forewarn'd him and his court to send for such cattle as they had left out in the fields, since all that was not under some strong shelter would certainly be killed by the hail. *Moses* was no sooner gone from him, but those who gave credit to his words sent to have their servants and cattle safely lodged, whilst the rest, lightly regarding it, left them to perish in the field. For no sooner had *Moses* lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning, but the thunders, lightnings, and hail followed one another so thick, that *Egypt* was half destroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of such prodigious bigness, that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroy'd all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye escaped, because they were not sufficiently grown, for the barley harvest in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March*, whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin 'till six or seven weeks after. As for the land of *Goshen*, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

These thunders and lightnings, but especially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, because it seldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, so frighted the proud king, that he sent for *Moses* and *Aaron* out of hand, and express'd himself in such terms to them, as might have past for sure tokens of a real conversion: he own'd himself an obstinate sinner, justly punished for his disobedience, and begged, that they would but deliver him from the noise of those dreadful thunders, after which he promised not to detain them one moment longer. *Moses* was too well acquainted with him by this time, to depend upon his promise, which, he saw, was only extorted from him by his present dread. He made no scruple to tell him so. However, he promised him to obtain a speedy cessation of them as soon as they were gone out, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the mischief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inspired many of them with a real fear of the God of *Israel*; but this was not the case of *Pharaoh* and his council, who no sooner perceived that the storm was over, but they returned to their old way[1]. *Moses* therefore was sent to signify to them what judgment they were to expect next, which was to be such an infinite number of locusts, as should cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undestroyed. There were some about the king then, who took the liberty to represent to him the unconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received; that *Egypt* was already destroyed, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were sent away to serve their God. *Pharaoh* was almost persuaded to let them go, but having sent for *Moses* and *Aaron* back to enquire who of them were to go, and who were to stay, he was so highly provoked at their insisting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which though concealed with so much art, and cloak'd with the specious pretence of religion and the service of God, yet did but too plainly show, that they had no mind ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warn'd them of the danger they ran themselves into, and advised them to content themselves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind; and, having threatned them severely, caused them to be turned out of doors.

The great mischief done by it.

Ninth miracle. Locusts.

MOSES was no sooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an east wind, which blow'd all the night, and brought such a numerous swarm of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever. This new provocation did not go long unpunished, and *Egypt* was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, but continued fix'd and immoveable, as if they had been thunder-struck, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoy'd its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common

Tenth miracle. Great darkness during three days.

[1] Exod. ix. p. tot.

common methods then uſed to ſupply the abſence of the ſun, cauſed ſuch dreadful
a apprehenſions in the king and all his ſubjects, and was ſo heightned by the diſmal outcries of men, women, and children, that their conſternation may be much eaſier imagined than expreſſed. However, it made ſo deep an impreſſion upon them, that, as ſoon as the light was reſtored to them, *Moſes* and *Aaron* were immediately ſent for, to prevent, if poſſible, ſome further and more terrible puniſhment. The king, according to cuſtom, told them, that he was willing to grant their requeſt, and that they might go with their wives and children, but inſiſted, that their flocks ſhould be left behind. *Moſes*, after having repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a demand, ſeeing they only knew that they were to offer up a ſolemn ſacrifice to GOD,
b but were not yet acquainted what kind of beaſts he would chooſe to have ſacrificed to him, obſerving *Pharaoh*'s unwillingneſs to conſent, told him in expreſs terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a ſingle hoof ſhould remain in *Egypt*. We need not to wonder, if ſo proud a king as *Pharaoh* was could not hear ſo bold a demand without the higheſt reſentment. He cauſed him to be thruſt from his preſence with the higheſt indignation, threatning him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it ſhould certainly coſt him his life. Such impotent threatrings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moſes*; who therefore contented himſelf with ſaying *Amen* to his never ſeeing him more [k]. However, it is reaſonably ſuppoſed, that it was in this laſt interview, that he foretold the king the
c finiſhing ſtroke of the divine vengeance upon all the firſt-born of men and cattle throughout all *Egypt*, which ſhould cauſe ſuch a conſternation among all his ſubjects, that they ſhould come with bended knees to the *Iſraelites*, and beg of them in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to depart out of their country [l]; whilſt GOD would ſtill ſhow ſuch a regard to the latter, that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any of them. *Moſes* had no ſooner finiſhed this laſt prediction, and promiſed him, that, according to his word, he would ſee his face no more, then he retired to his people into the land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* celebrated the paſſover that very night [m], according to
d GOD's command. In this night alſo *Moſes* bid them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could, from their *Egyptian* neighbours, aſſuring them from GOD, that they ſhould find them very willing and forward to accommodate them with the beſt things they had [n] (H).

The paſſover celebrated.

[k] Exod. x. p. tot. [l] Exod, xi. 8 & ſeq. Vid. USHER Annal. p. 14. [m] Id. ibid. VILLET, & al. [n] Exod. xi & xii. p. tot.

(H) Before we enter into the inſtitution of the paſſover, which was attended with the laſt and moſt dreadful plague, the death of all the firſt-born, it will not be amiſs to enquire, how long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, eſpecially, becauſe ſome chronologiſts have ſpun it out to ten (16), and others to twelve months (17); but, beſides that their reaſons are very jejune, and unwarranted by ſcripture, it is more likely, that they happened all within the ſpace of one month; firſt, becauſe their following ſo thick one upon another, would both more viſibly diſplay the power of GOD, and more effectually work upon *Pharaoh* to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites*; and this ſeems to be hinted at by *Moſes* in a former chapter (18). 2. Theſe plagues were ſo grievous that, if they had laſted much longer, the *Egyptians* could never have endured them; but, 3. we read that the *Iſraelites* continued full forty years in the wilderneſs (19), that *Moſes* was eighty years old before he appeared the firſt time before *Pharaoh* (20) and that he was 120 years old when he died, that is at the end of their 40 years travel (21), ſo that there could not be much time ſpent in bringing all theſe plagues. However, archbiſhop *Uſher* has included them all within the ſpace of one month, from *Moſes*'s own account, as follows (22).

About the 18th day of the ſixth month, which in the year following, and after, was reckon'd the twelfth month, was ſent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended ſeven days after (23). About the twenty-fifth day came on the ſecond plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24), and about the twenty-ſeventh day came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the 28th day *Moſes* threaten'd them with a fourth plague of flies, and other vermin, which came on the 29th day, and were all taken away on the 30th (26).

About the 1ſt day of the next month, which was afterwards made the firſt month of the year, *Moſes*, having foretold them of another plague to come, namely, the murrain upon the cattle, brought it upon them the day following (27). About the 3d day the ſixth plague of boils brake out upon man, and beaſts, and upon the magicians (28).

About the 4th day *Moſes* foretold them a ſeventh plague, which he brought upon them on the 5th; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous hail mix'd with fire, with which their flax and barley were ſmitten (29), but their wheat and rye were not hurt; not being yet out of the ground. Whence *Nic. Fuller*, *lib.* 3, *Miſcel.* 1. rightly obſerves, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month *Abib*.

About the 7th day *Moſes* threatned them with an eighth plague, and accordingly ſent it the day following, that was of locuſts to devour

(16) BOORH. *ap.* VILLET. (17) *Judæi fere omnes. Vid.* USHER *An. p.* 13. GENEBRARD, *& al.* (18) *Exod. vi.* 1. (19) *Joſh. v.* 6. (20) *Exod. vii.* 7. (21) *Deut. xxxiv.* 7. (22) *Annal. p.* 14. *Vid. etiam* PERRER. *& VILLET. in loc.* (23) *Exod. vii.* 25. (24) *Ib. viii.* 10. (25) *Ib. ver.* 17. (26) *Ib. ver.* 24 *& 29.* (27) *Exod. ix.* 3, 5, 6. (28) *Ib. ver.* 8, *& ſeq.* (29) *Ibid. ver.* 18 *ad* 32.

Its first institution.

However, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescribed by God to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during these transactions that pass'd between him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are postpon'd to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking of the series of those wonders which God had wrought by him. The account, which he has given us of this institution, is prefaced with a command from God, that that month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred calandar (K); and that all the other feasts of the year, which were afterwards to be instituted, should be regulated by that of the passover, the celebration of

The order and manner of it.

which was to be as follows. Upon the 10th of the month, which was four days before *Moses*'s last message to *Pharaoh*, every master of a family was to take a lamb or a kid, of the first year, a male without blemish, and keep it 'till the 14th of the same month. And in case his family was too small for the lamb, he was to call in one or more families to the eating of it. It was to be killed and roasted on the 14th day at evening, and eat with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; they were to eat with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand. They were to eat it in haste, as people who are ready and impatient to be gone. The head and the feet were not to be sever'd from it, nor a bone of it to be broken: if any of it was left, it was not to be kept 'till the next day, but thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes, though the eating of unleavened bread was to last seven days. This injunction about the passover was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to save the blood of the lamb in a bason, and sprinkle the two side-posts and cross-post of their doors with it, that the destroying angel might leave their houses untouched, when he pass'd by to destroy the first-born of *Egypt*, and execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who in the language of scripture are often called gods, or those animals which that superstitious nation did worship. This blood upon their door-posts was to be their safe-guard, seeing all those which were found unsprinkled with it were to be liable to the common calamity, as well as those who should be caught

Unleavened bread.

straggling out of their houses during that whole night. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feast of unleavened bread seven days, that is from the 14th day at even, until the 21st day at even; during which whosoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Israelite* or a stranger, was to be cut off from *Israel*, that is, was either to be put to immediate death, or to be cut off by the hand of providence; or lastly be excommunicated, and thereby rescinded from all the promises made to the seed of *Abraham*. The first and last of these seven days were to be kept holy and free from all manner of work. Lastly, no stranger was be admittsd to eat of the passover, unless he consented to be circumcised. As for the *Israelites*, they were strictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to instruct their children in the meaning of this institution, that they might likewise perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

The Israelites *obey, and kill the passover.*

The people, whom so many dire judgments on the *Egyptians* had rendered more tractable, received *Moses*'s orders with the utmost respect; and, having paid their adoration to God, went to put themselves in readiness to execute them. These commands

vour all, which plague he removed about the 9th day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* Calendar is from thence forward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the 10th day of this now first day of the month, *which was the* 30*th of* April *according to the* Julian *Calendar upon* Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover and sweet-bread, to wit, the paschal lamb was chosen and killed the fourth day after (33).

Moses now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkness (34); and upon the 14th day *which was* May *the* 4*th, upon* Monday *with us*, which was the last time he spoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moses* foretold him the tenth plague which should come upon him, namely the destruction of all the first-born, which came to pass the night following, and then, turning him about in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the passover celabrated (36).

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been 'till then the seventh month, and continued so to be in the secular year, became from that day forward the first month of the sacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* or sacred Calendar was from thence-forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(30) *Exod. x.* 4. *ad* 19. (31) *Exod. xii.* 2. & *xiii.* 4. (32) *Num. ix.* 1, 2. *Coll. c. Exod. xl.* 17. (33) *Exod. xii*, 3 *ad* 21. (34) *Ibid. x.* 21 & *seq.* (35) *Ibid. ver.* 25 *ad* 29. & *c. xi.* 1, 4, 8. (36) *Ibid. xii. ad ver.* 28. (37) *Exod. xii.* 2. *with xiii.* 4. (38) *Numb. ix.* 1, 2. *with Exod. xi.* 17. *Vid.* Ush. *Ann. p.* 14.

a mands may be properly reduced to three heads, *viz.* Firſt, To gather themſelves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goſhen*; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a vaſt multitude, amounting to upwards of two millions and a half of ſouls, as we have elſewhere ſhewn *, could be all contained in that little ſpot of ground; ſo that it required no ſmall diſpatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the *Egyptians*; and this required ſecrecy, ſince it is not probable, that the *Egyptians* would have prov'd ſo generous, ift hey had ſuſpected that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to laſt but a few days. Thirdly, To eat the paſſover at the time, and with all the ceremonies that had been preſcribed; and this was to b take up ſome time, four days at leaſt. However, providence ſo ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the *Pſalmiſt* tells us [n], that, notwithſtanding the great number of their old men, women, and children, there was not one feeble perſon among all their tribes.

THE night, which was to prove ſo joyful to them, and ſo fatal to their enemies, being come, and GOD's commands being punctually obeyed, whilſt both ſides were in the extremeſt tranquility, the *Egyptians* thinking now all the plagues paſt, and *Pharaoh* flattering himſelf that *Moſes*'s threatning againſt the firſt-born had proved abortive, becauſe four days were elapſed ſince it was denounced, whereas he uſed to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and on the c other hand the *Iſraelites* keeping themſelves in the profoundeſt ſilence, knowing what horrid ſlaughter was to be made among the *Egyptians*; in the middle I ſay of that very night, GOD ſent his deſtroying miniſters, who ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves all over the kingdom, and ſmote all the firſt-born with immediate death, from the firſt-born who ſat on *Pharaoh*'s throne, to the firſt-born of the impriſoned captive, and even to that of the meaneſt animal in the land. What tongue or pen can deſcribe the horror and amazement, the dreadful outcries, and mournful groans of that unhappy nation, where every houſe, none excepted, had one or more dead, and, which was ſtill worſe, a firſt-born, the ſtay and hope of the family (L). How much more diſmal muſt the proud monarch's condition be, who not only ſhar'd in the common affliction, but ſaw his palace beſieged by crowds of his unhappy ſubjects, who upbraided him with being the cauſe of all theſe dire calamities! The firſt expedient he could think of was, to ſend immediately for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who, being ſettled at *Rameſes* not far from this capital city, were ſoon brought to him, and found the frighted king, inſtead of his uſual threatning and upbraidings, urgent and preſſing for their departure out of his dominions with their children, cattle, and all they had, and to have them go, and ſacrifice to their GOD, and implore his mercy for him in their prayers. The *Egyptians* likewiſe were no leſs impatient to ſee their backs, fearing leſt every minute of their ſtay ſhould prove their laſt. The *Iſraelites* found them as ready to lend them the moſt valuable things they e had, as themſelves were to borrow them, and *Moſes*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh*'s changeable temper to ſtay 'till he relaxed, made all the haſte he could to put it out of his power; and having ſettled the beſt order he could among that vaſt multitude, and in the general confuſion that then reigned, he gave the ſignal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for, and bury their dead, and loaded with their ſpoils, they began their march under the conduct of providence, and his ſervant *Moſes*, being to the number of ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms, beſides old men, women, and children, ſervants, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and followed them in their march. They had continued in *Egypt* from the time of *Jacob*'s f firſt coming thither to this very day, which was the ſame day of the ſame month and

The firſt-born of the Egyptians *ſlain by the deſtroying angel.*

Moſes *and* Aaron *ſent for and ordered to depart.*

The number of the Iſraelites *that went out of* Egypt.

* Vid. ſup. p. 473. Not. B. [n] Pſ. cv. 36.

(L) This at leaſt ſeems to have been the caſe, as well from *Moſes*'s own words, who tells us, that there was not one houſe in which there was not one dead (39), as from his command to all the families of the *Iſraelites* to ſprinkle their door-poſts with the blood of the paſchal lamb; but if it be aſked, how it can be ſuppoſed, that every houſe had a firſt-born, we anſwer, that the *Hebrew* בכור *Bekor* being often uſed to imply ſome excellency in perſons who were not really firſt-born, as in *Ephraim*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that where a family had no firſt-born, the principal perſon was ſmitten with death (40), than to ſuppoſe with ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that *Moſes*'s words are only applicable to every houſe that had a firſt-born (41), or with St. *Auſtin*, that providence did ſo order it at this time, that every houſe had a firſt-born (42).

(39) *Exod. xii.* 30 WILLET & *al. in loc.* (40) CAJET. JUN. (41) ABEN-EZRA, HUG. S. VICTOR. (42) *Queſt.* 44. *in Exod.*

and week, *viz. Monday* [o], the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moſes*, computing it from the firſt coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already ſhewn [*]. There was yet one main thing wanting, *viz.* the ſecuring of a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for all that multitude, and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march, but the *Egyptians* drove them away with ſuch deſperate fury, that the people were forced to carry their paſte with them unleavened, with which they baked themſelves cakes upon the coals; and what other proviſion they could get they took with them undreſſed, and marched from *Rameſes*, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place, to their firſt encampment at *Succoth* [p]. *Joſephus* tells us [q], that their dough and other proviſion, which they carried from *Egypt*, laſted them a whole month, but it is not likely, that they would load themſelves with ſuch luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preſerve ſo long from ſtinking, when they had ſo much better things to carry out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*. As ſoon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moſes* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewiſe the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be obſerved here, that the diſtance from *Rameſes* to the utmoſt borders of *Egypt*, on the ſide of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threeſcore miles, ſo that *Moſes* could in a few days march have brought them out of *Pharaoh*'s territories, yet God did ſo order it, that they were full forty years before they ſet their foot upon the borders of the promiſed land.

Their firſt encampment.

The firſt born of Iſrael *conſecrated.*

Whilst they continued at *Succoth*, *Moſes* was commanded by God to conſecrate the firſt-born of men and beaſts to him, to whom they did of right belong; the firſt-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, that is, of the ſanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two ſhillings and ſix pence; ſo that the whole ſum amounted to about twelve ſhillings and ſix pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the prieſts. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which God has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having ſpared the firſt-born of the *Iſraelites*, when he ſmote thoſe of the *Egyptians*, which was as it were the ſeal and finiſhing ſtroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation. This law concerning the firſt-born of men did not at all regard the women; for if the firſt-fruits of a marriage prov'd a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beaſts, it extended only to the clean, the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an aſs by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reaſon of this law of redemption to their children and grand-children, that their poſterity might never be at a loſs to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which *Moſes* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joſeph*'s coffin and bones with them, purſuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews* tell us, they placed them in a new ſumptuous cart, or open hearſe, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* his two children [r]. They likewiſe affirm, that every tribe did bring the bones of the heads of their family with them; but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature (M), and *Joſephus* doth not ſeem to have dreamed of ſuch an act of filial piety, or elſe he would in all probability have recorded it, yet St. *Stephen* ſeems to allude to ſome ſuch tradition among them, when he ſaid, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down into *Egypt*, and were carried

The law concerning it.

Joſeph's *bones carried out of* Egypt.

[o] Usher's Ann. p. 14. [*] Vid. ſupra p. 425. Not. K. [p] Exod. xii. p. tot. [q] Antiq. lib. ii. c. 15. [r] Vid. Elle Shemoth Rabbah. Sect. זאת הברכה & Rabin mult.

(M) We have already given an account, out of the *Elle Shemoth Rabbah*, of the extraordinary care which the *Egyptians* took, by the advice of their magicians, to bury *Joſeph*'s coffin, where the *Iſraelites* ſhould never be able to come at it ‡. The ſame comment adds, that, whilſt theſe were taken up with ſpoiling the *Egyptians*, *Moſes* had been three or four days ſeeking for it, and that at length, when he began to deſpair of finding it, an old woman, whom he met by the *Nile*'s ſide, told him, that it was in the bottom of the river, near the place where they ſtood; but that the heavy coffin was ſunk ſo deep by that time, that it would be abſolutely impoſſible for him to find it out. Whereupon *Moſes* having addreſſed himſelf to God in a ſhort prayer, and then called aloud to the patriarch *Joſeph*, reminding him of his prophecy, and the oath which he had exacted from them about his bones, the coffin ſwam to the ſhore, and *Moſes* having tied a rope round the middle of it, and put his ſtaff through it, threw it acroſs his ſhoulder, and marched away to *Rameſes* with it.

‡ *Vid. ſupra p.* 467. Not. W.

ried over into *Sychem*, and laid in the ſepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the ſons of *Emmor* [r]. However that were, *Moſes* had ſtill another care, which was to ſettle the order of their march in ſo regular a method, that there might be no confuſion or ſquabble among that vaſt and mix'd multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and ſtand in their own defence, in caſe of a purſuit (N), or of their meeting with any difficulty or obſtruction, from the nations through whoſe territories they were to paſs. However, to prevent theſe, or any other accidents which might make the people run reſty, and take it into their heads to return to *Egypt*, God was pleaſed to forbid *Moſes* to take the neareſt way to the land of *Canaan*, that is through that of the *Philiſtines*, and ordered him to wheel about
b along the coaſts of the red-ſea towards *Arabia-petrea*. He likewiſe made them march, not like runaways in confuſion and diſorder, but like a regular army in battle-array, in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia-deſerta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderneſs, near the borders of which *Etham* was ſituate, where they arrived on the ſecond day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This rout *Moſes* made them take, deſigning probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the red-ſea [t]; but God made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-hahiroth*, which lies between the red-ſea and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O) Herein God was pleaſed to ſhew his care for them in another miraculous manner; for

Order of their march.

Second encampment.

like that of a diſciplined army, than that of a band of fugitive ſlaves.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all theſe places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we muſt not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name, when he came out of *Meſopotamia* (47); tho' the former may have been ſo called in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Iſraelites* ſet up there. *Joſephus* calls it *Latopolis*; where he ſays *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyſes* invaded *Egypt* (48): it is thought by many to be that region which was called *Trogloditis*, by the red ſea (49). As for *Rameſes*, tho' there ſeems to be mention made of two, and they differently pointed, yet if they differ it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). *Etham* is ſuppoſed to be *Buthee* of *Herodotus*. And *Pi-rahiroth*, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* Gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the ſame place. All that we know of *Migdol* is only that it ſignifies a tower; *Baalzephon* ſeems wholly unknown to the ancient geographers. The *Jewiſh* Rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol ſet up to guard the confines of *Egypt*. The former add, that it was a braſen dog, and that it diſcovered the flight of the *Iſraelites* by its barking. The truth is, they are too apt to give into etymologies, though they are known to be the moſt uncertain and fallacious helps; according to which *Baalzephon* ſignifies either the Hidden Lord, the Northern Lord, the Centinel Lord, or in a more figurative way, the Lord, or revealer, of ſecrets. But who can depend upon ſuch wild fancies? *Euſebius* takes it, not for a ſtatue, but a town, and places it (52) near *Cluſma*, though St. *Jerom* has omitted it in his tranſlation. It ſtands upon the moſt northern point of the red-ſea, where the ancients, eſpecially the *Jews*, think the *Iſraelites* paſſed it, and where there ſtands to this day a *Chriſtian* monaſtery (53).

for

[r] Acts vii. 15, 16.

[t] Exod. xiii. p. tot.

(N) The word, which our verſion renders *harneſſed* in the text, and by *five in a rank* in the margin, in the original is חמשים *Chamuſhim*, which cannot well be rendered litterally in *Engliſh*, it ſignifying properly five or fifty, diſpoſed in the fifth order or manner, or in ſome way that has relation to the number five, and has puzled moſt expoſitors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtians*. Some underſtanding it of their going πεμπάζοντες, or five in rank (43), which would have made it ſuch a defile in ſuch a numerous army, as would have taken up near an hundred miles in length, according to *Oleaſter*'s computation; others of their being armed with five different ſorts of weapons, (44); which is monſtrous, ſince that were enough to have made them ſink under the weight of it. Beſides, it is not at all probable, that the *Egyptians* would have ſuffered them to carry more arms with them than they took by ſtealth, and therefore the vulgate verſion, which tranſlates it *armed* cannot be maintained, much leſs that of the ſeptuagint, which renders it by πεμπὴγενεὰ, the fifth generation, it neither being agreable to the *Hebrew*, nor indeed true in fact. Thoſe who render it that they marched in five columns, four of which conſiſted of three tribes, whilſt *Moſes* and the elders marched in the fifth, and in the middle of all the reſt (45), are ſtill more out of the way, the thing being impracticable in thoſe mountainous parts. As for thoſe who tranſlate it in battle array (46), they muſt confine the word to the ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, for as for the women, children, and mix'd multitude that went with them, which was at leaſt three times as numerous, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have marched in that regular military way. The beſt reading therefore ſeems to be that of *Kimchi* and *Pagninus*, that they went *accincti*, girded or truſſed up. The word *Chamuſhim* being moſt likely derived from *chemeſh*, the fifth rib, which is the place of girding, and is often uſed in that ſenſe. But be the meaning of the word what it will, it is certain from *Moſes*'s account, that their march was more

(43) Theodot, A. Montan, & *al.* (44) *Rabin aliquot ap* Munst. *in loc.* (45) R. Abr. Sepharad. (46) Jun. Simler, & *al.* (47) *Gen. xxxiii.* 17. (48) *Ant. lib. ii.* 15. (49) *Vid.* Simler, Willet. (50) *Id. Ibid.* (51) *Lib. xiv. ap* Calm. *Diſſert. in loc.* & Willet *in loc.* (52) *Loc. Hebr.* (53) *Vid.* Calm. *Hiſt. V. T. Comm. in Exod. xiv.* & *Diſſert. on the paſſage of the red-ſea.*

for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, yet, conſidering the untractableneſs of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur againſt them at every ſuppoſed wrong ſtep, he condeſcended to conduct them by a more viſible way, namely, by a pillar of light in the night-ſeaſon, and by a column of ſmoke in the day-time. This column of fire, which ſerved to them inſtead of the light of the ſun, as well as that of ſmoke, never forſook them during their forty years wandring in the wilderneſs; on the contrary, it was their conductor throughout their forty-two encampments, and directed them when, and whither, to march, according as they ſaw it move before them, and to halt when they perceived it to ſtop. But whether it was given to them at their firſt, ſecond, or third march, at *Succoth* or *Etham*, is not eaſy to gueſs at by the text[a].

The miraculous pillar of fire and ſmoke.

They are lead by the miraculous pillar.

a

IT was natural for them, as we hinted before, to have gone from *Etham* round the cape of the red-ſea, and, marching a-croſs the wilderneſs, to have gained the eaſt-border of *Jordan*, and ſo to have reached to mount *Sinai*; and this ſeems to have been what *Moſes* aimed at, probably with an intention to have offered up ſome ſacrifices there, agreeable to what GOD had formerly told him, when he was ſending him into *Egypt*; but GOD, who knew what was tranſacted at *Pharaoh*'s court, and what meaſures that monarch and his no leſs infatuated ſubjects were taking to purſue them, and bring them back by main force, commanded them to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-habiroth*; which is between the ſea and *Migdol*, over againſt *Baalzephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their too great eaſineſs in parting with the *Iſraelites*, and loſing the benefit of their ſervitude, and thinking, that they might eaſily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a conſiderable army, together with ſix hundred of the choiceſt chariots, beſides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vaſt multitude of officers and ſoldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moſes* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Joſephus*, who ſeldom fails to improve the text, whenever it makes for the honour of his nation, makes it amount to ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot *, and *Ezechiel* the poet, quoted by *Euſebius*, hath increaſed it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himſelf at the head of it, and lead it with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook them at *Pi-habiroth*, and incamped there in full ſight of the *Iſraelites*; but whether it were that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himſelf ſure of them, there being no viſible way for them to eſcape him, unleſs they flung themſelves into the ſea; or laſtly, that providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; certain it is, that nothing hoſtile was undertaken againſt them that night. However, it is moſt likely that ſeeing them hemmed in, as it were by the ſea on one hand, by impaſſable mountains and his own army on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting, as they were of flying, might think it more adviſeable to force them to yield themſelves priſoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might eaſily have done, ſince by the one he reduced them to their former ſlavery, but by the other he ran the riſque of loſing a conſiderable part of them.

GOD *makes them wheel about towards* Pihahiroth.

Pharaoh *purſues after,*

and overtakes them.

b

c

d

ON the other hand, the puſillanimous *Iſraelites*, inured to bondage, and ſtrangers to the valuable bleſſings of freedom, could not behold the *Egyptian* army incamped ſo near, without the utmoſt conſternation and dread; and, inſtead of having recourſe to that mighty arm, that had ſo viſibly ſtretched itſelf in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moſes*'s tent, and asked him, whether he thought, that there were not graves enough in *Egypt*, ſeeing he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderneſs? and whether it would not have been much better for them to have continued under their *Egyptian* ſlavery, which, how cruel ſoever, they had always told him, was preferable to the danger of falling into the hands of their cruel tyrants after their flight, ſince it was plain now that they had nothing to expect but the moſt cruel death, in that diſmal place. However, this ungrateful language, to which *Moſes* had already been uſed, tho' nothing ſo much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger. He conſidered it as the effect of their extreme danger and cowardly temper, and, inſtead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the aſſurance, that this would be the laſt time of their ſeeing the *Egyptians*. He exhorted them to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the hand of GOD fight for them, inſtead of provoking him to withdraw it by their unreaſonable murmurings and deſpair.

Moſes *comforts the deſpairing* Iſraelites.

e

HE

[a] Ibid. ver. ult. * Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

3 He had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than he went and made his application to God, who was immediately pleaſed to order the people to begin their march towards the ſea, directing him at the ſame time to ſtretch out his rod over it, and aſſuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themſelves, and make way for them to go through it as on dry land; whilſt *Pharaoh* and his whole army, venturing to purſue them, ſhould be finally overwhelmed by its waves. *Moſes* obeyed, and whilſt a ſtrong eaſt wind was dividing that arm of the ſea to open a paſſage to them, and the *Iſraelites* were beginning their march towards it, *The red-ſea it divided.* the angel of the Lord, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of their army, and ſtood between them and that of the b *Egyptians*, that *Pharaoh* might not be ſenſible of their moving, and prevent it by falling upon them too ſuddenly. The column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the *Iſraelites* in their march, and caſting a darkneſs over *Pharaoh*'s camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the *Hebrews*. Whilſt theſe were paſſing through the ſea, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the waves aroſe in heaps and ſtood as a wall on each ſide of them (P). By this time the

(P) Though it were needleſs, as well as endleſs, to trouble our readers with an enquiry into all the particulars, with which the generality of commentators have amuſed themſelves, with reſpect to this wonderful paſſage, concerning which *Moſes* has left us wholly in the dark; it will not be amiſs, we hope, to make a ſhort enquiry into the main and moſt material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous or not; that is, whether the ſea was really divided by a ſupernatural power or whether *Moſes* and his hoſt did only coaſt ſome part of it, or at beſt croſs only a ſmall nook at low water, and timed it ſo well, that *Pharaoh*, endeavouring to do the like, periſhed in the attempt. This is ſo far from being a new queſtion, that *Artaphanes*, an ancient writer (54), aſſures us, that both theſe opinions were held by the *Egyptian* prieſts; that is, the former by thoſe of *Hermopolis*, and the latter by thoſe of *Memphis*. The laſt of theſe has been alſo followed by many eminent men, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (55), who, without denying the main part of this tranſaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the *Iſraelites* not paſſing through the ſea, but only coaſting it along, and making as it were a ſemicircle round the ſea-ſhore at low ebb; or croſſing only at one narrow point, whilſt the ſea was gone off, only to extricate themſelves from ſome difficulties which appeared to them inſurmountable; but which we ſhall forbear inſerting here becauſe they would lead us too far, and ſwell this note to an unreaſonable bulk. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that ſuch an opinion cannot be maintained without a manifeſt deviation, 1ſt, from the expreſs words of *Moſes*, and ſeveral other places of holy writ, where this tranſaction is mentioned: 2. from reaſon and experience, founded upon the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the red-ſea and the impoſſibility of ſuch a numerous hoſt's performing ſuch a coaſting, or croſſing, in ſo little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of *Moſes* as a bare hiſtorian, and from ſome concurring teſtimonies of antiquity to his account: and laſtly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and ſome of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the firſt, nothing is plainer, than that the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account is point blank contrary to ſuch a notion. We need mention but ſome few paſſages of it; ſuch as, *that upon his ſtretching out his rod, by* God's *command, over the waters, a mighty wind aroſe and divided them; that they ſtood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left*; that *the bottom of the ſea was dried up, and that the* Iſraelites *marched through it as on dry land*, and the like (56). *That* God *divided the red-ſea into parts, or diviſions, and made* Iſrael *paſs through the midſt of it. That he led them by the right hand of* Moſes, *dividing the waters before them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horſe in the wilderneſs.* That *he did walk, or rather cauſed* Iſrael *to walk, through the ſea* (57); and many more of the like nature, to ſay nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the ſame expreſſions. If it be objected, that the laſt quoted paſſages out of the pſalms and prophets are poetical, and conſequently not to be taken in their literal ſenſe, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than *Moſes*, whoſe ſtyle is far from being ſwoln, has done in his account of it; but it would be unreaſonable to ſay, that they were only deſigned to expreſs a tranſaction ſo purely natural and eaſy, as the other ſide ſuppoſes it to have been. Upon the whole, the ſcriptures repreſenting this action, with all its circumſtances, as altogether miraculous, men muſt either reject their authority, or elſe allow, that this paſſage was more than a bare coaſting along ſome part of the ſea, or croſſing it at ſome narrow nook, when the waters were retired.

Whether *Joſephus* deſigned to leſſen the miracle, or to make it appear more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the Pamphilian ſea did open a way to* Alexander *in his expedition againſt the* Perſians, is not very material; for though we ſhould grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he might have met with that account in ſome book then extant; or even that *Q. Curtius* intimates ſomething like it, when he ſays (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the ſea*; yet *Strabo* will ſoon ſet us right, who tells us, 'that there is a hill upon the *Pamphilian* ſea, 'called *Clymax*, by which there is a paſſage along 'the ſea-ſhore; the waters of it ſo abating, when 'the ſea is calm and ſtill, that the ground is left 'naked, which at the flowing of the waters 'is covered again; and that *Alexander*, coming

'that

(54) *Ap.* Euseb. *l. iv. c.* 27. (55) Abenez. & *al. Rabin. ap.* Fagium. Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. l. i. c.* 10. T. Aquin. *in* 1 *Cor.* i. Tostat. *in Exod.* xiv. *Ch.* xix. Lud. Burgens *in loc.* Genebr. *in Chronic, ad ann.* 2239. Grot. *in loc.* 19. *Exod.* xiv. Vatabl. *in loc.* Le Clerc. *Diſſert. de traject. Mar. Idum. & al. mult.* (56) *Exod.* xiv, & xv. *paſſ. Num. Deuteron. &c.* (57) *Pſ.* cxxxvi. 13, 14. *& alib. Iſa.* lxiii. 12, 13. *Habak* iii. 15. (58) *Ant. l. ii. c.* 16. (59) *Lib. v.*

Egyptians, perceiving that the *Israelites* were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted

'that way set forward before the waters return-
'ed; but that, it happening then to be winter,
'the waters recoiling before he had past it, he
'was forced to wade all that day through the wa-
'ters up to his middle (60).' 'Tis plain there-
fore, that there is no parity between the passage of the *Israelites*, and the coasting of *Alexander*, whatever the *Jewish* historian's design might be in mentioning them together.

We come now 2dly, to show, that the notion of *Moses* leading them along the sea-shore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reason and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the red-sea doth ebb and flow like other seas that have a communication with the ocean; that is, that the waters of it rise towards the shore during six hours, and after having continued about one quarter of an hour at high water, they ebb down again during another six hours. Those who have examined it with the greatest exactness, do likewise assure us, that the greatest distance that it falls from the place of high water, is about three hundred yards, and that during the time of low water one may safely travel it (61), as some have actually done (62). We purposely omit several other minute circumstances urged on both sides of this question, to avoid prolixity. But from what is here premised, and allowed on all hands, it is evident, that these three hundred paces, which the sea leaves uncovered, during the time of low water, can continue so but during the space of half an hour at most; for during the first six hours the sea doth only retire by degrees, and in less than half an hour it begins again to flow towards the shore. The most therefore that can be allowed both of time, and space of passable ground, in a moderate computation is about two hundred paces during six hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now it is plain, that a multitude consisting at least of upwards of two millions and half of men, women, children, and slaves, as we have proved it before †, encumbered besides with great quantities of cattle, household-stuff, and the spoils of the *Egyptians*, could never perform such a march within so short, we may say, within even double that space, though we should allow them also double the breadth of ground to do it on. This argument will hold equally good against those who suppose that they only coasted along some part of the sea, and those who maintain that they crossed that small arm or point of it, which is towards the further end near the port of *Suez*, seeing that six or eight hours could not have sufficed for the passage of so immense a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much less for *Pharaoh* to have entered it with his whole host.

It will not be amiss here to observe, not only how improbable it is, that none of the *Egyptians* should know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the sea; but how absurd is it to suppose, that they should all obstinately persist in pursuing the *Israelites* through it, when they saw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all swallowed up by it. Besides, who can suppose, that the *Israelites* venturing into the sea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moses* could entertain the least suspicion, that the *Egyptians* would be so soon at their heels, they who had been so lately and so severely plagued for detaining them, and were so urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any such thought, he acted most impolitickly, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the sea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; seeing, had *Pharaoh*, upon his arrival at *Pi-hahiroth*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they must have been obliged to flounce into the sea long before the tide had opened a passage to them, if not at the very time of high water, in which case they must have been all either drowned, or cut in pieces.

And this brings us to our third observation, that such a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moses*, even as a bare historian; and that it calls in question, not only his avowed modesty and veracity, but even his sense, learning, and experience. For on the one hand, who can imagine, that the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that GOD alone, who knew what past in *Egypt*, did unexpectedly make them take this new rout? When he describes his own surprise and the people's consternation at the sight of the *Egyptian* army? When he assures them, that GOD did interpose his miraculous power on their behalf, and in a word, that he divided the sea to make a free passage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion must they have of his sincerity, when he makes all *Israel* resound the praises of GOD, as the author of a deliverance which was intirely owing to his own cunning and policy. On the other hand, what must they think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of such an oversight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremest danger, and so weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We shall only add, that he must have been the most imprudent, and withal the most conceited man alive, that could take it into his head, to make such a vast, and not over credulous, multitude believe, that their passage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well assured of the contrary; much less appoint a solemn festival of seven days, and enjoyn it to be observed by them and their posterity to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous passing through the sea; when the experience of a much shorter time, than they continued along that coast, could easily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. These absurd consequencies, which naturally flow from that opinion, are so evident, and the system itself has been so fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarsensis*, *Chrysostom's* master, that it hath met with few more advocates, than these we have mentioned in the margin. And even among these, we have already observed, that the greatest part, especially *Grocius* and *Le Clerk*, do acknowledge still, that a divine power interposed itself in raising and continuing that mighty wind, and causing thereby the waters to retire much further than usual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We observed further on this head, that this opinion was contrary to several concurring testimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Josephus*, and of the *Heliopolites*, who acknowledge the miraculousness of this transaction, and whose authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, because such an acknowledgment of the divine interposing power can be ascribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives

(60) STRAB. *lib. xiv. vid.* VILLEL. *in Exod.* xiv. qu 17. (61) BERNIER. MORIZON. *& al.* (62) THEVEN. *chap.* 25. †*Vid. supr. p.* 473. a. b.

a conducted them was removed towards the ſea, reſolved upon a cloſe purſuit after them; not conſidering, or perhaps dreaming, that they were launching into another element; much leſs could they ſuppoſe, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to thoſe whom they ſo eagerly followed after. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were ſenſible, that they were entering into the ſea, and it is more than probable, that they were too eager after their purſuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, [w] that, becauſe they ſaw the *Iſraelites* march ſafely through the ſea, they vainly hoped they might do ſo too, and were not undeceived till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain, that b their inſolent conduct, after ſo many warnings, did juſtly deſerve the puniſhment they were ſhortly to undergo; for by the next morning watch, that is, by break of day, which is about four in the morning with us, GOD, looking upon them through the pillar of fire, ſoon let them feel, that ſuch a miraculous way was not opened in their favour, but for their deſtruction. They began to find their chariots go more and more heavily, and had ſo many indications of GOD's fighting againſt them, as made them reſolve upon turning about, and fleeing from thoſe whom they ſo eagerly purſued. But all their haſte could not ſave them, GOD com- *They are all drowned.* manded *Moſes* to ſtretch again his rod over the ſea, and he had no ſooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculouſly ſuſpended, fell in again by c their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, ſo that not one of them eſcaped from the common ruin; whilſt the *Iſraelites* beholding with wonder and amazement, the carcaſes and the rich ſpoils of their enemies thrown upon the ſea-ſhore, began, at leaſt ſeemingly, to fear the Lord, and to believe his ſervant *Moſes*.

WE took notice in a former note, that the exact ſituation of the places, from *The place where they croſſed the red ſea uncertain.* which the *Iſraelites* ſet out at their entering into the ſea, and at which they came out are ſo much unknown to us, that it is next to impoſſible to deſcribe their rout with any tolerable certainty *. For ſhould we ſo far depend upon *Euſebius*, as to believe *Baalzephon* to have been *Cluſma*, and that the ancient tradition d were true, that it was at this latter that they paſſed the ſea; yet the generality of geographers differ ſo much in their placing it, that we are ſtill to ſeek for the ſide on which it ſtood, whether on the north, on the eaſt, or ſouth, or weſt ſhore

[w] Jos. Ant. lib. 2. c. 16. [x] Exod. xiv. per tot. * Vid. ſup. p. 503, note (O).

tives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to diſown it. We ſhall content ourſelves with juſt mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichtyophagi*, who inhabited along the coaſts of the red ſea, towards the further end of it, had a conſtant tradition, that that ſea had formerly been divided by a ſtrong wind; and that the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable to any thing but to this tranſaction we are upon.

Having by this time dwelt ſo long upon theſe three heads, we hope the reader will eaſily excuſe us from enlarging on the laſt, by multiplying authorities on our ſide of the queſtion, ſeeing what has been alledged againſt the other is ſo full and ſtrong, that were the majority as much on their ſide, as it is on ours, yet would it not outweigh the arguments that have been brought to confute it.

We ſhall only add, that among thoſe, who acknowledge a divine power to have interpoſed in this ſignal tranſaction, ſome have endeavered to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compaſs, whilſt others, ſetting no bounds to their zeal, have multiplied it even beyond all meaſure.

Of the former ſort are thoſe who have attributed the dividing of the ſea, and the ſtanding up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as faſt as it blew them up; after which a warmer one, being ſuffered to riſe, did both thaw and blow them into their former ſtation. Of this ſentiment were, 1. the ſeventy interpreters, who tranſlated the words of *Moſes*'s ſong (64) יוּקְפְאוּ תְהֹמֹת, *the waters were frozen*, or, as our verſion words it, *were congealed*. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt. 3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4. Some of the verſions of the ſeptuagint; and laſtly, among the many moderns, father *Martianay*, in a ſpecimen he has given us of ſome curious diſcoveries which he had made in the ſacred text, mentions this as one of them, that the waters of the red-ſea were frozen. A *Jewiſh* Rabbi has fancied, that the ſea was not divided but frozen hard enough for the *Iſraelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their purſuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preſerved us an ancient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that GOD opened the ſea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might paſs ſeparately; in which he has been followed by ſeveral ancient and modern writers. This tradition ſeems to have been founded upon that verſe of the pſalm (67), which ſays, *that* GOD *divided the ſea into parts*, or diviſions; but we don't think ſuch wild notions worth confuting, any more than that of *Sadulius*, who goes ſo far as to think, that GOD did even overturn the rocks, and root up the plants that grew in the bottom of the ſea leſt they ſhould obſtruct the quick paſſage of the *Iſraelites*.

(63) *Lib. iii. c.* 3. (64) *Exod. xv.* 8. (65) *Judith. v.* 13. (66) R. SAM. MAROC. *lib. de Advent. Meſſiæ. c.* 15. (67) *Pſal. cxxxvi.* 13.

ſhore of the *Arabick* gulph †. For which reaſon we hope, the reader will excuſe us from giving into uncertain conjectures. Thoſe who can give credit to the report of ſeveral grave travellers, * who affirm from their own knowledge, that the ruts of the chariot-wheels are ſtill miraculouſly preſerved, not only upon the ſand, but even as far into the ſea as the eye can ſee through it, notwithſtanding all endeavours to deface them, which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the ſea; theſe, I ſay, need not be at a loſs where to ſet the boundaries of that paſſage. As for us, we are contented with having proved in the laſt note, that they paſſed it ſome-where, without troubling ourſelves with what is of leſs moment, and can never be known with any probability. We return to the *Iſraelites*, whom we left rejoycing and praiſing God for their happy eſcape.

However, *Moſes* knew them too well to hope, that this religious fit would laſt longer than every thing went to their liking. He therefore took hold of this happy diſpoſition he obſerved in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory and to inſpire them with the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to their almighty deliverer. To this end he compoſed a hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of God's power diſplayed in this ſignal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. And having divided the *Iſraelites* into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his ſiſter *Miriam* at the head of the women, and whilſt the former did ſing the canticle, the women anſwered alternately to each verſe, with repeating the firſt words of it, *I will ſing to the Lord, for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horſe and its rider into the ſea.* Their muſick was likewiſe accompanied with dances, and the ſound of ſuch inſtruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the ſeven days feſtival, which had been ordained in memory of this ſignal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the firſt and laſt day of it, which were to be obſerved with more than uſual ſolemnity, ſignalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* firſt-born, and the laſt by their miraculous paſſage through the red-ſea, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his hoſt.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

And now the *Iſraelites* began to think themſelves freed indeed, and on the eve of their compleat happineſs; a few days march would eaſily bring them into the borders of the promiſed land, and the conqueſt of it could not but appear eaſy to them, who had God for their protector, and *Moſes* for their guide. And indeed had the latter had no other difficulties to ſurmount, than the ruggedneſs of the way, and the irreconcileable hatred, and vigorous oppoſition of thoſe warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would ſoon have been in their poſſeſſion. But their ſtubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt their heaven-appointed chief, joyned to an invincible fondneſs for idolatry and ſuperſtition, proved not only a conſtant obſtacle to their hopes, but an endleſs ſource of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwiſe famed above all men for his meek and gentle diſpoſition. It was not long before they began to give freſh marks of their untractableneſs. They had ſcarce travelled three days from the red-ſea into the wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive thirſt and want of water put them out of all patience; inſomuch that, when they came to diſcover thoſe of *Marah*, and found them too bitter to drink, inſtead of having recourſe to God by prayer, they filled the air with their complaints againſt him and his ſervant *Moſes*, who, fearing the ill conſequence of this murmuring, addreſſed himſelf to him in the humbleſt manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinſick virtue, or by a new miracle, did ſweeten the waters as ſoon as he had caſt it in. The people indeed ceaſed to murmur as ſoon as they had quenched their thirſt; but as this was neither a ſatisfaction for their late riot, nor a ſecurity againſt future relapſes, God was pleaſed to make a further tryal of their future obedience, by giving them here ſome new ſtatutes, and to add a promiſe, that, if they obſerved them with an upright mind, inſtead of thoſe plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would ſhower down continual bleſſings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters the place was called *Marah*; from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water and ſeventy palm-trees, and there continued about three weeks; that is, from the twenty ſecond day

The Iſraelites *murmur for want of water.*

† Compare Euseb. loc. Hæbr. Athanas. Hiſt. Arrianor. Tom. I. p. 385. Philostorg. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 3. c. 6. Cosmas, lib. 5. p. 194. Tabul. Putinger. Itiner. Antonin. Thevenot's Voyages, part 2. c. 33. and others. * Paul Oros. Greg. Turon. & al. ap. Calm. Diſſert. in loc.

a day of the first month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the second month, on which they decamped from it [y].

FROM *Elim* the whole camp marched towards the wilderness of *Sin*: by which rout they removed still farther from the frontiers of the promised land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whither soever that went. Here, their provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots and plenty of provision, which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage had something monstrously ungrateful, because it was levelled at GOD himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desart place. Nevertheless, he was pleased to pass it by, and to give them fresh assurances of his favour, by promising to rain down bread from heaven upon them; and, in order to make a further tryal of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth, to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. *Aaron*, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings, which he told them, did cast the greatest reflection upon GOD, seeing it was he, and not *Moses*, who had brought them out of *Egypt*. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of GOD displayed out of the cloud, from which GOD confirmed again what *Aaron* had promised to the people, assuring them, that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread which he had promised to send them.

A new murmur for want of provision.

Manna promised.

Quails promised.

IF this glorious sight gave some weight to *Moses*'s words, much more did the event add to it, when they saw them verified on that very evening by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the very next morning. This last did not indeed fall close to the camp, but at some distance from it towards the wilderness. By break of day therefore, the *Israelites* followed *Moses* towards the place, where he shewed them a kind of white dew, like unto a small hoary frost, which covered the face of the earth, and told them, that this was the bread which GOD had promised to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *Homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty three eggs †. The people no sooner saw this new bread, but they cryed one to another, *what is this, and whence cometh it?* for they were surprized at the strangeness of it; and from thence they gave it the name of *Man*, or *Manna* (R); they were however so eager for it, that they gathered it at random,

And sent in abundance.

Manna falls at some distance from the camp.

[y] Exod. xv. per tot. † LE SCENE, Essay on a new translat. pag. 170. R. SALOM.

(Q) It must be remembred here, that this was about the middle af *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the red-sea in vast quantities; the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts, and incredible multitudes are caught there about this time. The miracle therefore consists not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel*'s camp, as in the directing them thither, and on that very evening, according to GOD's promise, and *Moses*'s prediction. The same may be said also if we render the *Hebrew*, שלו, *Shelaw*, locust, as the learned *Ludolph* has done, who in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abissinia*, has offered some probable arguments, that these were such, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, but likewise to be esteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the *Jews*, of very uncertain signification and may as well signify a locust as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter sense is, that the psalmist, † speaking of them, calls them עוף כנף, *Hoph canaph*, winged, or feathered fowl, which, we apprehend, is not so applicable to those insects, any more than the words שאר, *Sheer*, flesh, and צדה *Tzedah*, which signifies all sorts of *venison*, as well of fowl as of beasts, which he makes use of there.

(R) We have ventured to depart from our own and several other versions, which make the *Israelites* call this new food *Manna*, because *they knew not what it was*; for tho' commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by their various etymologies of that word, yet that of the Septuagint, which renders it τί τοῦτο ἐστι, *what is this?* seems to come nearer to the *Hebrew*, and to be most agreeable to the text, and is likewise followed by *Josephus*, and a great number of others (68) מן הוא, *Man hu*, in the original signifying *what* or *whence is this?* Not so easy is it to

† *Psal.* lxxviii. 25. & *seq.* (68) JOS. *Rabin. fere omn. St.* JEROM. FAG. MERER. PISCAT. GROTIUS, DRUSIUS. LE SCEN. & *al.*

dom, without ſtinting themſelves to the quantity which *Moſes* had preſcribed, a but when every one came to meaſure what he had gathered, they found to their no ſmall aſtoniſhment, that they were to carry home but one *Homer* for every head; whether it were, that they were made to gather it in heaps, and divide it afterwards at an equal rate, or that providence ordered it ſo, that the moſt greedy ſhould have his quantity miraculouſly leſſened, whilſt the more moderate had theirs increaſed; or, which is more likely, that *Moſes* made thoſe that had gathered more than their meaſure, to refund the overplus to thoſe who had gathered leſs; that ſo the ſame proportion might fall to every man's ſhare.

Some is kept till next day and ſtinks.

As ſoon as they were got into their tents, they went about grinding it ac- b
cording to *Moſes*'s direction, ſome with mills, others in mortars, and made themſelves a ſort of cakes, whoſe taſte reſembled that of wafers made with honey, or with freſh oyl, as it is ſaid in another place [a]; from that they came to other ways of dreſſing it, by frying, ſtewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the ſun did immediately diſſolve it. In the mean time *Moſes*, who had given them expreſs charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear that ſome of the people whether out of curioſity or precaution, had ventured to ſave ſome of it, and had found it ſtinking and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it, and to adviſe them to be more careful of c
his directions for the future, ſeeing they did but provoke their heavenly benefactor by their diſobedience; but their ſtubborneſs was not to be cured by threatnings, and it was not many days before they made him ſenſible of it.

A double quantity gathered againſt the ſabbath.

The ſixth day being come, they went according to order to gather a double quantity, to ſerve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, becauſe it was to be a day of *Sabbath*, or of reſt unto them. But they, as if they had given themſelves up to miſtruſt every word that came out of his mouth, could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderneſs, and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth of it. This forced a d
freſh reprimand from him, in which, after ſome expoſtulations, he expreſly forbad them to go out of the camp, during the whole ſeventh day. For a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moſes* was ordered to preſerve an *Homer* full in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preſerved in it as a witneſs to future ages, and *Aaron* went and executed his command [b].

It

[a] Numb. xi. 8. [b] Exod. xiv.

to know the meaning of the word גד *Gad*, which we tranſlate *coriander-ſeed*, though, according to the literal ſenſe of the original, it ſhould be rendered, and it *was white like the ſeed of Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jews* therefore tranſlate it *muſtard-ſeed*, becauſe one ſort of it is whitiſh (69), and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what ſeed it is (70); but ſince it is ſaid in another place, that it was of the colour of *Bdellium* (71), which the learned *Bochart* and others have ſhown to ſignify a kind of pearl, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the word *Gad* doth not ſignify coriander, but ſome other ſmall white ſeed, and that the manna, ſhining like unto a hoary froſt, did very much reſemble a ſmall pearl.

(S) We have ventured to give it that epithet, not that we believe, with the author of the book of wiſdom (72), that it was prepared without labour, ſince they were forced to pound and dreſs it; or that it was capable of ſatisfying every ſtomach, by ſuiting itſelf to every particular taſte, ſince, had that been the caſe, the *Iſraelites* could never have come to loath it, as they afterwards did (73); much leſs do we attribute all thoſe wonderful qualities to it that the *Jews* do: but we think it was miraculous upon the following accounts; 1ſt, becauſe it fell but ſix days in the week; 2. that it fell in ſuch prodigious quantity, as ſufficed near three millons of ſouls; 3. that there fell a double quantity every friday to ſerve them for the next day; 4. what was gathered on the firſt five days ſtank and bred worms, if kept above one day, and that which was gathered on friday laſted two days; laſtly, it continued falling whilſt the *Iſraelites* continued in the wilderneſs, and ceaſed as ſoon as they came out of it, and had eaten of the corn of the land of *Canaan* (74). *Abenezra* indeed ſays, that *Man* was an *Arabick* word, and that he had ſeen in the kingdom of אלנציך, whatever kingdom that be, ſomething very like manna, that fell only during two ſummer months of the year; but, as he adds, that it is rather fit for phyſick than for food, it is plain, it muſt be that which we know by the name of manna, which is a kind of honey condenſed, and is to be ſeen to this day in the deſerts of *Arabia*, during the heat of the ſummer, and is gathered in great quantities off the trees, rocks, graſs, and even the ſand: but it is plain, by what we obſerved of the miraculous ſort that this has nothing common with it but the name.

(69) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.* (70) Abenez. *ibid.* (71) *Vid.* Munst. Boch. *& al.* (72) *Wiſd.* xvii. 20. (73) *Numb.* xi. 6. (74) *Joſh.* v. 12.

a It is not eaſy to conceive, how a nation, that had ſo long and ſo often experienced the miraculous care and goodneſs of GOD, could ever fall again into freſh murmuring and diſobedience; and yet they had no ſooner left this deſart of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but, when they came to *Rephidim*, and found the place deſtitute of water, they began to fill the air with their complaints, and ſurrounding the tents of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, asked them in a tumultuous and threatning manner, where they muſt have waters to quench their thirſt? *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to quell their fury, and to perſuade them to wait GOD's leiſure; his words did but inflame them the more, till at length, obſerving them to be grown deſperate and ready to ſtone him, he had recourſe to GOD, who was

b ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the laſt with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of *Iſrael* and all the people, and to take them up to mount *Horeb*, and aſſured him, that upon ſmiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately guſh out of it in ſuch plentiful ſtreams, as would be more than ſufficient to allay their thirſt. *Moſes* obeyed, and GOD vouchſafed to perform his promiſe, and to ſend them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring, and of the people's queſtioning whether GOD was really among them or not, the place was called *Maſſah*, (tempting) and *Meribah*, (contention.)

A new murmuring for want of water.

They flow from a miraculous rock.

c About this time, the *Iſraelites* being attacked by the *Amalekites*, *Moſes* was forced to depute his ſervant *Joſhua*, with a ſufficient force to make head againſt them, whilſt himſelf went up to the mount to intreat GOD for his ſucceſs. Accordingly, on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilſt *Joſhua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. He held up likewiſe his own miraculous rod in his hand, and GOD was pleaſed to ſhow a ſingular regard to his interceſſion. For whilſt he held his hands up *Joſhua* prevailed, but when he let them down to reſt them. *Amalek* got the advantage. At length, when he found them grow ſo heavy that he could hold them up no longer, *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to

d let him upon a ſtone, and to ſtay them up on each ſide, till the going down of

(T) St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to Chriſt, ſays, that it followed them (75); from which ſome will have it, that it accompanied them, and ſerved them upon all neceſſary occaſions, to the very end of their wandering (76); and that either the waters, which guſhed out of it, formed themſelves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart wherever they went, and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting that rock in another place, as *Moſes* did for the ſame purpoſe (80), for we ſhall ſhew by and by, that this was a quite different action; nor of digging of wells for water ſoon after this laſt miracle, as we find they did (81). There was therefore no neceſſity of fetching a parallel from the king of *Perſia*, of whom *Elian* ſays, that the river *Choaſpis* did always follow him (82), becauſe he always carried ſome of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable ſenſe to the apoſtle's words, by ſuppoſing that the *Iſraelites* did the ſame by thoſe of the rock. St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of a ſpiritual rock, and the two inſtances we have juſt now mentioned, will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that they were always ſupplied by the natural one.

However, ſeeing the two actions of ſmiting the rock have been confounded by ſeveral commentators, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the contrary, now we are upon the ſubject. Now that *Moſes* ſmote the rock two different times, and in two different places, is plain; 1ſt, becauſe the firſt happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh ſtation, and the ſecond in the deſart of *Sin* in the thirty third ſtation: 2. the one happened in the firſt year after the *Exod.* and the other in the fortieth; for in the very next ſtation *Aaron* died, in the fifth month of the fortieth year (83). In the firſt, the rock was ſmitten with the rod with which *Moſes* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*, and in the laſt with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and had been layed up before the Lord in the ark, from whence *Moſes* is ſaid to have taken it (84). Laſtly, the firſt happened before the extruction of the tabernacle, and the laſt after it; for it is ſaid, that upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell before their faces there at the ſight of the glory of GOD (85). We might add, that the firſt was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas in the laſt, *Moſes* ſmote the rock twice, and ſpoke ſome unbecoming words, which ſo diſpleaſed GOD, that he condemned him to die in the wilderneſs, without ſetting his foot into the land of *Canaan*. From all which it appears, that theſe were two different actions, performed at great diſtance of time and place (86).

(75) 1 *Cor.* x. 4. (76) CALM. *com. in loc.* BERRUY. *& al.* (77) *Ita Rabin. mult.* (78) CANTACUZEN *in ſap. cap.* 11. *& Rabin. aliquot.* (79) TOSTAT. *qu.* 3. *ap.* VILLEL. *cap.* 17. *qu.* 1. (80) *Numb.* xx. 11. (81) *Ibid.* xxi. 16. *& ſeq.* (82) ÆLIAN. *Hiſt. var. lib. xii. c.* 40. *vid.* CALM. *Hiſt. V. T. in loc.* (83) *Conf. Exod.* xvii. 1. *ſeq. & Numb.* xxxiii. 14, 36, & 38. (84) *Numb.* xx. 9. *& ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. ver.* 4. *& ſeq.* (86) *Ibid. ver.* 11, 12. *Vid.* SIMLER. JUN. VILLEL. *& al. in loc.*

of the ſun. The conſequence was, that *Iſrael* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was diſcomfited, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the ſon of *Caleb* the ſon of *Eſron*, different from *Caleb* the ſon of *Jephunneh*; and ſo to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, ſo famed for his fine workmanſhip in the tabernacle and other utenſils for the ſervice of GOD. *Joſephus* thinks, that *Hur* had married *Miriam* *Moſes*'s ſiſter [c], others think, that he was her ſon; but the generality of ancient fathers think, that ſhe died unmarried [d]. As for *Joſhua*, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for GOD and his people; upon all which accounts *Moſes* made choice of him for his ſucceſſor, to lead the *Iſraelites* into the promiſed land. In the mean time *Moſes* was ordered to record this ſignal victory, and to vow a laſting war againſt the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He alſo reared up an altar unto GOD, and called it *Jehovah Niſſi*, (the Lord is my banner) to intimate, that GOD, who had made them denounce this war againſt *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with ſucceſs (V) [e].

Amalek *diſcomfited.*

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Iſraelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longeſt, but the moſt famous of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to obſerve. But in the mean while, GOD, who foreſaw what an addition this would be to *Moſes*'s other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hoſpitable father-in-law, with *Zipporah* and her two ſons, to the camp of *Iſrael*, where, after their mutual embraces, and ſacrifices offered to the GOD of *Iſrael*, *Jethro*, obſerving with what patience his ſon-in-law ſtood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing leſt he ſhould in time ſink under it, gave him that excellent and ſalutary advice of chuſing a competent number of elders, who ſhould help him to bear ſuch a part of the burthen, as would otherwiſe have proved too much for him [f]; an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Midian* *. *Moſes* having thus eaſed himſelf of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of thoſe inferior judges, ſome of which he ſet over thouſands, others over hundreds, and others over tens; and referring only the moſt momentous cauſes to come before him; did ſoon after take leave of his father-in-law (W), and give the ſignal for their march from *Rephidim*, to the wilderneſs

Jethro *comes to* Moſes.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 320. b.
AMBR. exhort. ad virgin. & al.
* Vid. ſupr. p. 301, & ſeq.

[c] Ant. lib. iii. c. 2.
[d] NISSEN. de virginitat. c. 6.
[e] Exod. xvii. per tot.
[f] Ibid. xviii. paſſ.

(V) We have ſeen, in this hiſtory of *Amalek* †, that he was deſcended from *Eliphas*, *Eſau*'s firſt-born; as his deſcendants therefore were ſo nearly allyed to the *Iſraelites*, it was inhuman in them to fall upon them, when they ſaw them reduced to ſo low a condition through the fatigue of their march, the vaſt heat of the ſeaſon, and the exceſſive drought they laboured under, eſpecially ſince it doth not appear, that they had begun any hoſtilities againſt them. But though they did richly deſerve the defeat which *Joſhua* gave them for their barbarity, yet as for the anathema, which GOD himſelf pronounced againſt them immediately after it, it ſeems to have been for ſome other crime, which carried in it a greater degree of guilt, and is ſuppoſed to have been an innate hatred againſt the *Iſraelites*, from the remembrance of *Jacob*'s depriving their progenitor both of his birth-right and bleſſing, and therefore did not ſcruple to take this advantage of them, when they found them thus harraſſed, to hinder thereby their taking poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, for the conqueſt of which they thought them now in full march. *Joſephus* indeed (87) ſeems to attribute this action of theirs to a fear of being driven out of their country by the *Iſraelites*; but beſides that it is not likely, they ſhould be ignorant of the land of *Canaan* being promiſed to the ſons of *Jacob*, and conſequently could have nothing to fear upon that account; it is plain, that if that had been the only motive of falling upon them, there could have been nothing ſo criminal in it as to entail ſuch a heavy curſe, and a perpetual war againſt them and their poſterity: whereas, if they did it with a view of preventing their poſſeſſing the promiſed land, and ſo of fruſtrating the deſigns of providence towards them; as the ſame motive was like to laſt as long as they were a nation, ſo there was a neceſſity of entailing that *anathema* againſt them. And this ſeems implied in the laſt words of this chapter, which *Moſes* gives as a reaſon for vowing this war againſt them, which though ſomewhat obſcure, ſeem to run thus in their literal ſenſe, *becauſe his* (that is, *Amalek*'s hand *is againſt the throne of* GOD, *therefore the Lord will wage war with* Amalek *from one generation to another*, that is, till he ceaſes to be a nation. We ſhall only add, that this place is ſuppoſed by the *Jews*, to have been called *Rephidim*, that is, רפאי ידים, from *Rapha*, to looſen, and *jad*, a hand, alledging to the weak condition they were in when the *Amalekites* fell upon them.

(W) We have already given our opinion concerning *Jethro*'s departure, and leaving one of his ſons with *Moſes*, with ſome other particulars re-

† *Vid. ſupr. p.* 317. c.

(87) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 2.

a neſs of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt* [g].

THEY were no ſooner come within ſight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment ſo, that there might be a conſiderable ſpace left between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the ſcene of the moſt glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence thoſe laws were to be delivered to them, with the utmoſt terror and majeſty, which GOD, who knew the genius of that perverſe people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wiſely fixed their ſituation ſo, as that they might be all eye and ear witneſſes of the divine preſence [h]; and at the ſame *They encamp near mount Sinai.*

b time preſcribed ſuch limits to their curioſity, as ſhould ſtrike them with a ſuitable awe and reverence. Whilſt they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moſes* went up to the mountain, and GOD, who had called him thither, commanded him to remind the *Iſraelites* of all the wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to aſſure them, that as he had hitherto bore them as an eagle doth her young on her wings, ſo if they proved obedient to his laws, he would ſtill look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal prieſthood. *Moſes* was not long before he came and called the elders of *Iſrael*, to whom he repeated all theſe endearing expreſſions, charging them at the ſame time to go and acquaint the people with the gracious meſſage,

c who no ſooner heard it, but they promiſed all poſſible obedience to GOD's command. He returned immediately after to the mountain, and was commanded to ſanctify the people, and to prepare them againſt the third day for the glorious ſcene, by making them waſh their cloaths, and abſtain from all nuptial commerce, after which he promiſed to come down, in a conſpicuous manner, and deliver his law in their hearing, with ſuch a glorious and dreadful voice, as ſhould at once convince them both of his divine preſence, and of his being the author of all thoſe laws, which he was afterwards to deliver to them in his name. He likewiſe renewed his charge to him, to ſet ſuch bounds to the people, as ſhould keep them from approaching the mountain under the ſevereſt

d penalties, and to aſſure them, that if either man or beaſt offered to tranſgreſs them, they ſhould be immediately ſtoned, or ſhot to death. The ſignal, for their coming out to this glorious ſight, was to be when they heard the ſound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themſelves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmoſt expectation for this wonderful ſight, they ſaw, by break of day, the mountain ſurrounded with the thickeſt cloud, out of which came forth ſuch thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The ſound of the trumpet being heard, *Moſes* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had ſet to them, and there they obſerved *The mountain covered with fire and ſmoke*

e the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and ſmoke, whilſt the foundations of it ſeemed to ſhake under their feet. In the midſt of this dreadful ſcene, the trumpet being heard ſtill louder and ſtronger, GOD called to *Moſes*, who immediately went up, and was ſoon buried in the cloud. Here the divine voice commanded him to return and repeat his charge to the people, that none ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs their bounds, no not even the prieſts, who were afterwards to be conſecrated to his ſervice, ſince immediate death was to be the tranſgreſſor's portion, let him be who he would. *Moſes* anſwered, that he had given them ſuch ſtrict charge, that there was no danger of their tranſgreſſing it; but he was ordered to go down immediately,

f to ſee that none ventur'd to diſobey, and commanded to bring his brother *Aaron* with him when he came up again. He had no ſooner obeyed, and

repeated

[g] Vid. ann. USSER. in loc. RIBERA de Templ. lib. v. c. 7. & al.

[h] Exod. xix. 9.

lating to this hiſtory †; but though it ſeems by the text, that he left alſo *Ziphorah* and her two ſons with him; yet, whether it were that *Moſes* took more care of his people than he did of his children, or that he loved theſe too well to promote them to any pitch of power or grandeur, which himſelf had ſo long felt the load of; ſure it is, that we hear no more of them from this time than if they had been no more; neither of them, that we can find, having been promoted to any place of honour or profit; and indeed the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that their father was ſo far from aiming at enriching or aggrandiſing his family that he ſeems to have given himſelf up wholly to the ſervice of GOD and his people.

† *Vid. ſupr. p.* 302. *note* (I), (K).

The decalogue delivered.

repeated his orders to the people, than the thunders and trumpets ceaſed, and God was heard from the midſt of the fire ond ſmoak, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the reſt, and which *Moſes* was afterwards order'd to write upon two tables of ſtone. [i] (X) In the mean time the people, aſtoniſh'd at what they ſaw and heard, removed

[i] Exod xix. per tot. c. xx. per tot.

(X) Concerning theſe ten commandments, which are ſo well known that we have forbore inſerting them, ſeveral queſtions have been raiſed, which we ſhall but juſt touch upon, they being of ſuch a nature that nothing certain can be concluded about them. The firſt is, whom they were deliver'd by? whether by an angel deputed by God, who conſequently repreſenting the godhead, aſſumes the name of the *Lord* God *who brought* Iſrael *out of bondage?* or whether by God himſelf? and if the latter, whether by God the father, or by Chriſt himſelf? Concerning all which we ſhall only refer our readers to what has been ſaid in another place upon the like occaſion †.

The next is, whether in theſe, or any other of the *Moſaical* laws, *Moſes* was permitted to imitate thoſe of the *Egyptians*, as ſome learned men have affirmed (1)? or, as the far greater part do think, the *Egyptians* have borrow'd their's from his? And here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon this head, when we were upon the ſubject of circumciſion *; as to what relates to the ceremonial injunctions, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them by and by. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that, admitting them, in ſome caſes, to have borrow'd from each other, and in others to have gone point blank counter to one another, out of a ſpirit of contradiction and antipathy, which is the moſt probable ſuppoſition, it will ſtill follow, that ſuch of the *Moſaic* laws, as are contrary to the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, ſuch as the ſecond commandment, and a vaſt many more, could be enjoyned by God with no other view, that to cure the *Iſraelites* of thoſe vicious habits and inclinations which they had contracted in *Egypt*. As to judicial, or even ceremonial laws, tho' we ſhould allow *Moſes* to have been permitted to have uſed his diſcretion, and to have adopted ſuch as he approved of, yet it will by no means follow, that all that have any reſemblance were firſt received from the *Egyptians*, ſeeing very many of them are ſo contrary to the main and conſtant deſign of their law-giver, to keep them from intermixing with other nations, that, if the *Egyptians* had been the firſt inventors of them, it would certainly have been more adviſable to have given them ſuch as were quite oppoſite to them.

Waving therefore all theſe fruitleſs diſquiſitions, how far the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks*, and *Romans* did frame their laws from thoſe of the *Jews*, or how far the twelve tables of the *Romans* were a copy of the *decalogue*, we ſhall endeavour to render the remaining part of this note ſomewhat more uſeful and inſtructive, by rectifying the ſenſe of ſome words in the ſecond commandment, which, for want of having been rightly underſtood, have led ſome into monſtrous errors, and have made others chuſe to reject the authority of holy writ, rather than adopt them. The place we mean is, where God is ſaid *to puniſh the ſins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation* (2); words, which convey ſuch a ſhocking idea of the deity, that, if the original could poſſibly be capable of another ſenſe, it ought by all means, to be preferr'd to this; which is not only contrary to reaſon, and to the whole tenor of ſcripture, but is ſo fully confuted and condemn'd by the prophet *Ezekiel* (3), and by many other expreſs places of ſcripture. We ſhall beg leave to mention but one of them, and that out of the ſame book of *Exodus*, which being parallel to this, it will follow, that, if this ſenſe we are now confuting be admitted, *Moſes* muſt have introduced God ſpeaking abſurdities and contradictions. The place is, where God vouchſafes to favour *Moſes* with a ſight of his glory in the mountain, by a viſible deſcent in the cloud, and proclaiming the name, or rather the attributes of God, in the following terms; (4) *the Lord, the Lord* God, *merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity, tranſgreſſion, and ſin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and children's children, unto the third and fourth generation.* For it is manifeſt, that if the latter words be underſtood in that ſenſe, that is, if *he puniſhes the ſins of the fathers upon the children*, &c. then the former part can never be true; that he is the *Lord* God, *merciful, gracious, juſt, and faithful.* How the *Jews*, therefore, came to underſtand them in a ſenſe ſo abſurd, ſo unreaſonable and antiſcriptural, and ſo fully and expreſly confuted and condemn'd by God himſelf, will be of ſmall moment to enquire, ſince this is far from being the only inſtance, wherein they have done ſo; tho', if we may be allow'd to offer a conjecture, it is not unlikely, that the partial regard, which God, for reaſons vaſtly diſparate from their fond conceit, was pleaſed to ſhew for their nation, and the terrible puniſhments which he inflicted upon others, tho' ſcarce more wicked than they, might lead them into the notion, that the one was favour'd for the merit, and the other puniſh'd for the wickedneſs of their progenitors: and this is ſo much the more probable, becauſe, even to this day, they impute all their preſent ſufferings, not to their manifeſt wickedneſs, which they are wholly blind to, but to the idolatries of their forefathers, both in the deſart and in the promiſed land. However, as they extended theſe puniſhments no farther than to this life, the greateſt wonder is, how *Chriſtians* came ſo early to follow their verſion of theſe places, which has given ſome commentators, both ancient and modern, an infinite trouble, and made them run into various diſtinctions and ſubtilities to clear the divine goodneſs, juſtice, and wiſdom, and to give this place in a more favourable ſenſe, whilſt others have made no ſcruple to outdo the *Jews*, and to extend theſe arbitrary and undeſerved puniſhments even to the next life ***: but it is very probable, that, had the primitive *Chriſtians* underſtood the *Hebrew*, and been able to have had recourſe to it, inſtead of the ſeptuagint, they would never have adopted this ſenſe, as long as the original was capable of a much better; which is what we ſhall now endeavour to prove to be beyond diſpute.

In the firſt place then, we beg leave to obſerve, after ſome eminent critics (5), that the prepoſitions, ל *lamed* and על *hal*, which are here rendered

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 429. *note* (T). (1) *Vid.* Spencer *de leg. rit. Hebr. l. iii. diſſert.* 1. & *ſeq.* Marsham. *Canon Ægypt. S. Secul.* 2. Atham. Kircher, Le Clerc, & *al.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 427. *note* (R). (2) *Exod.* xx. 5. (3) *Ezek.* xviii. *paſſ.* (4) *Exod.* xxxiv. 5, 6, & 7. ** *Vid. ſup. p.* 439. *note* (T). (5) Launoi *de l'impieté du peché.* Le Scene, *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* 107. Le Clerc *in loc.* & *al.*

a removed further off, and the divine voice had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, but they

der'd *upon*, may alſo ſignify *by*, and *in favour of*; ſo that the words before us may be properly ren-der'd *puniſhing the iniquities of the fathers by*, or *in favour of, the children*, &c. In the firſt of theſe ſenſes *David*'s murther and adultery was juſtly puniſh'd by his favourite, tho' wicked, ſon *Abſa-lom* (6); and the latter doth perfectly anſwer the wiſe methods of providence, with reſpect to the wicked and innocent; the former of which he doth often puniſh for the benefit and detriment of the latter. The reader, may, if he pleaſes, ſee theſe verſions juſtify'd by the authors juſt now quoted, and therefore we ſhall inſiſt upon them no longer; but as thoſe, which vindicate the di-vine juſtice, mercy, and goodneſs of GOD, ought by all means to be preferr'd to thoſe, which give impreſſions that are injurious to the godhead, be-cauſe the latter are but too viſibly hurtful to reli-gion and civil ſociety, we ſhall beg leave to offer one more, which ſeems to us ſtill more natural and agreeable to the deſign of this ſecond command-ment, but which, not having as yet appear'd in print, we can quote no author for.

It is manifeſt to every one who has conſider'd it, that the main end and deſign of this law was, expreſly to forbid all idolatry whatſoever, one kind of which, we find, had been very rife long before, namely, that of *teraphims*, or houſhold-gods, of which we have already given ſome account †; whoſe ſhapes varied according to the fancy of thoſe that made, or thoſe that beſpoke, them, and to whom they uſed to apply for good ſucceſs and preſervation againſt all misfortunes, both for them-ſelves and families. As theſe, therefore, were look'd upon as the chief diſpenſers and preſervers of lands, houſes, and all other inheritances, what makes it more than probable, that this prohibition is more particularly levell'd againſt this kind of i-dolatry, is, firſt, the reaſon that is immediately given, that the *Lord is a jealous* GOD, who cannot, conſequently, ſuffer the glory of his be-nefits to be given to a ſenſeleſs idol. Secondly, becauſe the words פקד עון *poked havon*, as they are pointed, or *poked hon*, if read without the points, may be properly render'd *diſpoſing*, or *diſpenſing the habitations*, or *eſtates*, *of the* fathers, &c. And, laſtly, becauſe idolatry in general, or the worſhip of falſe gods, had been forbid in the firſt commandment; *thou ſhalt have no other gods but me*; and conſequently this ſecond ſeems to have been deſign'd againſt that particular ſort we have been ſpeaking of.

It remains to prove, that the original will pro-perly bear this verſion; and here we beg leave to obſerve, firſt, that the verb פקד *pakad*, which is render'd *to viſit*, is known to imply, in its proper ſence, ſuch a viſitation as that of a monarch, chief magiſtrate, or prelate, who takes his progreſs thro' his territories to rectify abuſes, to admini-ſter juſtice, and to diſpenſe rewards and puniſh-ments, as occaſion requires. And ſecondly, that the word עון *hon* (which we venture to read with-out its points, becauſe, they being now univerſally allowed to be of late and human invention, their authority may be ſafely ſet aſide, whenever we ſee good reaſon for ſo doing) doth likewiſe ſignify an habitation, or dwelling-place, it being an anti-ent, obſolete word, from which its derivative מעון *Mahon*, by the addition of the letter מ *Mem* (one of the formatives of nouns ſubſtantive, is ſtill uſed, and confin'd to that particular ſignification throughout the old teſtament. This being grant-ed, the ſenſe will run thus: *for I, the Lord, thy* GOD, *am a jealous God, diſpenſing*, or *diſtribut-ing the habitations, or eſtates, of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth* generation, e-ven, *of thoſe that hate me, but ſhewing mercy to thouſands in them that love me*, &c. where we beg leave to obſerve further, that the word *gene-ration* not being in the original, the words, *third* and *fourth*, which are here in the plural, may as well be underſtood of a diſtribution of eſtates in-to thirds or fourths, or, of their being multiply'd to a third or fourth degree, or increaſed to three or four times their bulk, or value. But as for the mercies, which GOD keeps in ſtore for thoſe that love and obey him, they exceed them לאלפים *Lealaphim*, by thouſands of degrees; which is as much, as if he had ſaid, they are numberleſs and endleſs.

But that our readers may be ſatisfy'd, that theſe places of ſcripture, which are urged as parallel to this, by thoſe who maintain the unreaſonable doctrine we are now oppoſing, are either miſun-derſtood, or miſapply'd by them, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoyn an inſtance of each, by which he will be able to judge of the reſt. The firſt they urge is, where *Solomon* ſays, that GOD *made all things for himſelf, and the wicked for the day of evil* (7); from which they have inferred this blaſphemous doctrine, that GOD created the wick-ed on purpoſe to damn them. But, whoever will be at the trouble of conſulting the original will find that the word למענהו *Lemaghanehu*, which is here rendered *for himſelf*, is not from the par-ticle למען *Lemaghan*, *for*, with its affix, for then it ought to have been differently pointed; but ſetting aſide the points, it is equally capable of two other meanings, even according to the gram-matical conſtruction, and may ſignify to anſwer; and ſo the ſenſe will be truly this; that GOD *doth*, or rather *rules*, *all things to anſwer one another*, *even the wicked to the day of evil*; by which is meant no more than, GOD has ſo ordered all things, that puniſhment ſhall be as much the na-tural conſequence of wickedneſs, as rewards are of virtue (8). The ſame word may alſo ſignify a *furrow*, or *channel*; and ſo the ſenſe will be, GOD *hath ordered every thing to run into its own channel* (9), and to the wicked that of the evil day, or puniſhment.

The other place, which is rather miſapply'd, is, where GOD ſays, that *he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy* (10). For, beſides that the words are capable of another ſenſe, it is plain from the occaſion of them, that they have nothing to do with the point in hand. *Moſes* prays to GOD, that as a token of his favour, he would ſhow him his glory, and GOD anſwers him, that he will grant him his requeſt; and then adds, that he will be gracious to whom he will be gracious; which therefore, can import no more, than that he will ſhow ſuch ſingular favours, as that which *Moſes* pray'd for, to whom he pleaſes; but it is no where ſaid, that he will puniſh whom he will, without any regard to their deſert. As for thoſe who think that S. *Paul* applies them in a quite different ſenſe (11), we rather chuſe to re-fer them to thoſe authors who have writ *ex profeſſo* againſt that doctrine, than to dwell any longer upon the ſubject (12).

We ſhall cloſe this note with obſerving, that, tho' the *Jews* reckon'd the ſame number of com-mandments as we do, and call'd them by way of excellency *the ten words*, from which they had af-terwards the name of *decalogue*; yet they joyn the

(6) 2 *Sam. xi. paſſ. xii.* 10, & *ſeq. xv, xvi, xvii.* & *xviii paſſ.* † *Vid. ſupr. p.* 443. *note* (B). (7) *Prov. xvi.* 4. (8) *Vid.* LE SCEN. *Eſſ. on a N. Verſ. p.* 109. (9) *Vid. Pſal. cxxix.* 3. (10) *Exod. xxiii.* 19. (11) *Rom. ix.* 15. (12) PELLING, WHITBY, & *al. againſt predeſt.*

they approached *Moſes*, and, in the height of their fear and ſurpriſe, beſought him, that he would for the future ſpeak to them in God's ſtead, leſt, if they ſhould hear his dreadful voice again, they ſhould die with horror and amazement; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that they were ready to receive and obey whatever laws or ordinances God ſhould enjoyn to them by his means, ſince they were now fully convinced of his divine commiſſion. Here *Moſes* approved of that awe and regard which they expreſſed, as well for the miraculous preſence of God, as for his commandments; and aſſured them, that this wonderful ſcene was not exhibited to them with a deſign to create a ſlaviſh dread, but a filial confidence and ſubmiſſion to ſuch laws as his providence ſhould hereafter enjoyn them, as a particular token of his care and benevolence towards them, above all nations of the earth. He had no ſooner diſpelled their fears by theſe words, than he went up again to the mountain, where for that time, God was pleaſed to add a few ceremonial laws, to thoſe moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as thoſe which he received afterwards from time to time, we ſhall refer to another place in this hiſtory, where, to avoid prolixity and repetition, we ſhall give them all in one body. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall avoid following the divine hiſtorian too cloſe in all the intercourſes which he had with God; wherein the obſervance of the ſame laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the ſame aſſurances of the divine favour and aſſiſtance upon their obedience, and ſevere threatenings in caſe of their diſobeying, and the ſame promiſes of their paſſeſſing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgaſhites*, and *Jebuſites*, repeated almoſt upon every freſh occaſion; all which, tho' *Moſes* has penn'd them exactly as they happen'd, need to be mention'd here but once for all. Beſides, the laws themſelves, whether they be conſider'd with a moral, religious, ceremonial, or political view, are ſo blended and intermixt together under the names of laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, judgments, teſtimonies, commandments, precepts, and the like; that, unleſs they are reduc'd under their ſeveral heads, a reader would be rather confounded, than imform'd in the deſign and injunction of them. What might induce providence to deliver them in that ſeemingly irregular method is not eaſy to be gueſſed at, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a more methodical manner would have ſavour'd too much of human wiſdom. As to the ſo frequent repetition of them, the reader will find ſufficient occaſion for it, ſince it will appear by the ſequel, that neither that, nor the grievous puniſhments that befel them almoſt upon every diſobedience, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. All that need be ſaid here concerning thoſe laws and ordinances is, that ſome related to the immediate worſhip of God; ſuch as were the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utenſils for uſe and ornament, their ſacrifices of all ſorts, the conſecration of their prieſts and *Levites*, the holy oyl to anoint them, their habit, office, priviledges, revenue, and the like; the feſtivals, offerings, tithes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diſeaſes, meats, and the like; ſome of which are generally look'd upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or confin'd to that climate

Some ceremonial laws inſtituted.

the firſt and ſecond into one, and divide the laſt, which is againſt coveting, into two: as for that againſt ſtealing, they underſtand it of ſtealing of men, or kid-napping, alledging, that the ſtealing of another's goods or property is forbid in the laſt commandment (13).

(Y) We could willingly have excus'd ourſelves from entring any further into this unpleaſant controverſy, and contented ourſelves with what has been ſaid already upon ſome particular parts of this ſubject, there being ſo little likelihood of pleaſing either of the oppoſite ſides, much leſs of reconciling them, whilſt each party is fond of their own extreme, and value themſelves upon being direct antipodes to the other; whereas truth ſeems to lie in the middle between them. The reader may eaſily remember what was hinted in the laſt note, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing ſomething from each other; it will therefore be ſufficient to add, that thoſe who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, &c. from the latter, becauſe they find that theſe did afterwards uſe the ſame kind of religious utenſils, do entitely go counter to the expreſs tenour of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, which mentions all theſe and many more, as inſtituted on purpoſe by God himſelf, to typify thoſe better things which he reſerved for the times of the goſpel (14). 'Tis even plain from the tenour of the old and new teſtament, that the paſſover, the lifting up of the ſerpent by *Moſes*, the *Iſraelites* wandering in the wilderneſs, and their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as ſuch by the writers of the latter. But on the other hand, thoſe who abſolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given ſuch

(23) *Rabbin. ſcr. omn. Vid.* Munst. *in loc.*

(14) *Vid. Hæbr. paſſ. partic. ch. ix.*

mate (Z), and others as political; but all of them, to all appearance, calculated

such an unreasonable scope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between these types and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in *Aaron*'s garment, neither kettle, fork, or spoon, without one or two. We shall content ourselves with giving one instance of this enthusiastic spirit, not so much for the singularity or brightness of it, as to show how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent protestants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calvinist*, had been wrangling a considerable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs without any seeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, seeing he was the first that had set up and lighted the grand candlestick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to disprove the fact, had recourse to the same typical reasoning, and affirmed, that if *Luther* was *Aaron*'s antitype upon that score, *Calvin* was much more so, since it was manifest, that if he had not taken the *snuffers* into his hand, and snuffed the lamps, the candlestick would have given such a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it. We can easily join with the great critic, from whom we have this story (15), in praying, that, where people can feed their religion with such airy diet, it may do them much good; but we can by no means think with him, that the despicable figure which the *Jews* made is an invincible objection against the proud *Egyptians*, who hated them above all nations, borrowing any of their ceremonies: seeing the same argument will equally hold against either side; and the superstition common to them both, might easily get the better of their pride and hatred. What wild notions men had then, and long enough since, of the god-head, may easily be gathered from that saying of the *Syrians* (16), *their gods are gods of the hills, and therefore stronger than ours; but if we get them into the plain, ours will get the better of them.* It was therefore natural for the *Egyptians*, as we hinted once before †, to enquire, how such a poor slavish people, as that of the *Hebrews*, came to be in such high favour with their God, that he should fall thus severely upon their own, and so many other brave nations, on their behalf: it is plain, they could not attribute it to any merit or excellency in them, and therefore might easily conclude, that they had found out some way of gaining his friendship by their sacrifices and manner of worshiping him; which, if they could but once attain to, they could not fail of much greater success. Add to this, that if the priests were consulted about it, as it is most likely they were, they could not be against embracing such a sort of worship, which, however it proved to the laity, could not but be gainful to them: now if this be granted to be a natural supposition, the objection falls to the ground, and there is an end of our author's pretended impossibility. As for what is added on that side of the question, *viz.* that the *Egyptians* sacrificed horses and hogs to their gods, whilst the *Hebrews* offered nothing but sheep, oxen, *&c.* this difference, allowing the case to be fact, might easily proceed from some remaining leaven of their old superstition, which could not suffer them to sacrifice such beasts as they had been used to worship. They might likewise probably enough attribute the *Hebrews* not sacrificing horses to their sordidness, that creature being of much greater worth than a bullock, and so be induced not only to imitate, but to out-do them, by offering a more valuable sacrifice than they. Upon the whole, the *Egyptians* being generally allowed to have been the first introducers of idolatry, we may reasonably suppose them to have been likewise the inventors of a great deal of superstitious trash, and the *Jews*, who had been as it were formed in the country, to have contracted such a particular fondness for it, as not to be easy without having something like it among them. We beg leave to anticipate so far upon their history, as to bring one instance of this once for all, and with it to dismiss this intricate point. *Moses* promised the people, that God would send his angel to them to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moses* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for lost: uncertain what to do, and fearful lest the *Amalekites*, or some other nation should fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promised conductor, and being ignorant what kind of one God designed for them, they take it in an *Egyptian* sense, and in a tumultuous manner gather about *Aaron*, and insist that he should make them such a one. *Aaron*, who guessed their meaning, casts a golden calf, no doubt in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*; for without the assistance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the last creatures that one would chuse to make a symbol of the deity ‡, and sets it up in the midst of the camp; and the people, highly pleased with it, begin to pay the usual worship of sacrifices, dancing, *&c.* to it: in the mean time *Moses* comes down, and surprises them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and destroys the *Egyptian* idol. After this he returns immediately to the top of the mountain, complains of their idolatry and stubbornness, and intreats God to pity and forgive them, and God, who saw that their minds were bent upon some outward symbol, in compassion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet should still retain something of a resemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at least the head of a calf, as shall be shewn in its proper place. Who doth not see by all this, that God did only comply so far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a visible symbol, without condescending so low, at the same time, as to permit such a close imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wise prove a snare to them in process of time? However, if it be asked, how so polite a nation as the *Egyptians* came to chuse a cow, or calf, to represent the deity? we can only add, to what has been said before *, the conjecture of some ancient and modern authors, such as *Suidas* in his Σαραπις *Rusin* in his ecclesiastical history, *Pierrerius* in his hieroglifics, *Hottinger* and others, who all seem probably enough to think, that it was in honour of *Joseph*, and in memory of the seven cows, which represented the plenty by which he preserved that country from perishing; and this seems the more probable, because several of the most antient authors, besides those above quoted, agree, that this ox, or cow, was represented carrying a bushel upon its head, which might be designed to signify the plenty of corn, which that patriarch caused to be layed up. But we willingly submit all this to our reader's judgment.

(Z) It cannot be denied, but several of the *Mosaical*

(15) Le Clerc's *Bibl. A. & M. tom.* XII. *p.* 313. (16) 1 *Kings* xx. 23. † *Vid. supr. p.* 427. *note* (R), ‡ *Vid. supr. p.* 398. *note* (H), *& alib. pass.* * *Ibid. p.* 206.

lated with a wiſe deſign of preſerving them, both in their obedience to GOD, and from a all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worſhip into their own. Beſides theſe *Moſes* received a great number of political laws properly ſo called, which related to the welfare and preſervation of their common-wealth: of this nature were thoſe which aſcertained every man's property, and appointed proportionate puniſhments to the invaders of it. Such were alſo thoſe of the *Jubilee*, which reſtored every man once in fifty years to his paternal eſtate, however alienated during that time: the cities of refuge to ſecure the life of a man, who had innocently ſlain another: ſuch were alſo the great court of judicature, known afterwards by the name of *Sanhedrin*; their other courts of judicature, choice of magiſtrates, and others to the ſame end; all which were delivered at ſeveral times, and upon divers exigencies, by GOD to *Moſes*, and by him committed to writing in the ſame order in which he received them [k]. Neither were all theſe laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for after the ſetting up of the tabernacle GOD was pleaſed to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing however is remarkable in that laſt intercourſe we have been mentioning, namely the promiſe which GOD made to *Iſrael* [l], that he would ſend his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promiſed land; and that, if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themſelves from the pollutions of thoſe nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a pannic fear upon them, ſo that they ſhould not be able to reſiſt them; adding, that they ſhould not make a compleat conqueſt of them at once, leſt the wild beaſts ſhould prove too ſtrong for them; but that they ſhould carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the red-ſea unto the ſea of the *Philiſtines*, and from the deſart unto the river [m].

The covenant between GOD *and the people ratified.*

IMMEDIATELY after this *Moſes* reared an altar to GOD, and offered burnt ſacrifices and peace-offerings upon it, and having cauſed the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a ſolemn promiſe from them that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by ſprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a ſtanding monument of this alliance between

[k] Exod. xxiv. 4. [l] Ibid. xxiii. 20. & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 31.

Moſaical ordinances and prohibitions are of this nature, and were very neceſſary and beneficial, not only in *Canaan*, but in all hot countries. Such were thoſe that related to all kind of cleanlineſs, that forbid the nuptial commerce at certain periods, and all intercourſe with perſons that had the leproſy, or any other infectious diſeaſe, and the like. But ſome learned men have gone further, and have fancied, that all forbidden meats, ſuch as ſwine, hares, rabbets, ducks, &c. were if not wholly, yet for the greateſt part, prohibited upon the ſame account, namely, as being unwholeſome and detrimental to health in thoſe hot climates: to prove this, ſome have taken no ſmall pains to ſhew, that we have not a right underſtanding of all thoſe creatures that are thus forbid, they inſtance out of *Bochart* (17), that the שפן, *Shaphan*, which we tranſlate a *rabbet*, is a kind of rat that lives upon the rocks, and conſequently, that the word ſhould be tranſlated a *rock-rat*, which animal he obſerves is of the bigneſs of a ſquirrel. and that *Paleſtine* and *Arabia* abound with it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with enquiring how far we do miſunderſtand the names of thoſe creatures, the eating of whoſe fleſh *Moſes* forbids, nor how far ſome, or any of them be really unwholeſome to eat. It is certain we are not miſtaken in that of the ſwine, which, whatever be pretended to the contrary, is both commonly and ſafely eat in all hot countries, except by the *Turks*, whoſe law has copied this, among a great many things from the *Jewiſh*. The Rabbies indeed will have it, that it was forbid by reaſon of its extreme naſtineſs, both in its eating and wallowing in all manner of filth (18); but yet it is plain, that it never was accounted unwholeſome upon that account in any country that we know of. We ſhall therefore venture to offer what we think is a more probable reaſon, why ſwine, hares geeſe, &c. were forbid by *Moſes*, namely, to prevent thereby as much as poſſible the *Jews* having any intercourſe with other nations, either by being preſent at their feaſts or common feſtivals, or contracting affinities with them, by inſpiring them with an abhorrence againſt their moſt common meats by this expreſs prohibition, and allowing them at the ſame time the uſe of a ſufficient quantity of others to live comfortably by. It is alſo worth obſerving, that of all the meats forbidden by the *Moſaic* law, the *Jews* had the ſwine in greateſt deteſtation, inſomuch that they rather choſe the moſt cruel deaths, than to ſave their lives by eating it. How therefore they came to contract ſuch an extreme averſion to it, more than to any other, can hardly be accounted for by any other way, than by imputing it to their ſeeing it more commonly eat by other nations, than any of the reſt, it being looked upon as the moſt friendly and nouriſhing to our bodies of any other fleſh. And this did exactly anſwer their law-giver's deſign.

(17) LE SCENE, *Eſſ. on a N. Tranſl. p.* 124.
(18) *Middraſh Tanhuma. Middraſh Tehillim. ſupr. verb. Pſal.* cxlvi. 7. *Vid.* & MAIMONID. *More Nevoch. part iii. cap.* 48. MEYER, *de tempor. ſac. Hæbr. cap. xi.* § 15 & 16.

tween God and them. *Moſes* had no ſooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with him *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the elders of *Iſrael*, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the God of *Iſrael* in a kind of viſion, with a pavement of ſaphire-ſtone under him, exceeding the very ſky in brightneſs, and after he had committed the care of the people unto them, he took *Joſhua* up into the mountain with him, and ſtayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that God gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of God himſelf (A); the plan of the *Jewiſh* religion, of the tabernacle, and all the utenſils belonging to it, and ſeveral other laws concerning the prieſts, *Levites*, and laity, and, in particular, an order for exacting a free will offering from all the children of *Iſrael*, according to their abilities, of gold, ſilver, braſs, ſcarlet, ſilk, wool, oyl, ſpices, and all other neceſſary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, prieſtly robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the publick worſhip [n]. The care of making all theſe things was to be committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab* of the tribe of *Dan*, two perſons whom God had endowed with an extraordinary ſkill and wiſdom to contrive and execute all theſe grand deſigns, according to his directions [o].

Moſes *takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.*

Goes himſelf into the cloud.

In

[n] Exod. a cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx. [o] Ibid. xxxi. paſſ.

(A) What character theſe tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the *Samaritan*, or in the *Aſſyrian*, ſhall be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of their writing; and therefore all we ſhall obſerve at preſent concerning them, is, that *Moſes* tells us, that they were writ, or engraved, מזה ומזה, *Mize umize*, on this and on that ſide (19). From which their *Talmud* tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, ſo as to be ſeen and read on either ſide. And when the queſtion is put, how it was poſſible for the middle part of the ם final *mem* and ס *ſamech* to ſupport itſelf? the *Talmudiſt* anſwers, that it was kept ſuſpended by a miraculous power: we are far enough from crediting ſuch fables againſt the plain meaning of the text, which at moſt imports no more, than that they were written on both ſides, that is, front and back-ſide, though it may ſignify only, that they were ſo on each ſide, like the two pages of an open book, in which ſenſe *Moſes*'s words are generally taken; but what we would infer from it, is, that the compilers of that book never could dream of the *Samaritan* being the antient *Hebrew* character, becauſe thoſe two letters are of a quite different ſhape, and needed not ſuch a miracle to ſupport the middle, more than any other letter, and yet it is plain, that thoſe who have embraced this notion, have quoted the talmud for it (21); and ſuch has been their prepoſſeſſion in favour of this character, that they have miſtaken an objection for a poſitive text, and overlooked two or three expreſs anſwers which immediately follow it. But of this we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. As to other particulars relating to theſe tables, ſuch as their number, which ſome eaſtern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to ſeventeen (22); though the *Talmud* and all the *Jewiſh* rabbies do conſtantly call them the *two tables of the covenant* (23): their ſhape, bigneſs, what material they were made of? which ſome rabbies take to have been ſome precious wood, others, ſome precious ſtone, as a ruby or carbuncle: in what order the ten commandments were writ? whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or ſome part, upon one, and the reſt upon the other? theſe, and other ſuch nice enquiries we purpoſely forbear, becauſe the ſcriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our ſenſe of thoſe expreſſions of *Moſes*, that theſe tables were written by the finger of God, that they were the work of God, and that writing was the writing of God, and the like. For though a great many expoſitors underſtand them literally, as writ by God himſelf, others by an angel, and others by the ſpirit of God, which is ſometimes called *the finger of* God (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what *Moſes* ſays in another place (25), that God commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables, as they had been written in the firſt which he had broken, and that he did ſo accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in *Deuteronomy* (26), that he (God) wrote on the, ſecond tables, according to the writing of the firſt, the ten commandments; it is plain, I ſay, that the words can imply no more, than that they were writ by the command and direction of God, and that *Moſes* was the perſon that wrote the firſt, as well as the laſt; though the common opinion of ancient and modern expoſitors is, that God wrote the firſt, and he the laſt (27).

The *Mohammedans* tell us, that God commanded the angel *Gabriel* to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of God, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables. And that after *Moſes* had broke them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards depoſited in the ark (28).

(19) *Exod.* xxxii. 15. (20) *Tractat. Megillath.* (21) Morin. *Diſſert. in pentat. Samarit.* Walton. *prolegom.* Whiston, & *al.* (22) *Vid.* Herbelot's *Bibliot. Orient. in loc.* (23) *Talm. paſſ. vid. etiam.* הנרה הפסח *Cantic.* אחר מי יזרע. (24) *Vid. Exod.* viii. 19. *Luke* xi. 20. & *alib.* (25) *Exod.* xxxiv. 27, 28. (26) *Ch.* x. 4. (27) Cypr. *lib. de S. Spirit.* August. *quæſt in Exod.* 186. Jun. Villet. *Rabbin. vid.* Munst. & *al. in loc.* (28) *Vid. Bibliot. Orient. p.* 649.

Is given over by the people.

IN the mean time, the people, who had ſeen *Moſes* go up and enter into the cloud, whilſt the top of the mountain was all in flames [p], after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for loſt. In this uncertain condition they aſſembled themſelves, in a riotous manner about *Aaron*'s tent, and told him, that, as they wholly deſpaired of *Moſes*'s return, they expected, that he ſhould make them ſome gods to go before them; and ſuch was his extreme weakneſs and cowardice, that he doth not ſeem to have heſitated one moment, whether he ſhould refuſe or comply with their requeſt, but to have directed them immediately to bring him ſufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. A learned *Romiſh* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work [q], which was however univerſally condemned, even by thoſe of his own church. And indeed the moſt that can be ſaid in *Aaron*'s defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be ſo ready to part with their golden ornaments, eſpecially the women, from whom he bids them to tear or ſnatch them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no ſcruple to be as quick as they in anſwering their requeſt, ſo that by the next day the calf was ſet up. The greateſt part of the *Jews* ſeem to throw the fault of this whole tranſaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, who firſt put it into the people's head to ask for theſe gods: they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the caſting of it in that form, but that it was done by ſome *Egyptian* conjurer by dint of magic, which they prove from the ſhort time he took in making it, and from *Aaron*'s words to *Moſes*: *they gave me* (their gold) *and I caſt it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may juſtly affirm, that they who undertake to vindicate *Aaron*'s weakneſs, whether *Jews* or *Chriſtians* *, do act with leſs modeſty than *Joſephus*, who ſaw too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuſe, ſeeing *Moſes* doth ſo ſeverely reprove and condemn him for it [r], and therefore hath rather choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly, than to record a deed ſo little to his predeceſſor's credit, however gloſſed or palliated. Had not *Moſes* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we ſhould have loſt this among many other pregnant teſtimonies of his faithfulneſs and ſincerity. However, the people were ſo eager for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold earings to *Aaron*, who loſt no time to have it caſt according to his promiſe (B); and, having ſet it upon a pediſtal, in full ſight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, told them in their own dialect, that theſe were the gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, and appointed the

The golden calf ſet up.

[p] Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17. [q] MONCEUS de Vitul. Aur. ap. Oper. Critic. Vol. II. p. 4415. vid. etiam BAYL. Dict. ſub voc. Aaron. * BERRUYER's Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu in loc. CALM. & al. [r] Exod. xxxii. 21.

(B) Our verſion and ſeveral others, have given us a very uncouth account of the caſting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* faſhion it with a graving tool, after he had caſt it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is ſtill more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it firſt, and caſt it afterwards. For to ſay nothing of the improbability of engraving having been known ſo ſoon, when we meet with nothing like it in all the fine work of *Solomon*'s temple ſo long after, which was wrought with more art and greater deliberation, it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the mettal melted, and the idol caſt, and engraven into the bargain, becauſe he ſet it up on the very morrow after they had brought him the metal. The miſtake is owing to their not attending to the various ſenſe of the verb צור, *Tzur*, which ſignifies, *to tye up*, and *bind*, as well as *to ſhape*, and *form*, nor to that of the word חרט, *Cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a graving tool in one or two places where it is uſed; yet in others it ſignifies a *bag*: accordingly, *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, is ſaid to have tied up two talents of ſilver in two bags (30), in which place theſe two words צור, *Tzur*, and חרט, are uſed. We think therefore thoſe in the right, who have rendered the verſe now in queſtion, *and* Aaron *received them* (the gold ear-rings) *and tied them in a bag, and got them caſt into a molten calf* (31).

As for the calf itſelf, ſome ancient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Iſis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it: But however, the moſt general opinion is, that it was a whole calf in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But whatever the ſhape of it was, it is plain from ſome of the prophets (34), and eſpecially from St. *Stephen*'s words, *in their hearts they returned into* Egypt, *and forced* Aaron *to make them a molten calf* (35); that they learned their idolatry, and contracted this propenſity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*.

(29) *Exod. xxxiv.* 4. (30) 2 *Kings* v. 23. (31) LE SCEN. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ.* (32) *Vid.* LE CLERC & CALMET's *Comment. in Exod. in loc.* (33) *Vid.* HERODOT. *lib. ii. cap.* 41. (34) *Iſai. Ezek. Amos & al. paſſ.* (35) *Acts* vii. 39. *& ſeq.*

a the next day as ſolemn feſtival to their new made deity; which they began with offering burnt ſacrifices and peace-offerings to it, and concluded with feaſting and dancing.

IN the mean time GOD, who ſaw what paſſed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Iſraelites* were rendring themſelves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moſes* of it, who had ſpent by this time full forty days in faſting and prayer; but with ſuch threatning expreſſions againſt thoſe idolaters, as made him fear, that ſome heavy puniſhment, if not total deſtruction, was going to fall upon them; but though GOD did comfort him at the ſame time with promiſes of making him the father of as numerous a nation, as that of the *Iſraelites* then b was, yet he rather choſe to intercede for them, and ceaſed not to ſue for their pardon, till he had obtained a kind of promiſe of it from him. After this taking the two tables and his ſervant *Joſhua* with him, he came down from the mountain, and was ſcarce got to the foot of it, when he was ſurprized with their ſtrange ſhoutings, which, as he thought, were neither like thoſe of a flying or a purſuing army, but it was not long before he beheld the ſad cauſe of it, the calf which his brother had ſet up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was ſo great, that the firſt way he expreſt it by was, by breaking the two tables, after which he went and upbraided his puſillanimous brother in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo eaſily yielded to the people's ſhameful deſire, aſſuring him, that he had brought a horrid ſin upon them, c and had now made them naked to their ſhame in the midſt of their enemies, meaning thereby, that he had publickly expoſed their idolatrous and ſtubborn diſpoſition to all the world, and layed them open, naked, and defenceleſs to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them ſafe into the promiſed land.

Moſes *comes down from the mount.*

Breaks the two tables.

AARON failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people, which forced him to comply with their requeſt; but *Moſes*, inſtead of liſtening to his excuſes, ſet himſelf immediately about the deſtruction of the idol, and the puniſhment of ſuch of the delinquents, whom his preſence had not driven away from the place where it was ſet up. He cauſed the calf to be taken down, in d order to have it burnt, and ground into powder, and caſt into the water, of which he afterwards made all the people to drink (C). Whilſt this was doing, he cried aloud, who is on the Lord's ſide? and finding, that the ſons of *Levi* did immediately joyn themſelves to him, he commanded them to gird on their ſwords, and to go and ſlay all indifferently whom they found ſtill at that idolatrous feaſt, without regard to age, or quality, kindred, friendſhip, or acquaintance. Theſe went forthwith from *Moſes*'s preſence, and puniſhed with immediate death about three thouſand of the delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth. Some copies of the ſeptuagint and

The Levites *kill* 3000 *delinquents.*

(C) This action of *Moſes*, of melting, grinding, and powdering, the golden idol, in order to make the people drink it with the water into which he threw it, is ſo contrary to our preſent philoſophy, and the account which the Alchymiſts give us of the nature of gold, that it has been ſtrangely canvaſſed by the incredulous, and very awkwardly defended by others. However it is plain, that gold may be reduced to a fine and almoſt impalpable powder, and it is no more than all our gold-beaters know how to do. It is true, *Moſes* might have ſome particular ſecret for doing it, which we know nothing of; neither is it improbable, that the *Egyptians* and other nations might know ſome things concerning that metal, which have been ſince loſt, by people's running into favourite hypotheſes, perhaps upon ſome experiments not rightly underſtood, or not ſufficiently bottomed. Nothing has been more commonly received, than the notion that gold cannot be deſtroyed; and yet the royal academy at *Paris* have a burning glaſs that will vitrify it in an inſtant, by evaporating all the ſulphur of it, which crackles and flies up in a thick ſmoak, whilſt the glaſs that remains can never be reduced into any other form. And *Borrichius* aſſures us, that he has, by a conſtant trituration of that metal in ſome ſimple diſtilled water, during the ſpace of thirty days, raiſed this ſulphur up to the ſurface of the water, upon which it appeared like a fine red oil, whilſt all the reſt that ſubſided was only a greyiſh powder, which could never be reduced into any thing afterwards, but appeared in all reſpects the ſame with that which he had got out of baſer metals by the ſame method of trituration; though none of the latter, not even ſilver, ever afforded any thing like that beautiful oil which gold did (36).

The rabbies, according to cuſtom, tell us, that the reaſon of *Moſes*'s making the people drink this gold-powder, was in order to know the idolaters from the reſt, and that as ſoon as they had drank it, the beards of the former turned red; and the cabaliſts add, that the idol weighed 125 *quintals*, or hundreds, which they gather from the *Hebrew* word מסכה, *Maſſekah*, whoſe numerical letters make 125. But why quintals, rather than pounds, ounces, or talents, they give no reaſon for (37).

(36) *Vid.* B. SIGOGN. *N. Meth.*

(37) R. TAUCHUM *in Elle Shem. Rab. ſect.* 42.

and the vulgate ſay twenty three, and others thirty three thouſand; but beſides, that the original mentions no more than three thouſand, and thoſe verſions are acknowledged by ſeveral eminent men of the church of *Rome* to be corrupt in this place †, it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater ſlaughter in ſo ſhort a time. This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi*, againſt thoſe idolaters, did not go long unrewarded: for it did not only wipe off that blemiſh which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites*, but in a very ſhort time procured them the *Levitical* prieſthood; which, though ſubordinate to that of *Aaron* and his poſterity, did entitle them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain in *Iſrael*; to the inferior miniſtry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty-five cities with all their lands, ſome of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to ſeveral other privileges and immunities, of which further account ſhall be given in its proper place. In the mean time the people, who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what ſeverity *Moſes* had reproved his brother, were under the greateſt conſternation; but whether it were that his anger was by this time ſomewhat diſarmed, he contented himſelf with upbraiding them with their ingratitude and extreme folly, promiſing them however, that he would go up to the mountain again, and try how far his prayers could prevail with the divine mercy, and avert the puniſhment which they had deſerved. He went up accordingly, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of God's former promiſe of bringing them into the promiſed land under the conduct of his angel. However, both the pardon and promiſe were ſo far conditional, that the people were to make ſome attonement for their rebellion, by a ſolemn and public act of humiliation, and a promiſe to be more obedient for the future; for in caſe they ſhould, by a further relapſe, bring down a freſh puniſhment upon themſelves, this idolatry was likewiſe to be puniſhed along with it (D) [r]. One of theſe conditions the people immediately embraced, and a ſolemn faſt was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they diveſted themſelves of all their gaudy apparel and coſtly ornaments: and, in memory of this ſin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* obſerve that faſt yearly even to this day. At the ſame time God, to adminiſter ſome comfort to *Moſes*, whom he ſaw labouring under ſuch a heavy load of grief aad care, and as a further mark of his particular favour, was pleaſed, at his requeſt, to grant him a ſight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it [s], a ſight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whoſe direction and care they were to go and conquer the promiſed land (E).

Their zeal is rewarded.

Moſes *returns to the mount.*

MOSES

† Cajet. Vatabl. Lipaomrn. A. Montan. & al. vid. 1 Cor. x. 8. [r] Exod. xxxv. per tot. [s] Ibid. ver. 12. & ſeq.

(D) The *Jews* have underſtood theſe words in ſo unlimited a ſenſe, that they tell us upon the authority of one of their greateſt rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that God doth not inflict any puniſhment upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty-fourth part of this ſin of the golden calf put into the ſcale with it: but another (39), afraid leſt that proportion ſhould have been long ago exhauſted hath confined it to the *Iſraelites*, and allows but about one ounce of the gold calf to go into the doſe of every ſuch puniſhment; ſo that it can hardly fail of laſting a conſiderable while, eſpecially if the calf weighed ſo many hundred weights as they tell us it did. However, it is plain by the text, that God did only deſign to deter them from relapſing into the like crime, by threatning, that in ſuch a caſe he would inflict a double puniſhment upon them.

(E) It muſt be owned, that the account which *Moſes* gives us of this divine viſion, is none of the cleareſt, and that ſome of the expreſſions he uſes, ſuch as that he ſhould not ſee God's face, but only his back, &c. have induced ſome free thinkers to tax him, and all the *Jews* after him with being *Anthropomorphites*, 'till they learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it muſt be remembered, that *Moſes* ſpoke to a groſs and carnal people, in a language far from copious, eſpecially in words or idioms ſuitable either to the deity, or to the dignity of the preſent glorious tranſaction; and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expreſſions from outward and ſenſible objects and actions. It is plain, that thoſe who wrote in *Greek*, which is vaſtly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the very writers of the new teſtament and the primitive fathers, who were the fartheſt from having any ſuch abſurd ideas of the godhead, have been forced to make uſe of the ſame figurative expreſſions in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear that the *Jews* themſelves underſtood *Moſes*'s words in that groſs ſenſe, becauſe it is plain that

(38) R. Isaac *in Talmud. Tract. Sanhedr.* (39) Mos. Gerundens. *vid.* Munst. *in loc.*

a *MOSES* ſtayed in the mount another forty days and nights, during which, he tells us, he neither eat nor drank (F), but ſpent his whole time in praying and making two other tables, like unto thoſe which he had broken, and in receiving ſome further inſtructions from GOD; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little ſurprized to obſerve, that his face had contracted ſuch a glorious luſtre during his receſs, that they could not intenſely behold it. This obliged him to cover it with a veil whenever he was to ſpeak to them, but he took it off whenever he went to receive GOD's commands [u]. By this time the people were become a little more tractable, and he had no ſooner acquainted them, among other things, that they ſhould every one bring a free-will-offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle,

b ark, utenſils, prieſtly garments, and the like; but both men and women ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs and readineſs to contribute their richeſt jewels, metals, and other precious things which they had got out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians* and *Amalekites*; ſo that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than ſufficient quantity of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, braſs, ſhittim and cedar-wood, ſilk, cotton, linen, and the fineſt wool of purple, ſcarlet and other colours, of the ſkins of rams, badgers and goats richly died, and laſtly of the richeſt oyls, ſpices, ointments and perfumes; all which he diſtributed to proper perſons to be wrought, and made *Bezaleel* and *Aholiaba* overſeers of all the work [w]. Theſe ſhewed ſuch diligence, and employed ſo many hands in the work, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture and coſtly

c apparatus, were finiſhed, and ſet up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, in leſs than ſix months. *Aaron* and his ſons, being ſolemnly conſecrated prieſts, began to offer up all kinds of ſacrifices upon the new alter, according to the law of *Moſes*. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe came and appeared before *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and preſented a very conſiderable offering to GOD, in ſix waggons drawn each by two oxen, all which were received by *Moſes*, and ſet aſide for the ſervice of the tabernacle †. Thus was this pompous worſhip begun, in the framing and inſtituting of which GOD was pleaſed to comply with their groſs and carnal minds, which he ſaw was incapable of being affected with a purer and more ſpiritual one [x].

A general offering of all the people.

Aaron *conſecrated high-prieſt.*

AARON had not been long inſtalled in his office of high-prieſt, before he

d had the mortification of ſeeing his two ſons, *Nadab*, and *Abihu* ſtruck dead by fire from

His ſons killed by fire from heaven.

[u] Exod. xxxiv. per tot. [w] Ibid. xxxv. 20, 21. & ſeq. † Numb. vii. 1. & ſeq.
[x] Exod. from Ch. xxxvi. to the end.

that they had a notion, that this angel, or apparition, which directed them through the wilderneſs, was the *Meſſiah*, who did then take a viſible appearance, which they called the *Shekinah*, from שכן *Shakan*, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which *Shekinah*, though ſome underſtand of all the appearances which GOD took from the beginning, and others, either of the *Shekinah* of fire and water, or of the fiery and cloudy pillar; yet all agree that it was the כסא הכבוד, *Kiſſe hakabod*, the throne of glory, which was one of the ſeven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to diſculpate at once the *Jewiſh* lawgiver from ſuch an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every where, eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the godhead; what pains he takes to deter the *Jews* from making any repreſentation of it under any form whatſoever, by reminding them, that when GOD was ſo pleaſed to diſplay his glory upon mount *Sinai* at the delivering of the ten commands, they ſaw no ſhape nor likeneſs, but only they heard his dreadful voice. Theſe ſo frequent inculcations may therefore be reaſonably looked upon as a key to them, how to underſtand all thoſe other expreſſions which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal ſenſe, but in ſuch a one as was worthy of the deity, and the dignity of the ſubject.

(F) *Buxtorf* quotes a *Jewiſh* proverb out of the large comment on *Exodus*, with reſpect to this miraculous faſting of *Moſes*, which is to this purpoſe: 'that above, where there is neither eating 'or drinking, *Moſes* ſtaid 80 days, and became 'like the angels, and below, where men do eat 'and drink, miniſtring angels came down, and eat 'and drank like them (41), by which one would 'be apt to think they attributed both the one and 'the other, rather to a change of climate, than 'to a miracle.' However, without enquiring whether *Moſes*, and afterwards *Chriſt*, were miraculouſly ſupported without any kind of ſuſtenance or not, we beg leave to obſerve, that the words which *Chriſt* quotes from *Moſes*, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of* GOD †, contains an *hebraiſm*, which cannot be retained in a verſion, without conveying a wrong idea. *Word*, in the original doth often ſignify *thing*, and is often uſed in that ſenſe in the new teſtament, as where it is ſaid, and *we are witneſſes of theſe words*, that is, of theſe things or tranſactions. The text ought therefore to have been rendered, *Man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every thing that* GOD *has appointed or ordained for his nouriſhment* †*; ſince it is plain, that *Moſes* ſpeaks in the place quoted not of his faſting, but of the manna which GOD gave the *Iſraelites* inſtead of bread.

(40) *Vid. Chald. Paraph. in loc. & in Geneſ.* i. 1. RAYM. MART. *pug. fid.* DUPLESS. *Cont. Jud.* MUNST. *& al.* (41) *Vid.* BUXTORF. *Lexic. ſub. rad.* נחם. † *Matth.* iv. 4. *out of Deut.* viii. 3. †* LE SEEN. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ.*

from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, contrary to *Moses*'s command [y]; who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp. Presently after this he expressly forbad *Aaron*, and all his successors, to drink either wine or any intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, lest they should incur the same fate with his two sons; from which the *Jews* conclude reasonably enough, that these two, being drunk when they went to burn incense, took some fire along with them [z], not considering, that there was an holy fire preserved in the tabernacle for that purpose, from that which was miraculously fallen a little before, and had consumed the victims upon the altar in the presence of all the people [a].

The rebellion at Taberah.

IN the mean time *Moses* (who observed how short-liv'd their tractable disposition was, whenever it shewed itself upon any extraordinary occasion, and that they were just ready for another rebellion, because he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderness of *Sinai*) made all the haste he could to intercede for them, and to appease the divine anger which was already kindled, and had already shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to consume the extremities of the camp. His prayer was heard, and the fire ceased, upon which account the place was called *Taberah*, or burning *. However, *Moses* began to find, by this fresh instance of their stubbornes, that the burthen of government was like to prove still too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon those magistrates, which he had chosen at *Jethro*'s advice. He was forced to present his complaint to GOD, who was now pleased to speak to him from the mercy-seat; and

The great council of seventy appointed.

GOD, to ease him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of *Israel* both for wisdom and integrity, to whom he should impart a portion of his spirit (G), and to erect them into a supreme court, that they might bear their share of the burthen with him. *Moses* made no delay to obey GOD's command, and it was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no sooner removed from *Taberah*, but their very next encampment was signalized with a fresh insurrection. A mixt multitude of the dregs of *Egypt* and other nations, who had followed the *Israelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forsaking the garlic, onions, and flesh-pots of *Egypt* for it, and soon infected the whole camp with a longing after some better food. *Moses*'s tent was beset on all sides with crouds, who came, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded, that he should provide them flesh to eat instead of the manna, which their souls did begin to loath. In this extremity *Moses* had recourse to GOD, complained of the unreasonableness of their demand, and that his tender care for them had only made them more stubborn and inflexible; adding, that death in any shape was less terrible to him, than the persecutions to which he was continually exposed.

A new murmuring for want of flesh.

THIS expostulation had indeed something that looked like despair in him, but yet GOD who saw and weighed the many provocations which extorted it from him, instead of a rebuke, did immediately promise a speedy remedy. He commanded him to call together the seventy elders to the door of the tabernacle, and whilst his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp, he was pleased to promise them, that he would send them such a present supply of flesh, as should serve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became

[y] Levit. x. 1, 2, & seq. [z] Vid. Chald. paraph. Vajiera. Rab. & al. [a] Levit. ix. ver. ult. * Num. x. 1. & seq.

(G) This the *Jews*, judiciously enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without losing any of its light. For *Moses* had such a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the least portion of his spirit, which he found all too little to govern them (42).

The *Talmudists* tell us moreover (43), that *Moses* was greatly puzzled how to chuse these seventy out of the twelve tribes. If he chose six out of each, there would be two too many; if but five, there would be ten too few; and if he chose six out of some, and five out of other tribes, he was sure of causing a fresh murmuring, if not a rebellion. At length he bethought himself of the following expedient; he chose six out of every tribe, then wrote upon seventy tickets the word *Elder*, the other two he left blank, after which he made them draw lots, assuring them, that those that drew the latter were set aside by the Lord. However, concerning these two supernumerary ones, see the following note.

(42) *Bammidbar. Rabbah. & Targ.* JONATH. (43) *Talm. Tract. Sanhedr. fol.* 17. *col.* 1. *in loc.*

came as loathſome to them as the manna was. At the ſame time he inſpired the ſeventy elders with ſuch a ſhare of his ſpirit, that they all began to prophely (H); and the ſame gift continued with them as long as they lived. As for *Moſes*, though his faith had hitherto been unſhaken, yet the promiſe of ſuch a ſurprizing ſupply of fleſh appeared to him incredible, till he beheld the completion of it. The camp was at that time in *Arabia Petrea*, at a ſmall diſtance from the red-ſea; from the other ſide of which a ſtrong wind brought ſuch infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for ſeveral miles. Theſe birds being tired with their long flight, and not able to ſoar more than two cubits above the ground, were easily caught by the people, and in ſuch quantities, that the leaſt that any one of them gathered was ten *Homers* (I). Their firſt care was to glut themſelves with them, after which they began to think how to preſerve the reſt from corrupting. But in the midſt of their feaſting GOD was pleaſed to ſmite a great number of them with a ſore diſeaſe, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this ſevere puniſhment for their unreaſonable

A ſupply of quails ſent, which laſted 30 days.

(H) *Moſes* acquaints us in the ſame chapter (44), that there remained two in the camp, *viz. Eldad* and *Medad*, who were of the number of thoſe that were written, but went not to the tabernacle, but propheſied in the camp; and that when word was brought of it to him, *Joſhua* would have had them ſilenced, but *Moſes* blamed him for his envying them the gift of prophecy, and wiſhed, that GOD would rather impart it to all the people. From which words St. *Jerom*, and others after him, have thought them to have been two of the ſeventy, who had forbore going to the tabernacle out of modeſty (45): but had that been the caſe, there would have been no cauſe to wonder at their propheſying, nor for *Joſhua* to have forbad them; ſo that it is more likely, that theſe were the two that were ſet aſide by the lots, to whom nevertheleſs GOD imparted the ſpirit of prophecy, though they were not to have a ſeat in the great court of the ſeventy.

Some *Jews* affirm theſe two to have been brothers to *Moſes* by the mother's ſide; others, that *Amram*, *Moſes*'s father having repudiated her, took another wife, by whom he had theſe two ſons (46). There is a fragment of a ſpurious book quoted in *Hermas* (47) entitled *the propheſies of* Eldad *and* Medad, *or* Eldam *and* Medal. As for the Rabbies, they are divided about the purport of their prophecies, ſome thinking, that they foretold the deſtruction of *Gog* and *Magog*; others, the prodigious flight of the quails; and laſtly, others, *Moſes*'s death in the wilderneſs, and *Joſhua*'s ſucceeding him.

As to this aſſembly of the ſeventy elders, the *Jews*, and after them *Grotius*, and ſome other *Chriſtians* (48), have affirmed, that it was the ſame that became afterwards ſo famous under the name of *Sanhedrin*, to which even their kings and high-prieſts were ſubject. The Rabbies have left no ſtone unturned to prove that this *Sanhedrin* had conſtantly ſubſiſted ever ſince its firſt inſtitution by *Moſes*; and that the members of it always aſſembled themſelves before the tabernacle, wherever that was ſet up, either in the wilderneſs, or in the promiſed land, till the building of the temple by *Solomon*, who, they ſay, built a ſtately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which being within the temple, they were not permitted to ſit down in it, but only in the other, which was without it: they add further, that this ſupreme court was continued in *Babylon* during their captivity there, and that at their own return it had the ſame place rebuilt in the ſecond temple, and ſo continued till its total extinction under the *Romans*. However, as they bring no authority for all theſe and many other particularities relating to that aſſembly, beſides their traditions, they are juſtly rejected by the far greater part of *Chriſtians*. Certain it is, that we do not find one word of ſuch an high court, either in the times of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, or of their *Kings*; nor indeed even after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, till the time of the *Maccabees*. And therefore we ſhall forbear giving any further account of the *Sanhedrin*, till we come to the time in which it is generally ſuppoſed to have been ſet up. As for theſe ſeventy elders, it is likely, that they aſſiſted *Moſes* during their abode in the wilderneſs, and that there was an end of their aſſembly, as ſoon as they entered into the land of *Canaan*. Their other courts of judicature ſhall be mentioned in their proper place.

(I) *Homer*, or rather *Chomer*, is a meaſure which contains ten *Baths*, or five buſhels; the *Jews* think חומר, *Chomer*, to be the ſame with חמור, *Chamor*, an aſs, becauſe the letters are the ſame, and conſequently, that *Chomer* is an aſs's load (49). This prodigious quantity of quails has appeared ſo incredible to ſome learned interpreters, that they have choſen to render the word *Chomer*, an heap; but even this verſion of ten heaps to each perſon, or even to each family, in a camp that conſiſted of near three millions of ſouls, will appear ſtill too extraordinary, unleſs it be looked upon as altogether miraculous. However, becauſe we would not enlarge the miracle more than was needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own and moſt other verſions, which render the words of *Moſes* as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard thick upon the ground, which would be ſtill more prodigious: whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, *that they flew no higher than two cubits from it*; and this quantity was more than ſufficient to ſerve them a month, conſidering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a day's journey round it, was covered with it, and that fleſh was not then eaten in ſuch quantities, as it is now, eſpecially ſuch as that of quails, which is too delicious and ſurfeiting to be eaten at any ſuch rate.

(44) *Numb.* xi 26. & *ſeq.* (45) *Ep.* 127. *Manſion* 13. (46) *Vid. Tradit. Hæbr. in* 1 *Chronic.* iv. 17. (47) HERM. *lib. i. Viſion* 2. *c.* 5. (48) GROT. *Comm. paſſ.* & *de Jur. Bell.* & *Pac. c.* 3. *art.* 20. *Vid*, SELD. *de ſynedr. vet. Hæbreor. lib. ii. c.* 13. LIGHTFOOT *Hor. Hæbr.* & *al.* (49) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.*

A freſh plague deſtroys a great number of the rebels.

Miriam ſtruck with leproſy.

ſonable luſt the place was called *Kibroth-hataavah*, or the ſepulchres of concupiſcence; from whence they removed to *Cadeſh-barneah*, and thence to *Hazaroth* [b]. In this encampment *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s ſiſter, having been ſmitten with leproſy, for ſome reflections which ſhe had caſt upon him, upon the account of his wife *Ziphorah*, of which we have given ſome account in a former note †; *Moſes*, at her's and *Aaron*'s requeſt, obtained a cure for her, yet ſo, that ſhe was to remain without the camp, as a polluted perſon, ſeven days [c], after which they removed again towards *Cadeſh-barneah* in the wilderneſs of *Paran*. Here *Moſes* was commanded to chuſe twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to ſend them to ſearch the land of *Canaan*, among which were *Joſhua* and *Caleb*. Theſe twelve having received *Moſes*'s directions to view the whole land, to examine the ſtrength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its ſoil, and the like, ſet out upon their progreſs, which they performed in forty days.

12 ſpies ſent to view the land.

At their return from *Rehob*, which is at the foot of mount *Libanus*, they paſs through the valley of *Eſhcol*, ſo called from the great quantity of the largeſt grapes with which it abounded, and is ſtill to this day famed for, where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious ſize, which they threw over one of their ſtaves, and brought between two upon their ſhoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruiſed.

Being at length happily arrived at their camp they went and made their report to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, in the preſence of the elders and of all the people. They begun indeed with extolling the richneſs of the land, and ſhowed them a ſpecimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with ſome of their fineſt pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; but as ſoon as they obſerved, that this account had inſpired them with a deſire of becoming the happy poſſeſſors of it by a ſpeedy conqueſt; ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to repreſent it as a thing impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic ſtature of its inhabitants [d]. *Joſhua* and *Caleb* alone remained firm in their report, and the latter, who obſerved a kind of deſpair in the people's looks, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by aſſuring them, that ſuch a glorious enterprize was nothing leſs than poſſible; the people gave ſuch credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they cried out one and all, that they could never hope to overcome ſuch powerful and gigantic nations, in compariſon of whom they looked upon themſelves as meer graſs-hoppers and reptiles. Their murmuring grew to ſuch a heighth before the next morning, that a return into *Egypt* was again looked upon as vaſtly preferable to ſuch an undertaking, wherein they could expect nothing but to periſh by the ſwords of the ſons of *Anach*, and their wives and children to become their ſlaves. In this extremity they were already conſulting how to chuſe themſelves a leader, who ſhould bring them back to the land of their former thraldom, and this in the preſence of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and of *Caleb* and *Joſhua*. But whilſt theſe were endeavouring to divert them from ſuch a baſe deſign, by repreſenting to them how eaſy and cheap the conqueſt of that fertile land might be to them, whilſt they had God on their ſide, they were like to have been ſtoned by the tumultuous populace, had not their fury been in ſome meaſure ſuppreſt by the appearance of the glory of God in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, from which God was heard to ſpeak to *Moſes* in ſuch threatning terms, as gave them cauſe to fear, that ſome ſpeedy and terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude *.

Ten of them bring an ill report.

And cauſe an inſurrection.

Here *Moſes* was forced again to become their interceſſor, and made uſe of ſuch powerful arguments and expoſtulations, that he did in ſome meaſure avert the divine vengeance. However the ingratitude and infidelity of thoſe miſcreants, who had beheld his glorious appearance upon mount *Sinai*, who had been eye-witneſſes of thoſe wonders which he wrought both in *Egypt* and in the deſart, and of the puniſhments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact ſome conſpicuous mark of the divine diſpleaſure, which might at leaſt ſerve as a warning to the reſt. Wherefore God did then ſwear, that none of thoſe that were above twenty years of age, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb*,

All above 20 years of age excluded from entering into the promiſed land.

[b] Nub. xi. per tot. † Vid ſupr. p. 489. note (Y). [c] Numb. xii. per tot. [d] Ibid. xiii. per tot. * Ibid. xiv. per tot.

leb, ſhould ever enter into the promiſed land ; but that they ſhould wander from
place to place during the ſpace of forty years (K), till all their carcaſſes were
rotted in the wilderneſs. As for the ten wretches, whoſe falſe report occaſioned
this rebellion, they were all deſtroyed by a ſudden death, and became the firſt
inſtances of the puniſhment denounced againſt the whole nation [e] : in memory of
which, the *Jews* do to this day keep a faſt, upon the ſeventh day of the ſixth month
called *Elul* [f].

THIS ſevere puniſhment, joined to the ſentence of excluſion from entering into
the promiſed land, did cauſe an univerſal mourning among the people ; how-
ever, as this lingering death, to which they heared themſelves condemned, was
b nothing ſo terrible as an immediate one, ſuch as they had reaſon to expect, they
took it into their heads, that their fault was not ſo great, but it might be at-
toned for in ſome meaſure, by expreſſing as great a degree of eagerneſs for the
conqueſt as they had againſt it, and by ſhewing as brave a contempt of their
enemies and reſolution to attack them out of hand, as they had before their
fear and deſpair of ſucceeding in it. Fired with this hope they preſented them-
ſelves early in the morning before *Moſes* ready armed, and, having acknowledged
their baſe cowardice in the humbleſt terms, they told him, that they were now
ready to retrieve their credit by ſome noble exploit, either againſt the *Amale-
kites*, or againſt ſome of the *Canaanitiſh* nations. *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to divert
c them from ſuch a raſh enterprize, by repreſenting to them, that it was contra-
ry to GOD's expreſs command, who would have them go back into the de-
ſart towards the red-ſea, and by aſſuring them, that they would certainly periſh
in the attempt, becauſe they had now forfeited the divine aſſiſtance and pro-
tection, without which it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed ; his ſpeech did but
whet their muſhroom-valour the more, ever indocile and deaf to good counſel,
they reſolve to try their fortune, and gain the paſſes of the neighbouring
hills, but they found them too well kept to their coſt, and the *Amalekites* and
Canaanites falling upon them, made a great ſlaughter of them there, and purſued
the reſt as far as *Hormah*, and diſcomfited them [g]. All this while *Moſes*, who fore-
d ſaw what would be the conſequence of this raſh enterprize, did wiſely keep
himſelf and the ark of the covenant in the camp. In memory of this ſad
diſaſter, and of the dropping of the people during the remainder of the forty
years, he is ſuppoſed to have compoſed the 90th pſalm, in which he gives us
a moſt lively image of the ſhortneſs and frailty of life. After ſome longer ſtay
in this camp they continued moving from place to place, but ſtill in the ſame
wilderneſs of *Seir*, during which time *Moſes* received many other laws, the time
and occaſion of which not being mentioned by him, we ſhall give an account
of the moſt remarkable ones in its proper place. However it is to be obſerved,
that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had former-
e ly been, ſeeing that we read but of ſeventeen of them, during the remaining
thirty ſeven years, whereas this removal from *Cadeſh-barneah* was the fifteenth
encampment from their coming out of *Egypt*. We ſhall not trouble our readers
with a further detail of them at preſent ; thoſe who are deſirous to have a more
particular account of them may find it in the annals of the learned archbiſhop
Uſher [h].

Their raſh and ill-timed exploit againſt the Amalekites *puniſhed.*

DURING this long interval, the divine providence diſplayed itſelf in the moſt
conſpicuous manner, in the forming and poliſhing this new-ſpringing genera-
tion, for whom the conqueſt of *Canaan* was reſerved. The miraculous pillar
conti-

[e] Num. xiv. 36, 37. [f] מגלת תענית. Seu liber de Jejun. part. ult. § 14. [g] Numb. xiv. 40. to the end. [h] Ann. USHER, p. 19, 20.

(K) *Moſes* here makes uſe of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the ſpies ſearching the land, though it is plain, that their children did enter it thirty nine years after this ſentence was pronounced againſt their fathers (50). It is further to be obſerved, that though this excluſion excepts none out *Caleb*, and in other places, where it is repeated it mentions only *Joſhua* along with him ; yet there were certainly ſome others that were not included in it, ſuch were *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account ; together with *Eleazar* and a few more, eſpecially of the tribe of *Levi*.

(50) *Compare Numb.* xxxii. 13. *with Deut.* ii. 14. *Vid.* USHER's *Ann. p.* 19.

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

continued ſtill to direct them, and the manna to nouriſh them. *Moſes* continued ſtill his intercourſes with GOD, and, as if this had been too little to aſſure them of his paternal care, the people's raiments, particularly their ſhoes, whether of men, women, or children, continued ſound and whole, and their feet unhurt, notwithſtanding their long and frequent marches (L). If at any time the people relapſed into their uſual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their puniſhment followed ſo cloſe, ſo ſeverely, and ſo univerſally, that their diſobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itſelf with hopes of impunity. However, it is plain by the ſequel, that the ſucceſs was far from being anſwerable to that exceſs of care and tenderneſs which GOD ſhewed to them; for which reaſon the divine hiſtorian has thought fit to leave us but an imperfect account of the tranſactions of theſe remaining years, if we ~~expect~~ except ſome few rebellions and chaſtiſements, which he committed to writing without order of time and place. And indeed they are ſo little to the honour of his nation, that he ſeemeth to mention them with regret, and to have been much more willing to have ſuppreſſed them, had not the glory of their great deliverer, and the intereſt of the people, obliged him to record them.

THE next tranſaction, indeed, we read of would make one hope, that ſome extraordinary change had been wrought in them, and that they had began to fear GOD in good earneſt, by the zeal which they ſhewed againſt a poor delinquent, whom they caught gathering a few ſticks on the ſabbath. Their fear, leſt his breach of a precept ſo eſteemed, ſo ſolemnly inculcated, ſhould bring ſome new judgment upon them, if they let him go unpuniſhed, made them bring him before *Moſes*, who ordered him to be put into cuſtody, till he knew what was the puniſhment deſigned againſt ſabbath-breakers; and on the next day, when he acquainted them that ſuch a tranſgreſſion ſhould be puniſhed with death, they immediately led him out of the camp, and there ſtoned and buried him [k].

The ſabbath-breaker accuſed, and put to death.

THOUGH *Moſes*'s ſweet and tender diſpoſition might perhaps make him look upon this as a very ſevere puniſhment for ſo inconſiderable a crime, yet could he not chuſe but be pleaſed with this new inſtance of their religious zeal, and to eſteem it as an earneſt of their furure obedience; but this ſhort-liv'd joy was ſoon imbittered, by one of the moſt audacious conſpiracies that was ever formed againſt him (M). It was not like the former occaſioned through want of fleſh or water, or the ſally of a giddy and ungovernable mob that thought themſelves bereaved of their leader, or at the point of falling into the hands of their enemies; but this was a treaſon hatched with the utmoſt deliberation and ſecrecy in the breaſt of one of the chiefs of the tribes of *Levi*, and countenanced by ſome of

[i] Deuter. viii. 4. xxix. 5.

[k] Numb. xv. 32, & ſeq.

(L) A certain bold critic of a neighbouring church † has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that there was nothing miraculous in all theſe and many other things, which are looked upon as ſuch, by all that are not endowed with the ſame perſpicuity with himſelf. According to him, the meaning of theſe places, where the divine hiſtorian tells the *Iſraelites*, that their cloaths and ſhoes did not wear out during thoſe forty years, is only this, that they were not drove to the neceſſity of going naked or barefoot, becauſe they had the wool of their cattle to ſupply the former, and the ſkins of thoſe beaſts that were either killed or died a natural death to make ſhoes of; ſo that it was no wonder, that their feet never ſwelled by ſo many marches, when they could be ſo well ſhod. He is not the only one by many, that has thus burleſqued the ſacred ſcriptures, under pretence of vindicating them; for were *Moſes*'s words capable of this ſenſe, as they are not, it would be plain, either that he trifled with his people and his readers, or that he purpoſely couched theſe tranſactions in ſuch terms, as would make them appear miraculous to all but ſuch ſagacious heads as our critics; in which caſe we ſhall be at a loſs to whom to aſcribe the largeſt ſhare of modeſty, to the hiſtorian, or his interpreter, who has been ſufficiently cenſured for his boldneſs, and more fully confuted than we think he deſerved *.

(M) It is not eaſy to gueſs in what year and place this ſedition happened (51). Some think it was in the deſart of *Sinai*, others a *Cadeſh-barneah*, and others at *Jothbath* (52). This laſt ſeems the moſt probable, becauſe, where that encampment is mentioned, *Moſes* tells us, that the Lord ſeparated the tribe of *Levi* to be prieſts to adminiſter unto him, and to bleſs the people in his name (53); but, wherever it happened, it is plain, that the conſpirators were far from giving any credit to *Moſes*, or to his miracles, elſe they could never have been ſo infatuated, as to run into the very jaws of that deſtruction, which he had ſo publickly threatned them with, in caſe thy perſiſted in their rebellion.

† PEIRER. *Appen. ad Exercit. de præadamit. paſſ.* * *Vid.* CALM. *Com. in Geneſ.* (51) USHER'S *Ann. p.* 20. (52) *Vid.* CALM. *Comment. in loc.* (53) *Deuter.* x. 8. *& ſeq.*

of the moſt conſiderable men in the whole camp, eſpecially of the tribe of *Reuben*.

Korah's *rebellion and accomplices.*

KORAH, the great grandſon of *Levi* by his father *Jahar* as *Aaron* alſo was by his father *Amram*, and conſequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to behold *Aaron* and his family raiſed to the high prieſthood, to which he thought he had an equal title, ceaſed not to cabal againſt him, till he had drawn a conſiderable number of eminent perſons into his intereſt. Among theſe were *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hon*, who were heads of the houſe of *Reuben* (N). Whether he thought, that he ſhould never gain his point againſt his rival, whilſt *Moſes* enjoyed the ſupreme legiſlative power, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary to inſpire them with an ambitious deſire of ſupplanting him, or whether he had obſerved already ſome ſuch deſign in thoſe three chiefs, he played his part ſo well, that he drew them and two hundred and fifty more into his party; and as ſoon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he reſolved to appear at their head, and to bear the brunt of the firſt onſet againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*. He began with upbraiding them with their unjuſt ambition, in ingroſſing all the power into their hands, and excluding the reſt of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be as holy as they. *Moſes* was ſo ſurpriſed at the boldneſs of this ſpeech, that he fell proſtrate with his face to the ground; and after a ſhort prayer, as is ſuppoſed, he aroſe; and, after having rebuked them for their preſumption, deſired them to put off all further debate till next morning; at which time they ſhould all appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his cenſer in his hand, at which time he promiſed, that the Lord ſhould declare himſelf openly in favour of thoſe whom he deſigned for that high office. After this, addreſſing himſelf to *Korah* and his *Levites*, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which GOD had annexed to their tribe; but aſpiring to the high prieſthood, which GOD had reſerved for *Aaron* and his poſterity.

SOON after this he ſent privately for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom he ſuppoſed to have been drawn by *Korah* into this conſpiracy; with a deſign to have argued the caſe more calmly with them; but they not only refuſed to come, but ſent his meſſenger back with an inſolent anſwer, in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of *Egypt*, under pretence of bringing them into a better, inſtead of which he only detained them in that barren wilderneſs to make them greater ſlaves to him; and that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, ſince they ſaw further into his ambitious deſigns than he would have them, and grieved to behold the author of all their misfortunes become their greateſt tyrant.

AS meek and gentle as *Moſes* naturally was, his patience was not proof againſt ſuch a reproachful meſſage; he appealed to the divine preſence againſt the injuſtice of it, ſince they could not but be ſenſible, that he had been ſo far from uſing his power to the invading of the leaſt portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and ſorrow; begging at the ſame time of

GOD

[l] Numb. xvi. paſſ.

[m] Ibid. ver. 12. & ſeq.

(N) It is plain from *Moſes*'s words, if rightly tranſlated, that *Korah* was the firſt fomenter, as well as ring-leader of this conſpiracy. They run thus in the original; *and* Korah *took* Dathan, *and* Abiram, *and* On, *and they roſe up with two hundred and fifty of the children of* Iſrael, &c. (54). What has miſled moſt tranſlators is the conjunction ו *vau*, and, before *Dathan*, from whence they have taken the verb ויקח *vajikach*, took, though in the ſingular, to relate to all the four, though they have been forced to make up the ſenſe by the addition of an accuſative: thus ſome read it; and *Korah*, *Dathan*, &c. took *men*, others, took *cenſers*, others, took 250 *men*: whereas the verb being in the ſingular, can only relate to the firſt, namely, *Korah*; and he it was who took, or, as the word may bear it, ſtirred up both *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *On*, &c. As for the ו *vau*, and, it is plain, that it is often joined to the firſt as well as the other words that follow in order, in the ſame manner as the *Greeks* do their κ, or the *Latins* their *et* and *que*, as *in homineſque, deoſque, & cœlum, & maria, & tellus*, and the like; of which we ſhall give an inſtance or two out of the Pſalms, וכבוד והדר תעטרהו, *coronabis eum & honore, &* ועני ואביון מנזלו, *inopemque miſerumque, gloria* (55). ואון ועמל בקרבה, liberabis, *à diripiente eum* (56). *ſunt & iniquitas, & perverſitas in medio ejus* (57).

We had not dwelt ſo long upon this critical note, had not ſome authors ſuppoſed this rebellion to have been at firſt excited by the *Reubenites*, in order to preſerve the prieſthood in the old channel of the firſt-born, which they ſaw *Moſes* was now going to transfer to the tribe of *Levi*; for, beſides that this ſuppoſition is quite contrary to the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account, it is hardly credible, that if the *Levites* had only been drawn into it by *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and upon ſuch an account, he would have made uſe of ſuch terms, as threw the far greateſt part of blame againſt the former, of whoſe tribe he himſelf was, or placed *Korah* as the very head of the faction.

(54) *Numb. xvi.* 1, 2. & *ſeq.* (55) *Pſ. viii.* 6. (56) *Pſ. xxxv.* 10. (57) *Pſ. lv.* 11.

GOD not to regard the prayers and offerings of ſuch ungrateful wretches. Early the next morning *Moſes* and *Aaron* marched towards the tabernacle, whether *Korah* failed not to repair ſoon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper cenſer in his hand. Theſe were followed by a vaſt multitude of people, who were come either to be ſpectators of this famous conteſt, or to back the ſeditious in caſe of an oppoſition. The firſt thing that did draw their eyes, was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernale, from which GOD commanded *Moſes* and *Aaron* to withdraw themſelves from the rebellious crew, leſt they ſhould periſh with them in the ruin which was going to fall upon them. Here *Moſes* was forced again to turn interceſſor, and to beg of GOD, that he would not puniſh the innocent with the guilty; and the croud had no ſooner ſeparated themſelves from *Korah* and his company, and followed him to the quarters of the *Reubenites*, where *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, ſtood at their tent doors as it were in defiance; but *Moſes* ſpake to the aſſembly to this purpoſe, that, if thoſe rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to call in queſtion his being ſent from GOD; but that if the earth did immediately open itſelf in a miraculous manner, and ſwallow them up alive, he then hoped, that they would look upon him only as an inſtrument in GOD's hand, and ſufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were ſcarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a ſufficient diſtance from the tents of the conſpirators, when the earth clove aſunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and ſubſtance. At the ſame time *Korah* and his whole company, who ſtood with their cenſers before the court of the tabernacle, were all deſtroyed by a ſupernatural fire, though their children were ſpared, becauſe, in all likelihood, they had no ſhare in their father's guilt [n]. In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the ſons of *Aaron*, from preſuming to burn incenſe before the Lord, *Eleazar* was commanded to take the cenſers of *Korah* and his men, and to beat them into broad plates for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

Their dreadful puniſhments.

IN the mean time the people, who ran away terrified at the ſight of ſo dreadful a ſpectacle, were ſcarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afreſh, and to accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the Lord, as they called that ſeditious crew. Theſe two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, did ſuſpend for ſome time the fury of the inſurrection. Here *Moſes*, who foreſaw that ſome terrible judgment was juſt ready to fall on the rioters, did immediately command his brother to take his cenſer, and to go and make attonement for the people: but, though *Aaron* made all poſſible haſte to obey him, the plague was already begun, and had raged ſo furiouſly, that it had already deſtroyed fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred men, beſides thoſe who had periſhed in *Korah*'s rebellion; all that he could do was, to put a ſtop to its further progreſs, by ſtanding with his cenſer between the living and the dead [o].

Cauſes a new inſurrection againſt Moſe's.

THERE was certainly ſomething ſurpriſing and unaccountable in the ſtubborn behaviour of theſe men, whatever they thought of their law-giver; for whether they looked upon his works as miraculous, and thoſe heavy puniſhments that befel them as the effect of his too ſevere prayers, as *Joſephus* thinks [†], or whether they attributed the whole to his extraordinary ſkill in *Egyptian* magic, which is moſt likely, one would think, that ſo many ſevere examples of his ſuperior power might have deterred them long before, from making ſuch dangerous attempts againſt him. However to prevent *Aaron*'s authority being any more called in queſtion, GOD was pleaſed to confirm it by one miracle more. *Aaron* on the one ſide, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond rod with their names written upon it, and theſe were to be depoſited in the tabernacle till the next morning, by which time the Lord would decide in favour of that family, on whoſe rod ſome viſible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, *Aaron*'s rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and *Moſes* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a ſtanding monument of their rebellion and unbelief. The people had nothing to object either againſt that, or againſt the miracle, but yet could they not forbear making ſome grievous complaints againſt the ſeverity of GOD's puniſhments [p]. However, from that day

Aaron's *prieſthood confirmed by the budding of his rod.*

[n] Vid. Num. xxvi. 11. [o] Ibid. xvi. per tot. [†] Ant. lib. iv. c. 4. [p] Num. xvii. per tot.

day there was an expreſs prohibition made againſt any, but the ſons of *Aaron*, to preſume to come into the tabernacle under pain of death; and at the ſame time ſome further ordinances were renewed concerning the office of the *Levites*, who were only to miniſter to the prieſts; but were interdicted approaching either the altar, or any of the conſecrated utenſils, under the ſame penalties. The portion and perquiſites of both prieſts and *Levites* were likewiſe appointed, together with ſome other regulations relating to their miniſtry, in particular, that of making the waters of ſeparation, and the uſe of them to purify all unclean perſons from any contracted impurities [q].

By this time they had wandered near thirty years in the deſart of *Arabia* *Petræa*, and had been thirty nine years out of *Egypt*, ſtill moving from one place to another about the mountains of *Idumea*; during which time, they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moſes* has thought fit to record, but which have been preſerved by other inſpired writers [r], who have ſeverely upbraided them with ſetting up and carrying about the idols of *Remphan*, *Malkom*, and many others (O) of the like nature. However, the time drawing near for their entering into the promiſed land, they went from *Ezion-Geber*, towards *Kadeſh* in the wilderneſs of *Zin*, deſigning probably to have entered *Canaan* by the narrow paſſes called the way of the ſpies, but they were diſcomfited in their firſt attempt by *Arad*, one of the kings of the *Canaanites* §, who killed a great number of them, and took ſome conſiderable ſpoil from them. Upon this they vowed all the cities of *Arad* to deſtruction; ſoon after which they made a ſecond puſh, wherein they had much better ſucceſs, and having defeated the king, and deſtroyed ſome of his towns, they called the field of victory *Hormah*, or rather *Chormah*, that is, *Anathema*, or utter deſtruction [t], though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of *Joſhua* [u] (P).

Several idolatries not recorded by Moſes.

ABOUT

[q] Num. xviii. & xix. paſſ. [r] Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Pſal. paſſ. Acts vii. 43. & alib. § Vid. ſup. p. 330. b. & ſub. not. (W) & (X). [t] Num. xxi. 1, 2. & ſeq. [u] Joſh. xii. 14.

(O) It would ſcarce be credible, that the *Iſraelites* could ever be guilty of ſo many horrid idolatries under *Moſes*'s noſe, and in ſpite of all God's wonderful works and ſevere puniſhments, were we not well aſſured of it from the mouth of ſo many inſpired writers, who all agree in this, that they had contracted ſuch an invincible propenſity towards it in *Egypt*, that they not only perſiſted in the worſhip of the *Egyptian* deities, but adopted moreover every new one which came in their way, as they became acquainted with other nations (58). But as to the deities themſelves, we have nothing certain but their names; all that has been writ concerning their extraction, their figure, and the way of worſhipping them, being nothing but mere conjecture, as has been obſerved more than once already †††. Their names, as we find them mentioned in ſome of the authors above quoted (are *Moloch*, *Chiun*, and *Remphan*; to which they added a vaſt number of others in proceſs of time. One thing however appears more than probable, with reſpect to one part of the worſhip of theſe idols, from the places above quoted and ſome others (59), namely, that they uſed to carry them about in tabernacles, or under canopies in carts, or upon prieſts ſhoulders, not only as they removed from place to place, but likewiſe at certain times, and upon certain occaſions, in a kind of proceſſion (60). To this the pſalmiſt ſeems to allude in the 16th pſalm above quoted, where he expreſſes himſelf thus, ירבו עצבותם אחר מהרו &c. which ours, after moſt other verſions, renders, *their ſorrows ſhall be multiplied that run*, or *haſten after other gods*; whereas, the word עצב *hetzeb* ſignifying alſo idols, the verſe may more properly be rendered thus: though *their idols be multiplied*; or, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, *let them multiply their idols*; *let them run or haſten after them*; or *let others multiply their idols*, &c. as for me, *I will be ſo far from making them any drink or blood-offerings, that I will not ſo much as mention their names with my lips*. According to which verſion, the ſenſe is perfect and clear without thoſe ſuppletives, without which the other cannot be underſtood. Thoſe, who are deſirous to be more particularly informed about all theſe falſe deities, may, at their leiſure, conſult thoſe who have treated of them in a more ample manner, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61).

(P) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an expreſs text in *Deuteronomy* (62), and ſome places in *Joſhua*, that the *Iſraelites* were obliged to ſend a herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the ſword; and that in caſe they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them, but if they refuſed their offer, they were then to be vowed to deſtruction; and that this command of God extended even to the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites*, contrary to the current opinion, that theſe had been long before under an anathema for their wickedneſs. However, *Maimonides* has taken a great deal of pains to confute this common notion, and to prove, that all thoſe nations that were cut off by the *Iſraelites*, owed their deſtruction to their chuſing to try the fortune of war, rather than to accept of peace upon ſuch terms. There is indeed one main objection againſt him, namely, the ſtratagem which the *Gibeonites* made uſe

(58) *Exod* xxxii. 4. *Levit.* xvii. 7. *Num.* xxv. 3. & *ſeq. Deut. paſſ. Joſh.* xxiv. 14. *Pſalm* lxxviii. cvi & *al paſſ. Jer.* vii. 30. & *ſeq. Ezek.* xiv, & xvi *paſſ. Amos* v. 25, 26. *Acts* vii. 43. & *alib.* ††† *Vid. ſup. p.* 138 & *ſeq.* 397. & *ſeq.* (59) *Pſ.* xvi. 4 *Iſai* xlvi. 7. & *Baruc.* vi. 3. 25. (60) *Vid.* HERODOT. *l.* iv. CLEM. ALEX. *Strom. l. v.* MACROB. *Satur. l. i. Philo-Bybl. ap.* EUSEB. *præp. l. i.* N. 10. & *al. mult.* (61) *Vid.* GROT. *in loc.* VOS. *de Idololat.* LE CLER. *Com. in loc.* SAURIN's *Diſcourſe, and* CALMET's *Diſſertation on that ſubject.* (62) *Deut.* xx. 10. & *ſeq. Joſh. xi. paſſ.*

ABOUT this time also it was, that the king of *Edom*, having refused a free passage through his country to the *Israelites*, though on the most peaceable and friendly terms, they were in all likelihood going to take some kind of revenge for the affront; but GOD, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against them, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount *Hor* †, where *Miriam Moses*'s sister died soon after (Q), in the hundred and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years older than *Aaron* *, who died in the hundred and twenty third of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

WHILST they continued at *Kadesh*, a little before *Aaron*'s death, a new murmuring arose for want of water, and *Moses* was again commanded by GOD to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock; but he did it in such a manner as was highly displeasing to him: for GOD had commanded him to call for the water by only speaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promised supply, smote it twice with his rod, and used some undecent expression, either to the rock or to the people ***, for which he was excluded from setting his foot into the promised land, and condemned to die in the wilderness. *Aaron* was likewise included in the same sentence, as having, doubtless, shared in the fault. In memory of this new rebellion the place was called *Meribah*, *strife*, from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount *Hor*, on the frontier of the land of *Edom*. Here *Moses* was commanded to take *Aaron* and *Eleazar* his son, to the top of the mountain in the sight of all the people, and to strip the father of his priestly robes, and to array the son with them; which was no sooner done than *Aaron* died, and was buried there: but whether by *Moses*, or *Eleazar*, or by some other person, certain it is, that the place was kept so private, that none of the sepulcher-mongers of those countries could ever find it out, or dared substitute another in lieu of it. The children of *Israel* mourned thirty days for him, and *Eleazar* succeeded him in the high priesthood [w] (R).

Moses smites the rock twice.

Aaron's death.

SOON after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmonah*; which place took that name from the image or figure of the brazen serpent which *Moses* caused to be set up there [x]; for the *Israelites*, being tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a scarcity of provision, began to murmur afresh against *Moses*, in so grievous a manner, that GOD was provoked to send large flights of fiery serpents among them, which destroyed such multitudes of that rebellious people, that the rest came, and, in the humblest terms, acknowledged their fault to *Moses*, begging of him to deliver them from that destroying vermin (S). *Moses*, applying himself to GOD, was commanded to

† Num. xx. 14. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. sup. p. 313. & seq. * Vid. sup. p. 477. note (K). *** Vid. Ps. cv. 32, 33. [w] Num. xx. 23. & seq. [x] Ibid. xxi. 9.

use of to obtain peace from *Israel*, which would have been needless, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things; but to this our learned *Jew* above mentioned answers, that the reason of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refused the first offers of peace, and were consequently doomed to the same fate with them; to prevent which, their Embassadors feigned themselves to come from a Country vastly distant from any of those seven, and as such obtained the desired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the Rabbi above mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to those nations upon certain conditions, the two principal of which were, that they should own a subjection and pay tribute to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(Q) *Eusebius* 64 tells us, that *Miriam*'s sepulcher was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petrea* †. Some antient fathers think that she died a virgin (65), and that she was the legislatrix and governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(R) *Aaron*'s death happened upon tuesday the first day of the fifth month (which is our *August*) in the fortieth year after the *Exod*, and in the hundred and twenty third year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that those insects were only little worms which bred in the skin, but of such venemous nature, that they immediately poisoned those that were infected with them; but it is plain, not only that the original words נחשים שרפים *Nechashim Seraphim* signify a burning or winged serpent; but likewise, that those creatures are very common both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; insomuch that those countries would become uninhabitable, if those serpents had not been debarred by

(63) MAIMON. *ap. Cunæum.* & BASNAG. *Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 20.* (64) *Loc. Hæbr.* † *Vid. sup. p. 481. note* (Q). (65) GREG. NYSSEN. & AMBROS. *de Virginitat.* & *al.* (66) THEOD. *in Micah* vi. 4. (67) *Vid. Annal.* USHER, *p. 22.* (68) FORTUN. LICET. *de spontan. vivent. ort. vid.* USHER *ubi sup.*

The brazen ſerpent ſet up.

a to caſt a brazen ſerpent of the ſame figure with thoſe that infeſted them, and to ſet it upon a pole upon ſome eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the ſerpents might be healed by looking upon it [y]. As ſoon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon* [z], ſince known by the name of *Metallo Phunon*, by reaſon of the copper mines with which it abounded [a], and might perhaps have its firſt name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom* [b], from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Eboda*. This was their thirty ſeventh encampment; their next was at *Jie-abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that is, in that part of the deſart which lieth over againſt the land of *Moab* eaſtward [c], and is therefore called *the* b *deſart of* Moab [d]. Soon after this, as they were removing to paſs the brook or valley of *Zared*, GOD forbad them to commit any hoſtilities againſt the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* [e], becauſe he had given them the land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bamoth*, or *Bamoth-arnon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs (V); and pitched at the foot of mount *Piſgah*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, ſo called from the well which the heads of *Iſrael* digged there by GOD's direction; and this gave birth to that ſong of *Moſes* which was ſung by the *Iſraelites*, the burthen of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well,* c *ſing ye unto it* [f].

AFTER ſeveral marches, in which they paſſed as it were between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the leaſt hoſtilities on either ſide, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they ſent again to beg a peaceable paſſage through the territories of *Sihon* king of *Heſhbon*. But

6 T

[a] Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. ſub Phenon. [b] Gen. xxxvi. 41. [c] Num. xxi. 11. [d] Deut. ii. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9, 18, 19. [f] Num. xxi. 17. & ſeq. [y] Numb. xxi. 4. & ſeq. [z] Ibid. xxxiii. 42.

by a kind of providence from multiplying as other ſerpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male, and that her young ones kill her as ſoon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are ſhort, and ſpotted with divers colours, and that their wings reſemble thoſe of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the ſame with the *Hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpoſe to the city of *Butos* to ſee them, ſays, that they are not unlike the *Hydra*; and that he had ſeen a vaſt quantity of their ſkeletons, whoſe fleſh had been devoured by the *Ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual deſtroyer of thoſe ſerpents, as we have ſhewed elſewhere †. There was no need therefore of any other miracle, the *Iſraelites* being then in *Arabia Petrea*, than a ſtrong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then about the ſpring-time of the year, in which ſeaſon they commonly fly in great ſwarms, from *Lybia* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt* and other countries in that neighbourhood (71).

(T) It muſt be remembered however, that when *Moſes* tells us, that they encamped at *Oboth*, *Jie-abarim*, and other cities belonging to the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, he muſt not be underſtood, as if they came near theſe places, but only that they encamped at ſuch convenient diſtance from them, that they might eaſily ſend to buy proviſions of them, without giving them any umbrage of their having any hoſtile deſign againſt them,

(V) The brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs along between the countries of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, and diſcharges itſelf into the black-ſea (72). The book of the wars of the Lord, mentioned by *Moſes* (73), ſeems to intimate ſome ſuch miraculous tranſaction at this brook, as had been at the red-ſea; and we find ſome paſſages in the pſalms, and in the prophet *Habakkuk* (74), which the *Chaldee* paraphraſt doth underſtand as if the brook *Arnon* had been dried up, or miraculouſly divided, to make a paſſage for GOD's people. However, it muſt be owned, that the words of *Moſes* are ſomewhat obſcure, and variouſly underſtood both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; and that the words והב סופה *Vaheb Suphah* may be the proper names of places, as we find it in the margin of our bibles, and as *Dav. Kimchi* and ſome *Chriſtians* underſtand them (75); but we rather chuſe the expoſition of *R. Salomon*, who thinks the ו *Vau* in והב to be put for the *Jod*, which often happens, and that it ought to be read יהב *Jaheb*, and then the ſenſe will be, *what the Lord brought upon* Suphah, or the red-ſea, and on the brook *Arnon*.

As to the book of the wars of the Lord, the generality of *Chriſtians* think, that it is one of thoſe that were loſt, either at the captivity or the burning of the temple (76), if not during *Manaſſeh*'s wicked reign. The generality of the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that one jot, much leſs a whole book of holy writ ſhould be loſt, have fancied, that the book of *Judges* is prophetically meant by it, and underſtand the verb יאמר, *Jeamer* in the future tenſe, *it ſhall be ſaid*, or recorded in time, *in the book of*, &c. *becauſe* in *Judges* there are ſeveral wars mentioned between the *Jews* and their neighbours, in which GOD did viſibly appear in favour of the former. However, the moſt received opinion is that this and ſome other books mentioned in the old teſtament were actually loſt.

(69) *De Animal. Sac. p.* 2. *l. iii. c.* 13. (70) HEROD. *l. ii. c.* 75, 76. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 182. b. (71) *Vid.* BOCHART *ubi ſup. & autor. ab eo citat.* (72) *Vid. Num. xxi.* 13. (73) *Ibid. ver.* 14. (74) *Vid. Pſ. lxxiv.* 15. *Habakkuk iii.* 13. *& ſeq.* (75) KIMCH. *in rad. vid.* JUN. *in loc.* (76) *Vid.* PACKHURST's *Mazorah, p.* 185, MUNST. *in loc.*

Sihon *and* Og *discomfited.*

But that prince, having refused to let them pass upon any terms, and made himself ready to attack them, was overthrown by them in a set battle †, and the *Israelites*, having seized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of *Arnon* to that of *Jabbok*, put men, women, and children to the sword, and saved nothing but the cattle (W). Soon after this, *Og* king of *Basan*, attempting in like manner to obstruct their passage, underwent the same fate we have already shewn in the history of the *Canaanites* (X) ‡.

THIS land of *Basan*, one of the most fertile cantons of *Canaan*, which reached on the east to the river *Jordan*, to the mountains of *Gilead* on the west, to the brook *Jabbok* on the south, and to the land of *Geshur* on the north, was divided, though not equally, between the tribes of *Manasseh* and *Gad*: and the land of *Sihon* was assigned partly to *Gad*, and partly to *Reuben* [h], as we shall show more fully in the sequel of this history; but upon this condition however, that they should assist the rest of the tribes, in the conquest of the land of *Canaan* till that was perfected.

BY this time *Balak* king of *Moab*, near whose territories the *Israelites* were encamped, with a design to cross the river *Jordan*, in order to enter into the land of *Canaan*, began now to look upon them with a jealous eye. However, their late conquest having given him but too sure a proof of their strength, he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the *Midianites* and *Ammonites* his neighbours, in order to stop their progress; but resolved, before he began any hostilities against them, to try how far *Balaam*'s enchantments might go towards turning the fortune of the war to his side. We need not repeat what has been said in the history of *Moab* *, concerning the ill success of *Balack*'s project (Y), and the too sure one of *Balaam*'s advice of debauching the *Israelites*,

Balak *sends for* Baalam.

† Vid. sup. p. 303 a. & 330 c, d. [g] Vid Judg. xi. 13. & seq. ‡ Vid. sup. loc. citat. [h] Num. xxxii. 33. & seq. & Deut. iii. 1. & seq. * Vid. sup. p. 287. & seq.

(W) This land formerly belonged to the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* (77), out of which either *Sihon* or some of his predecessors had drove them. When therefore the *Israelites* conquered it from him, they made no difficulty of keeping possession of it; and when it was afterwards claimed again by the *Ammonites*, *Jephtah* roundly told them, that they had lost all their right to that tract, since it had been taken from them by the *Amorites*, and from them given by GOD himself to the children of *Israel* (78) †.

(X) We have already taken notice of the gigantic stature of this *Canaanitish* prince ‡, and of his large iron bedsted preserved at *Rabbah* †††, the capital city of the *Ammonites*; but the *Jewish* rabbies, not contented with such pigmy wonders, have improved it to their liking. They tell us, that this nine cubit bed could be only his cradle, seeing himself was six score cubits high when full grown. They add, that he had lived before the flood; and that the waters of it, when at the highest, reached only up to his knees. Several other wonderful things they write of him, which cannot be read without laughter. We shall only mention one among the rest, which is, that he took up such a monstrous rock with a design to throw it into the *Israelitish* camp, as would have crushed them all under it, but that a lapwing, or some such bird, picked a miraculous hole in it, big enough for his head to go through, which nevertheless, he would easily have disengaged, had not his teeth immediately grown to an excessive length, and given *Moses* an opportunity of killing him, whilst he was struggling to get the stone off his neck (79).

(Y) We have already said something concerning *Balaam*'s prophecies ***, and endeavoured to clear some obscure passages of it; we now beg leave to add an explication or two more of some other places equally dark and puzzling. The first is where *Balaam* prefaces his prophecy with these words, *the man whose eyes are open has said*, or, as our margin has it, *who had his eyes shut, but now open* (80): and in the next verse, *who heard the words of* GOD, *and saw the Almighty falling, (into a trance, but) having his eyes opened.* Here it is plain ours, as well as other versions, have been forced to add several words to supply the sense, for want of considering what *Balaam* alludes to by these expressions, and for want of attending to the wo words שתום *Satum*, and עלוי *Halui*, when joined to the word עינים *Henaim*, eyes, as here, or to any other member; for though the words do sometimes signify, *open and shut, hidden and revealed*, yet when thus tacked to any thing else, do more properly signify *withholden, and then loosened again.* We need not but suppose, that he alludes to the angel meeting him thrice in the way, and his eyes being holden from seeing him at the first and second meeting, and opened at the third, when the ass fell down under him and *Balaam*, *not in a trance*, but upon his face to the ground, either through fear, or out of reverence.

The next is where he says, *that his* (Israel's) *kingdom shall be higher than* Hagag (81); for though they were as certain which a learned rabbi observes, † that *Agag* was the common name of the kings of *Amalek*, as what he subjoins immediately after, that the first king of *Israel* gave the most signal defeat to that of the *Amalekites*; yet as the *Samaritan*, *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *Arabick* read *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth generally signify the *Scythians* and northern nations (82), several interpreters have preferred this latter

(77) *Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & seq. pass.* (78) *Ibid.* † *Vid. sup. p. 295. b.* ‡ *Vid. sup. p. 330. d.* ††† *Ibid. p. 295. b.* (79) *Vid.* CALM. *Hist. V. T. in loc.* & MUNST. *in Deut. iii. sub not. d. & al.* *** *Vid. sup. p. 289. not. (N)* & *seq.* (80) *Num. xxiv. 3, 4.* (81) *Ibid. ver. 7.* † *R.* MOS. GERUND. *ap.* MUNST. *in loc. vid. sup. p. 319. c.* (82) *See* JOS. MEDE's *Discourse on Gog and Magog.*

The Iſraelites *debauched by the women to idolatry;*

a *Iſraelites*, by the help of ſome of their moſt beautiful women. All that needs be added is, that it fully anſwered their hopes, and that the *Iſraelites* failed not to give into the ſnare, and to make work for repentance; for *Balak* ordered his ſubjects to celebrate a grand feaſt to *Baal-peor*, which is generally thought to be the ſame with *Priapus*, or *Adonis* [i], in which as we obſerved before ***, the moſt ſhameful kinds of lewdneſs uſed to be perpetrated, and to invite the *Iſraelites* to them. Theſe, being too eaſily prevailed upon, were ſoon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that were ſent among them for that purpoſe; that is, they fell from drunkenneſs to lewdneſs, and from lewdneſs to idolatry, and became ſo enamoured with thoſe fair deluders, that, obſerving in them a more than ordinary forwardneſs to follow them, they made no ſcruple to bring a great number of them into their camp; ſo that it was not long before the infection was become univerſal, and puniſhed by a plague, which carried off about twenty four thouſand of the offenders.

Their ſevere puniſhment.

b

IN the mean time GOD, ſtill highly provoked at their diſobedience, which this ſevere puniſhment had not yet put an effectual ſtop to, commanded *Moſes* to erect a court of judicature, conſiſting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without reſpect to friendſhip or kindred (Z); which was accordingly done, and about one thouſand more were put to death. By this time the greateſt part of the people, being come

c a little to themſelves, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were ſurprized with an inſtance of the moſt unparallelled boldneſs, in one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon* named *Zimri*, who had brought a young *Midianitiſh* princeſs into the camp, and, in ſight of *Moſes* and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. However, their impudence did not go

Zimri *and* Cosbi.

[i] ISID. orig. lib. viii. HIERON. in Hoſ. ix. vid. GOODWIN's, *Moſes* and *Aaron*, lib. iv. c. 3. CALM. Diſſert. Le CLERC's Com. in loc. *** Vid. ſup. p. 285. e.

latter reading to the firſt, and not without good grounds (83).

The laſt expreſſion we ſhall take notice of, is where *Balaam* ſays, *that* GOD *had not beheld iniquity in* Jacob, *nor ſeen perverſeneſs in* Iſrael (84); which cannot be true in a literal ſenſe, ſince he could ſcarce behold any thing elſe. Nor can we think, with ſome predeſtinarians, that they were ſuch favourites of the Almighty, as they were his choſen, that he could ſee no fault in them. Neither have thoſe, who by perverſeneſs and iniquity underſtand Idolatry, ſucceeded better, ſince it is plain, they had ſo often made themſelves abominable by, and been ſeverely puniſhed for it; and conſequently neither can it be true in the ſenſe that others have taken it, namely, that he did not behold any iniquity in them, becauſe he had already forgiven it; ſeeing the contrary is plain from thoſe heavy puniſhments which he inflicted upon them. The beſt ſenſe therefore ſeems to be that of *Gataker*, namely, that GOD did not behold iniquity, *&c.* in them with approbation, as he is ſaid to behold, that is, to approve the contrite, humble, *&c.* and that he is of purer eyes than to behold, that is, to approve evil. To this this we may add further, that the particle ב *Beth*, doth often ſignify *againſt*, and is accordingly ſo rendered, not only by ours, but by moſt tranſlations in the places quoted in the margin (85), and many more of the like nature; according to which, the words will run more naturally thus, *he doth not approve of any wicked practices againſt* Jacob, *&c.* This ſenſe is ſtill further confirmed by the words און *Aven* and עמל *Hamal*, which though we render *iniquity* and *perverſeneſs*, do oftener ſignify *outrage*, *oppreſſion*, *deceit*, *machination*, *affliction*, and the like; which therefore GOD ſeems here to declare, he would not ſuffer to be attempted or practiſed againſt his people (86).

(Z) Though we have given this place a different ſenſe from our own, and moſt verſions, which make GOD to command *Moſes* to take all the heads of the people, and to hang them up in the face of the ſun (87), whether guilty or not, we hope, thoſe who underſtand the *Hebrew* will readily own, not only, that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewiſe, that the context, as well as the reaſon of the thing, doth naturally lead one to it. For, whatever ſhifts commentators have made uſe of to juſtify the other verſion, ſuch as that thoſe heads were, either all as deep in the guilt, as thoſe that were under them, which is not probable; or that they were guilty of a ſhameful neglect, in not oppoſing the growing miſchief and puniſhing the offenders (88), both which might, probably enough, be out of their power, ſince even *Moſes* himſelf found them ſo often too headſtrong for him; yet it is plain from the directions which he gives thoſe judges in the very next verſe, *viz. to puniſh all that they found guilty indifferently*, that this command had nothing ſo unjuſt in it, as thoſe verſions intimate; and *Joſephus*, who followed the common verſion, was ſo well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any futile arguments, that he has choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he underſtood neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee*, elſe he might as eaſily have fallen into our ſenſe of that command, as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, rabbi *Salomon*, and other *Jews* after them have done, as well as the learned *Fagius* in his comment on the place, and others among the *Chriſtians*. How *Joſephus* has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the conſequences of it, the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee in his antiquities (89).

(83) *Id. Vid.* CALM. *Hiſt. Vet. Teſt.* & LE CLERC's *Comm. in loc.* & *al.* (84) *Num.* xxiii. 21. (85) *Exod.* xiv. 25. xx. 16. *Num.* xii. 1. & xxiii. 23. & *alib.* (86) *Vid.* LE SCEN. & *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* 118. (87) *Num.* xxv. 4. (88) *Ita* ABARBANEL *in phiraſh hatborah.* (89) *Lib* iv. c. 6.

Are severely punished.

go long unpunished, for *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* the high-priest, being moved with a just indignation, and fired with a godly zeal, followed them close with a spear in his hand, and at one stroke joined their bodies in death, where they were joined in their sin. This action was highly pleasing to GOD as well as to *Moses*, and the high-priesthood was confirmed to him and his seed as a reward for his zeal. However, it is plain from the words of the *Psalmist* [k], that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to GOD, than by the punishment of these two offenders [l]. As for the authors and accomplices of this rebellion, they did not go unrewarded, *Balaam* was soon after killed in a set battle which *Israel* fought against five kings of *Midian*, who likewise fell on that day, whilst the conquerors made a terrible slaughter of their subjects, putting them all to the sword, women and children excepted; plundered and burned their cities, and carried off a considerable booty † with them, which they brought to *Moses* and *Eleazar*; and these ordered one fiftieth part of it to be distributed among the priests, and another fiftieth to the *Levites*. But though *Moses* could not but be pleased with their victory and valour, yet the sight of such a number of *Midianitish* women, whom they had brought captive with them, and the remembrance of what the people had suffered upon their account, made him think it unsafe to spare their lives; he therefore ordered all those that had ever known man, as well as the male-children, to be immediately dispatched, and that none but virgins should be preserved alive [m] (A).

Baalam, *with 5 kings of* Midian, *slain.*

The Israelites *numbered.*

SOON after this defection to *Baal-peor*, *Moses* was ordered to take an account of all the children of *Israel* that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards. *Josephus* says from twenty to fifty †*, but it is more likely to have been to sixty, and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the *Levites*, who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty three thousand: this account was taken in the plain of *Moab*, near the river *Jordan*, over-against *Jericho*; and it is supposed, that the last punishment that befel the 24,000 adherers to the *Midianitish* deity, made a final end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of *Canaan*, because upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which *Moses* took of the people, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, according to the sentence pronounced against them [n] by GOD himself. The numbering of the people was no sooner over, than *Moses* received orders to direct the distribution of the promised land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in proportion

[k] Psal. cvi. 30. [l] Numb. xxv. per tot. † Vid. sup. 289. c. [m] Numb. xxxi. per tot. †* Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12. [n] Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.

(A) We shall not need wonder at *Moses*'s severity against these women, when we consider how zealous they had been to prostitute themselves, to debauch the *Israelites* into the most obscene and beastly ceremonies. The antient *Jews* give us a very strange account of the worship of this filthy idol, and affirm in particular, that it consisted in making a common jakes of his temple, from which, according to them, he was called *Baal-peor*; of which the reader may see more in *Munster*'s bible (90). They add, that *Balaam*'s council was to proclaim a kind of large fair, in which should be exposed great quantities of fine linnen, which, he told *Balak*, the *Israelites* delighted much to wear, and that every booth where they were exposed to sale, should have an old woman in the outward, and a young one in the inward apartment, besides a considerable number of other places for eating and drinking: that the youths of *Israel* were easily drawn to the fair, where having refreshed themselves at the common booths, their curiosity did naturally lead to visit the other shops also. Here the business of the old women without was to ask a moderate price for their linnen, and of the young ones within to make a considerable abatement, or even to offer it at their own price; after which, that they might not make a dry bargain, she offered the youth a bumper of *Ammonitish* wine, which at once set him on fire, and upon his asking her the favour, she answered, with all my heart, provided you'll pay your respect to this idol: and if he made any difficulty upon the account of his being an *Israelite*, she answered, that he had nothing to do, but to break wind backwards, or ease himself before it, which he readily complied with, not knowing that to be the kind of worship that was payed to that idol (91). Something like such a filthy ceremony seems hinted by the prophet (92), if rightly understood, where he says, that *the* Israelites *did withdraw themselves*, or go aside, *to blush*, or as the word may be rendered, *to shame*, *when they came to* Baal-peor. However, it is plain, from the account of *Moses*, and some of the prophets, that there was something else more abominable in the worship of that idol; for the *Psalmist* says, *that when they joined themselves to* Baal-peor, *they eat the sacrifice of the dead* (93): but whether that false deity was surnamed *Peor* from the mount of that name where he was worshipped, as *Isidorus* and St. *Jerom* think (94), or whether the mountain had its name from the idol, and this last from the filthy ceremonies used in its worship, is neither plain, nor very material.

(90) *Vid.* MUNSTER *in Numb. xxv. sub note* a. (91) GOODWIN's *Moses & Aaron, lib. iv. c. 3.* (92) *Hos. ix.* 10. (93) *Psal. cvi.* (94) In *Orig. lib. viii.* HIERON. *in ix. Hos.*

a portion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of *Levi*, it was not to have any inheritance with the reſt but was otherwiſe provided for [o].

WHEN this order was publiſhed, there came five of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the tribe of *Manaſſeh* the ſon of *Joſeph*, to petition *Moſes* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be loſt in *Iſrael*, ſeeing he had left no ſons, but was dead in the wilderneſs, not for any ſedition, but had ſhared in the common fate with the reſt. Their requeſt was approved by GOD, and readily granted by *Moſes*, who alloted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. After which GOD was pleaſed to make a law, that for the future the eſtates of thoſe who died without iſſue-
b male, ſhould be inherited by their daughters, and if they had no daughters, that then it ſhould go to the next of the male, and in defect of that, of the female-line [p]. But there being ſtill ſome doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe; that of *Manaſſeh* came ſoon after to *Moſes*, and repreſented to him the inconveniency of ſuch marriages, ſeeing thoſe heireſſes would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might in proceſs of time, cauſe a great deal of confuſion, and probably leſſen one tribe and enrich another. This remonſtrance was likewiſe approved by GOD, who immediately declared, that neither theſe daughters of *Zelophehad*, nor any heireſſes for the future ſhould marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own family. As
c for the other females who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleaſed [q].

Zelophehad's daughters portioned.

Some regulations about the marriage of heireſſes.

IMMEDIATELY after this, GOD commanded *Moſes* to get up upon mount *Nebo*, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge which is called *Abarim* (B), and to take a view of the promiſed land, ſince his rebellion in the deſart of *Zin* had debarred him from entering into it, and he was ſhortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. *Moſes* was nothing ſurpriſed at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as a haven of repoſe, after a life of the greateſt trouble and fatigue. Neither was he ſollicitous to have his commiſſion tranſmitted to his children, or in the leaſt
d diſpleaſed to ſee his own ſervant appointed his ſucceſſor before them; but, finding his end ſo near, he made it his chief buſineſs, during thoſe few remaining days, to ſettle things in the beſt order he could. The firſt care he took was to have *Joſhua* confirmed his ſucceſſor, in the moſt public and authentic manner, to prevent any oppoſition from his own family after he was dead. To this end he brought him forth in ſight of all *Iſrael*, layed his hands upon him, and having preſented him to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, and given him all neceſſary directions, and in particular, that of conſulting GOD upon all emergencies by the *Urim* and *Thummim* (C), he cauſed him to be proclaimed head and general of all *Iſrael* [r].

Moſes *commanded to take a view of* Canaan *from* Nebo.

Cauſes Joſhua *to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor.*

6 U As

[o] Numb. xxxvi. 62. [p] Ibid. xxvii. 1, 2. & ſeq. [q] Ibid. xxxvi. 1. ad fin. [r] Ibid. xxvii. 16. ad fin.

(B *Abarim* was a long ridge of mountains, that reached from the tribe of *Reuben* into the land of *Moab*, on each ſide the river *Arnon*; but the extent of which is not eaſy to fix. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* do mention them more than once: the former places is about ſix miles weſtward of *Heſhbon*, and ſeven eaſtward of *Liviade* (95). The mounts *Piſgah*, *Peor*, and *Nebo*, where *Moſes* died, were part of the ridge *Abarim*, or as the original has it, עברים, *Habarim*, which ſignifies either *paſſes*, or *paſſengers*.

(C) What the faſhion of the *Urim* and *Thummim* was, as far as can be known, ſhall be taken notice of when we come to ſpeak of the high-prieſt's garments, of which they were an appendage. In the mean time we beg leave to obſerve, that *Joſhua* could not be that prophet like *Moſes* whom GOD promiſed to raiſe, and commanded under ſevere penalties to obey (96), as our modern *Jews* affirm, and ſome *Chriſtians*, whom we forbear to name, have too eaſily granted. *Joſhua* was in many particulars inferior not only to *Moſes*, but likewiſe to the generality of the prophets, ſince he was to have recourſe to the *Urim* and *Thummim* upon all emergencies, whereas the former ſpoke to GOD face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of GOD to thoſe that came to conſult them. How could he therefore be the head, prophet, and director of ſuch a numerous nation, who wanted a director himſelf? Or how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himſelf to receive his orders from the high-prieſt? as for this divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which in the original ſignifies *light* and *perfection*; and the *Septuagint* and *Philo* (97) render by the words δηλωσιν and ἀληθειαν, *manifeſtation* and *truth*, as having thoſe two diſtinct vertues; it was not to be conſulted by private perſons, but only by the judges whilſt *Iſrael* was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or ſuch as were ſent by them, or, acording to the *Talmudiſts*, by the

אב

(95) *Sub voc. Nebo & Bel-phegor.* (96) *Deut.* xviii. 15. *vid. John* i. 45. *Acts* iii. 22. vii. 37. (97) *In vit. Moſ. & lib. de Monarchia, c.* 2.

As there elapsed somewhat above a month, between *Moses*'s receiving the news of his death, and the day in which he expired, he spent the best part of that time in making some further regulations. Amongst other things, he had the pleasure to see the twelve thousand men whom he had chosen, that is, a thousand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the *Midianites*, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richest spoil, and to order the distribution of it: one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to

אב בית דין, *Ab-beth-din*, or the head of the *Sanhedrin* (98), and even by the general in time of war, (as in the case of *Joshua* (99). *Spencer* indeed thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own person, was allowed to consult the *Urim* (100), but the contrary seems more probable from *David*'s consulting the Lord by *Abiathar*, before he was settled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ceremony of consulting by *Urim*, &c. was not performed without great ceremony. The high-priest alone was the person to apply to, he was to be dressed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breast-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face, when he enquired of the Lord. Again, he was not to be consulted upon trivial matters, but upon those of the greatest moment, such as concerned the publick good, and upon any sudden and unexpected emergency, as the *Jews* do prove from those places of scripture where such counsel was asked (2). Lastly, things relating to faith or practice were not to be enquired by the *Urim*, because they had the old precepts quoted by *Isaias* (3), *to the law and to the prophets.*

But how this divine oracle gave its answer, whether by the unusual lustre of the stones in the breast-plate, when the answer was favourable; and by their dimness in the contrary case, as *Josephus* (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by vertue of the name יהוה, written, or engraven, in, or between, the double breast-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominency of the letters engraved upon the 12 stones of it, which the high-priest being then inspired knew how to range so as to give a true answer; which opinion is almost universally received by the *Jewish* Rabbies (6); (as for instance, they say, that when *David* enquired whether he should go up into any of the cities of *Judah*, and the Lord answered עלה, *go up* (7), those three letters became prominent above the rest;) or lastly, whether God answered the high-priest *viva voce*, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-seat, where the cherubims covered the ark of the testimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence God promised, that he would meet and commune with *Moses*, or, as the original has it, *instruct and talk with him*; which notion is embraced by the majority of *Christians*, as being indeed the most probable and consonant to some instances in the text relating to this matter, and especially to that where the children of *Israel* are blamed for making a peace with the *Gibeonites*, without consulting פי יהוה, *the mouth of the Lord* (9): all these opinions, we say, are liable to many objections, which we shall not trouble our readers with, but conclude with the saying of a wise *Jewish* Rabbi (10), *that he is on the safest side, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point.*

How long the *Urim* and *Thummim* continued is not so difficult to decide: the *Jews* in general agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that God delivered his oracles during the standing of it by *Urim* and *Thummim*; by the mouth of his prophets, during the first temple; and by the *Bath-col* from the *Babylonish* captivity to the destruction of the second. *Spencer*, who has espoused their opinion, has backed it with several arguments *de congruo* †, but what weighs more with us than all his reasoning, is, that we do not meet with one single instance of the *Urim* being consulted from the building of *Solomon*'s temple; on the contrary, we read, that when *Hilkiah* the high-priest found the book of the law in *Josiah*'s reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatnings pronounced against the transgressors of it, he sent to consult the prophetess *Huldah* about it (11), which he needed not to have done had the *Urim* still subsisted. All that can be objected against it, is, that *Moses*, in blessing the tribe of *Levi*, prays, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* may continue with God's holy one (12): but this doth not imply, that it should do so whilst *Levi* continued a tribe. Some have urged that passage where the prophet threatens the *Israelites*, that they should abide without king, prince, image, ephod, or teraphim (13): but it doth not appear to us, that any of the three last have any relation to the *Urim* and *Thummim*. As for what *Josephus* says, that the stones of the *Urim* had lost their lustre but about two hundred years before he wrote (14); that is, about 112 years before *Christ*; we think it not worth confuting, since it is allowed on all hands, that it ceased at the *Babylonish* captivity, if not before, and that it was one of those things in which the second temple came short of the first (15), as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* intimate plainly enough (16).

We shall dismiss this note with reminding our readers, that the *Egyptians* had an oracle, or teraphim, which they called *truth*. This is plain from the testimony of several antient writers (17); but as to the question, whether they had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them, we shall refer them to what has been said before in cases of the like nature †. Those who are desirous to know more of the subject, may consult at their leisure the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(98) *Talm. Tract. in* יומא *Joma, cap.* 7. § 5. *vid.* FAG. *in Exod.* xxviii. *Moses & Aaron lib. iv. cap.* 7. § 8. *vid. et Judg. i.* 1. (99) *De Legib. ritual. Hebr. lib. iii. Dissert.* 7. *c.* 1. 8. *& alib.* (100) *Vid.* MEYER *de fest. dieb. Hebr. cap.* 4. § 49. & 51. (1) 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 4. xxx. 7, 8. (2) ABARBAN. R. LEVI. BEN. GERS. *ap.* BUXT. *Hist. Urim & Thum.* (3) *Ch.* viii. 20. *Vid.* MAIMONID. *Kele Hammikdash. cap.* 10. (4) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 9. (5) *Rab.* SALOM. *ap.* D. KIMCH. *in Rad. vid Exod.* xxviii. 15. (6) *Vid. Zohar. in Exod. ex. lib. Jalkuth Sipbre.* R. BECHAI *in Deut.* xxxiii. MAIMON. *ubi supr. & al. mult.* (7) 2 *Sam.* ii. 1. (8) *Exod.* xxv. 22. *& alib.* (9) *Josh.* ix. 14. *Hos.* iii. 4. (10) KIMCH. *in Rad.* † *De Urim & Thum. c.* 2. § 2. (11) 2 *Kings* xxiii. *pass.* (12) *Deuter* xxxiii. 8. (13) *Hos.* iii. 4. (14) Jos. *ubi. supr.* (15) *Vid.* PRIDEAUX's *Connect. part i. lib.* 3. (16) *Ezra* ii. 63. *Nehem.* vii. 65. (17) *Vid.* ÆLIAN, *var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap.* 34. DIOD. SICUL. *lib. x. & al.* † *Sup. p.* 427. *note* (R), *& p.* 516 *notes* (Y), (Z). (18) PRIDEAUX *ubi supr.* CUNÆUS. BASNAG. *Rep. Jud. tom.* I. *lib. ii. c.* 2. LE CLERC's *Comm. in Exod.* SAURIN's *Discourses on the Pentat.* CALMET's *Dict. sub. voc. Urim, Id. Comm. in Exod. & al.*

a to thoſe who had not gone to the war, reſerving, as we ſaid before, one fiftieth part of each for the prieſts and *Levites*; which deſtribution ſeems to have paſt afterwards into a law [f]. What added ſtill more to his joy was, that the chief captains, upon a ſtrict enquiry, had not found one man miſſing of all that went upon this expedition, and expreſſed ſuch thankfulneſs for it, that they preſented to the Lord an offering of the gold-rings, bracelets, and ornaments which they had taken, amounting to the weight of ſixteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſhekels, all which was depoſited by *Eleazar* in the tabernacle as a monument of their gratitude [t]. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed, that it was during this interval, that he diſtributed the land of *Sihon* and *Og* to the two tribes and half [u]. *Part of the Midianitiſh ſpoils offered to* God.

b And now, as the *Iſraelites* were on the eve of entering into the promiſed land, no time could be more proper to remind them of his former commands, of driving out the *Canaanites*, and deſtroying their idols, temples, groves, and all the monuments of their idolatry; forewarning them at the ſame time, that in caſe they neglected to drive the inhabitants out of the land, they would prove as thorns in their ſides, and an inexhauſtible ſource of vexation and trouble, and of the ſevereſt puniſhments from God [w]. At the ſame time he appointed the limits of the land which they were to conquer, and the deſtribution of it by lot (D) according to God's command, and committed the whole care of it to *Joſhua* and *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe [x], and they ſaw it punctually c executed, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. But though theſe limits did not reach beyond the land of *Canaan*, ſtrictly ſo called [y], yet he had added thereto all the land of the *Amorites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, with all the tract of ground which reached from the wilderneſs, the mountains of *Lebanon*, and the river *Euphrates*, unto the mediterranean-ſea as far as the *Nile*. Some further directions were alſo given concerning the forty eight cities and their ſuburbs, or rather diſtricts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of *Levi* [z]; ſix of theſe were to be cities of refuge for the manſlayer to fly to, three of which were to be on the one ſide, and three on the other of *Jordan*; to which he added a permiſſion to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders ſhould make it d neceſſary [a]. *Idols of Canaan to be deſtroyed.* *The limits of the land appointed.*

The nearer *Moſes* drew to his end, the more ſollicitous he was to compleat his arduous task. Accordingly on the firſt day of the eleventh month, anſwering to our *ſaturday February* 20, of the fortieth year of the *Exod* [b], the *Iſraelites* being ſtill encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he aſſembled the people about him, and in a long and pathetic ſpeech recapitulated to them all that had happened ſince their departure out of *Egypt* till that time [c]. He adds indeed one circumſtance not taken notice of before, namely, his earneſt requeſt to God, that he might be admitted to go into the promiſed land, and his prayer being abſolutely denied [d]. All the reſt is what has been already ſaid in this ſection, except what relates to the e laws he made, which we reſerve for another place. He concludes with exhorting them to continue faithful to God, and with the ſevereſt threatnings in caſe of diſobedience. *Moſes's ſpeech to the* Iſraelites.

This ſpeech was ſoon followed by another of a much greater length [e], in which more particular mention is made of all God's mercies and judgments, promiſes and threatnings; and wherein the bleſſings and curſes, which were to be the fruit of their obedience, or diſobedience, are expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively terms; after which he reminded them of the continual murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the ſevere judgments that followed them. *A ſecond ſpeech of* Moſes.

Thoſe

[f] Vid. 1 Sam. xxx. 21. & ſeq. 2 Macab. viii. 28. [t] Numb. xxxi. 49. & ſeq. [u] Ussher. Ann. p. 24. [w] Numb. xxxiii. 51. & ſeq. [x] Deut. xi. 24. [y] Joſh. i. 4. & ſeq. [z] Numb. xxxv. paſſ, & iv. adver. 4. [a] Deut. xix. 8. [b] Vid. Ussher. Ann. p. 24. [c] Deut. i, ii, iii, [d] Ibid. ch. iii. 23. & ſeq. [e] Ibid. from ch. iv, to xxvii.

(D) Nothing could be more prudently forecaſt than this partition of the land by lot, and making *Joſhua* and the high-prieſt the ſuperintendents of it, ſince it was the only one that could, and did, effectually prevent all murmurings and quarrels among that ſtubborn people. However, as the lots were to bear a proportion to the bigneſs of each tribe and family, it is ſuppoſed from what followed, that every tribe drew its lot for its own canton, after which there were proper perſons to meaſure out a quantity of land to each family, according to their bigneſs. But whether this laſt was done by this, or by any other method, whether the ſubdiviſions between the families were likewiſe carried on by lot or otherwiſe, ſure it is, that we do not read, that it occaſioned any broils or jealouſies among them (19).

(19) *Vid. Joſh.* xiv. xv. *& ſeq.*

Thoſe he interſperſed with a ſummary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, in which thoſe of the decalogue are repeated almoſt word for word (E); which he concludes with a moſt elegant deſcription of the ſolemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount *Sinai*. He cloſes the whole with a moſt pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a ſubmiſſive reliance on that amazing goodneſs, that had ſo graciouſly choſen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might diſplay his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had ſhewed to them, as for the heavy puniſhments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedneſs and idolatry [f]. And leſt their proſperity ſhould in time make them forget their divine benefactor, he preſcribed unto them a form of confeſſion, which they were to make every year, when they came to offer the firſt fruits of their land; in which they were to acknowledge their having received it from GOD. It was prefaced with theſe remarkable words, *a* Syrian *ready to periſh was my father, and went down into* Egypt; then follows a ſhort account of the *Egyptian* bondage, their deliverance from it, and induction into a land flowing with milk and honey; and concludes with begging, that GOD would accept of this offering as a thankful acknowledgment for it [g]. After this he directed *Joſhua* and the elders how to erect a copious altar upon mount *Ebal*, of unhewen ſtones covered over with plaiſter, upon which they ſhould write a fair tranſcript of all theſe laws, copies of which he delivered to the *Levites* to keep (F) [h]; and how to ſet up the bleſſings and curſes upon mount *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, in full ſight of all *Iſrael*, ſix tribes of which, namely, *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Nephtali*, ſhould ſtand upon the former, and thoſe of *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, *Joſeph*, and *Benjamin* on the latter, and ſhould alternately anſwer *amen* to all the bleſſings and curſes when they proclaimed and ſet them up there, which was accordingly done in *Joſhua*'s time [i], as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. And, that there might be nothing wanting in theſe his laſt inſtructions, he

A form of acknowledgment preſcribed.

Bleſſings and curſes to be ſet up on mount Ebal *and* Gerizim.

[f] Deut. ix. paſſ. xxxii. paſſ. & al. [g] Ibid. xxvi. paſſ. [h] Ibid. xxvii. 5. & ſeq. xxxi. 9.
[i] Joſh. viii. 33. & ſeq.

(E) All the difference betwixt thoſe two places is in the fourth commandment: in this *Moſes* expreſſes the injunction thus; *keep the ſabbath-day in order to ſanctify it*, *as*, or, *in the manner, in which the Lord has commanded*; unto which he ſubjoins theſe two reaſons, namely, firſt, that the ſervants might enjoy the benefit of reſt as well as their maſters; and ſecondly, that GOD had appointed that day of reſt, to put them in mind that they had been ſervants in *Egypt*, out of which the Lord had brought them, with a mighty hand and ſtretched out arm, for that is the plain meaning of the text here; whereas in *Exodus*, theſe two reaſons were omitted, and another given which is not mentioned here, namely, that GOD ſanctified the ſeventh day, becauſe in it he had reſted or ceaſed from his work of creation. From this ſeeming difference and ſome other arguments foreign to our preſent purpoſe, ſome divines have inferred, with ſome probability at leaſt, that not the ſeventh, but a ſeventh day, or one in ſeven, had been inſtituted at, and obſerved from the creation till the *Exod*, and if ſo, moſt likely the firſt day of the ſeven; but that in memory of this great deliverance, it was ſuperſeded and changed into the ſeventh day, on which it was to continue till a much nobler redemption, namely, that which *Chriſt* wrought for us, made the leſſer give place to it; at which time it was to return to its firſt inſtitution (20). We ſhall not take upon us to affirm any thing in ſo delicate a point; only this, we beg leave to obſerve, that nothing can ſo well account for appointing the obſervation of the *Moſaic* ſabbath in ſo indolent and inactive a manner, as the reaſon here given, that when they found the ſweetneſs of reſt, and enjoyed it even beyond what nature required, they might be the more ſenſible of the goodneſs of GOD, in delivering them from that thraldom in which their labours, though beyond meaſure exceſſive, had been without the leaſt intermiſſion †.

(F) The words which our verſion renders to write very plain, and we by a fair tranſcript, are in the original באר היטב *Baer-hetbh*, in the infinitive mood, that is, in order to be diſtinctly and eaſily read. What the contents of this law were, which was to be thus written or engraven upon the altar, or more probably along the ſides of it, is not agreed. For whilſt ſome will have it to be the whole *Pentateuch*, which the Jews call by way of excellency התורה, *Hatborah* the law (21), and *Joſephus* mentions only the bleſſings and curſes (22), others as abſurdly confine it to the bare decalogue; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it was that ſummary of all the laws which is contained in the book of *Deuteronomy*. Accordingly, when it is ſaid there (23), *that the kings of* Iſrael *ſhall be obliged to write a copy of this law with their own hand*, it is more likely to have meant thoſe that are contained in *Deuteronomy*, than either the whole *Pentateuch* or the bare decalogue, not only becauſe the former contains the ſum and ſubſtance of all the laws in the other four books of *Moſes*, but likewiſe becauſe they are here enforced by the moſt powerful motives (24)

(20) *Vid.* BEDFORD's *Chronol. p.* 298. § 13. 378, & *ſeq.* †*Vid. ſupr. p.* 475, *note* (C).
(21) MAIMON. *Halak Melak.* JOS. KARO. *Keſeph Miſhn. Vid.* R. SIMEON *in Jalkul. & al. mult.* S. AUGUST. *in Deut.* xvii. 18. GROT. *ibid.* DANHAWER. SCHIKARD. *& al. in loc.* (22) *Antiq. lib iv c.* 8. (23) *Deut.* xvii. 18. (24) *Vid.* LE SCEN. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ. p.* 92. ABARB. LUTHER *& al.*

a he prescribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be spoken aloud at the head of the army, by a priest appointed for that purpose (G), whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inspire the people with an unshaken trust in GOD, and assurance of victory. He ordered likewise, that a proclamation should be made at the same time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a wife, house, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all those whose fear or pusillanimity might discourage the rest to return home. And lastly, how they should behave themselves towards those cities that accepted of their proferred peace, and those which rejected it [k].

The old covenant ratified by the whole nation.

b HE soon after assembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in order to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with GOD in *Horeb*; and as he enforced the observance of it by the most engaging motives, so did he at the same time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it by such threatnings, as proved no less than prophetical of those miserable slaveries which they underwent afterwards for their disobedience [l], not only during the time of the judges and the *Babylonish* captivity, but much more since their rejection of the *Messiah*. There was one remarkable thing in this prophetic warning, which ought not to be passed by, which was, that under whatever captivity and dispersion they happened to groan, if they applied themselves to GOD by prayer and an humble acknowledgment of their sins, they should still be delivered from it. This was

c exactly verified by the event, for they no sooner turned to GOD, but he either sent them a deliverer soon after, as in the time of the judges, or some prophets to comfort them during their captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of *Babylon*. This needs not to be wondered at, the crimes, for which they suffered in these, Idolatry, murthers, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature, not to force the deepest remorse and acknowledgment, whenever they smarted for them. It was far otherwise in their last sin, their rejection of the *Messiah*; his mean birth and appearance, his sufferings and death, and many other disadvantageous circumstances, were so opposite to those glorious notions they had imbibed of him and his religion was so pure and spiritual, that their prejudices

d made them easily overlook all the visible proofs he gave of his divine mission. And after they had once condemned him, they had too great a notion of their own sagacity and uprightness, ever to feel, or at least own, the injustice of the deed. We may add, that their posterity has followed their steps and has been so far from supposing, that the *Sanhedrin* could have been guilty of so fatal a mistake, and so horrid a crime as the rejecting and murthering the *Messiah*, that they are still fully persuaded, that it would have been the very first that would have acknowledged him. This is the source of their unbelief, and since they have ever since rather gloried in that deed, than acknowledged and repented

e of it, we need seek no farther for the cause why their captivity and dispersion has proved so severe, of so long a duration, and without the least comfortable prophecy, or even prospect of GOD's putting an end to it. But to return; *Moses* having caused this covenant to be ratified by the whole assembly, no doubt with a suitable solemnity, he commanded the *Levites* to deposite a copy of it, which he delivered to them, in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witness for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reasonableness of those laws which GOD had given them, and for the certainty of those blessings or curse, which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach

[k] Deut. xx. per tot. [l] Ibid. xxix. pass.

(G) This priest was either then, or in process of time called אמרכל *Amercol*, from *Amar*, to *speak*, and *Col*, *all*, because he was to direct his speech to the whole army. And though the *Jewish* nation hath had no need of such an orator of a very long season, yet they still retain the name and notion of it in their game of chess, which, with regard to the analogy it bears to a fighting army, differs only from ours in their division of each opponent's side into church and state, and calling the former by ecclesiastical names, as follows: the queen is with them the כוהן גדול *Cohen-gadol*, or high-priest. Her bishop is the סגן *Sagan*, or the next dignity to the high-priest. The Knight they style כוהן משוח *Cohen Maßhuach*, by which is meant that priest that was anointed by the high one for the war, in order to supply his place, whenever GOD was to be consulted by *Urim*; and the last, or the rook, is the *Amercol* above-mentioned. As for those on the king's side, they name the first his vicegerent, or the second person to him, the second his יועץ *Johatz*, his counsellor, and the last is his generalissimo (25).

(25) *Vid. Dr.* HYDE's *Shahilud.*

breach of them [m]. However, in order to fix these important truths more strongly a in their minds, he composed a psalm or canticle, in which they are expressed in the most elegant and lively language, and having caused it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to *Joshua*, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their posterity. This inimitable piece of ancient poetry, as far as our language can reach to the beauty of the original is thus prefaced [n]:

Moses's *song.*

The preface of it englished.

Attend ye heavens whilst I speak, give ear O earth to the words of my mouth.

Let my doctrine descend like drops of rain, and my speech distil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle shower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls upon the grass. b

And, whilst I invoke the name JEHOVAH, *resound the greatness of our* GOD.

His works, even the works of this our strong rock, are perfect, and all his ways are equity.

He is a faithful GOD, *without deceit, for he is just and righteous.* And so on (H).

THE lecture of this divine song being ended, *Moses* went on with acquainting the people, that, since it was not the will of GOD that he should go with them into the promised land, they must now look upon *Joshua* as their leader, assuring them, that they could not fail of success in their conquest of it, provided they c faithfully observed the covenant which they had so lately renewed with GOD. He then delivered a written instrument of it, and a duplicate of the laws to be preserved in the ark, with an order, that this latter should be publickly read before the whole assembly at the feast of the tabernacles, every sabbatic or seventh year [o]. He added some few laws, one against false prophets, another against magic, and a third for the expiation of murther, when the author of it could not be discovered.

AND now his talk being at an end, and GOD having commanded him to go up to mount *Nebo*, and to resign his commission with his soul there, as soon as he had taken a view of the promised land; he had now nothing left to do but d to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing upon them. The text tells us, that he was a hundred and twenty years old, and that neither his sight nor his natural strength were in the least impaired, and we may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the style of this his last speech, and by the beauty and energy of the expressions, it seems to have received an addition at the sight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happiness. The preface and conclusion of it are couched in as strong and elegant terms, as the most divine enthusiasm could inspire a prophet with. However, as we have already spoken of it in another place, and shewed how it agreed with that of *Jacob* †, which we there endeavoured to explain throughout, we e shall not dwell any longer upon it at present. And here it will not be amiss to observe, that our *English* version was certainly right to insert the word *not* in the latter part of the 6th verse of this chapter *, *let* Reuben *live and not die, and let* not *his men be few*; which is certainly the true sense according to the genius

His last blessing to the 12 tribes.

[m] Deut. xxx. and xxxi. [n] Ibid. xxxii. ad ver. 45. [o] Ibid. xxxi 10. & seq.
† Vid. supr. p. 461. & seq. * xxxiii.

(H) We beg leave to assure our readers, who do not understand the *Hebrew* tongue, that we have not departed from our version in the sketch we have given of this incomparable song, with any other design than to come up somewhat nearer to the genius and beauties of the original than that doth, though we own it impossible to come up wholly to it; for which reason we willingly excuse ourselves from going further in the version. The *Jews* do justly esteem it a most elegant epitome of the whole *Pentateuch*, because it makes mention of the greatness and magnificence of GOD, of the creation of the world, of the deluge, of the confusion of tongues and dispersion of the nations, of the call of *Abraham*, and of his posterity, and of all that the divine goodness had done for them; of their murmurings, rebellions, idolatries, and of their inheriting the promised land; of the worship of the one only true GOD, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the future life. But we much question whether these two last will be so universally granted unto them, as all the rest may and actually is, because the words from which they prove them, the Lord killeth and *maketh alive* (26), may easily admit of another Sense, it being commonly used for preserving alive, and even for forbearing to kill.

(26) Deut. xxxii, 32.

a genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the ſecond hemiſtic, though any verſion that did not ſupply it would make it ſpeak contrary to its plain meaning [p]. This is what the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have done, in order to render this latter part of the verſe applicable to the tribe of *Simeon*, of which *Moſes* had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein 'tis plain they miſtook the ſenſe of the text, not only from what we have juſt now hinted but alſo becauſe *being few in number* would have been a curſe rather than a bleſſing, and was more particularly eſteemed ſuch by the *Iſraelites*; in which caſe that tribe alone would have been curſed, whilſt all the reſt were highly bleſſed, whereas they are ſaid to be all bleſſed in the very firſt verſe; beſides it is

Why Simeon *is omitted in this bleſſing.*

b certain, that *Simeon* had his bleſſing, ſince he had an inheritance allotted to him as well as the reſt [q]. We need not therefore look for any other myſtery or reaſon for this omiſſion of *Moſes*, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed with that of *Judah*, according to their father's prophecy [r], and conſequently ſhared in all its bleſſings, thoſe only excepted which *Jacob* had confined to the latter; and hence it came to paſs, that theſe two tribes did generally go hand in hand in all their expeditions [s].

Moſes *goes up to mount* Nebo.

The *Jewiſh* lawgiver had no ſooner ended this prophetic ſpeech, than he obeyed the divine call, and in the ſight of all *Iſrael* went up to mount *Nebo*, from the ſummit of which he beheld all the land which God had promiſed

c to *Abraham*'s poſterity. *Joſephus* adds [t], that he was accompanied by *Joſhua*, *Eleazar*, and the ſeventy, to the mount, and that, whilſt the two laſt were taking their ſorrowful farewel of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text ſeems rather to intimate that he went up alone. Be that how it will, the author of this laſt chapter, whoever he was, aſſures us, that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-peor* (I), and there buried him in ſo private a place, that his ſepulcher was not known at the time of his writing [u]; to which we may add, that it never was diſcovered ſince [w]. Several inſpired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have ſince given us the character of this truly great lawgiver,

His death, burial and character.

d beſides the abovementioned *Joſephus*; but none has expreſſed it in fewer and ſtronger terms, than the author of theſe additions in the three laſt verſes of this chapter (K). His death happened on the firſt day (according to *Joſephus* and archbiſhop

[p] Compare Pſ. vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1. See alſo Pſ. ix. 18. as they are in our bibles. [q] Joſh. xix. 1. 1 Cron. iv. 24. & ſeq. [r] Gen. xlix. 7. Vid. ſup. p. 462. note (F). [s] Judg. i. 3. & ſeq. Vid. Jun. in Deut. xxxiii. 6. [t] Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. [u] Deut. xxxiii. 6. [w] Vid. Horn. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Basnag. Continuat. Joseph. tom. IV. lib. vi. c. 17. art. 13. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabin. tom. III. p. 928. & ſeq. Calm. Diſſert. on the death and burial of Moſes, at the head of his Epit. Canoniq. & al.

(I) Though the text ſays, in the land of *Moab* (27), yet, it is plain, as the learned primate of *Ireland* obſerves, by comparing theſe with other places of ſcripture, that this valley was in the land of *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, which the *Iſraelites* took from him, and aſſigned to the tribe of *Reuben*; and therefore, when it is here, and elſewhere, called the land of *Moab*, it can mean no more than the land which *Sihon* had conquered from them, and the *Iſraelites* from him (28).

(K) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that *Moſes* did really die and was buried; and *Joſephus* tells us (29), according to our copies of him, that the ſcripture affirms him to be dead, leſt people ſhould think, becauſe of the excellency of his perſon, that he was ſtill alive and with God; notwithſtanding which, the ſuperſtitious *Jews* have fallen into various notions about it; ſome abſolutely denying his death, and others, without taking notice of that circumſtance, affirming him to have been tranſlated into heaven (30). Thoſe of the *Chriſtians* who have embraced this wild notion, do ground it upon his appearing with *Elias*, at the tranſfiguration upon mount *Tabor* (31), and upon that conteſt which *Michael* and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by St. *Jude* (32); though the moſt probable inference that can be made from ſuch a diſpute, if any ſuch there was, is, that the devil wanted to bring *Moſes*'s body to light, that he might thereby enſnare the people to idolatry, or rather to λειψανολατρεια, the worſhip of relics, which therefore *Michael* oppoſed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumſtance ſeems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apoſtle from an apocryphal book, intitled περὶ Ἀναλήψεως Μωϋσέως, or the aſſumption of *Moſes*; ſomething like which we find in ſome *Jewiſh* writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe that he was ſo far dead, as that there was a ſeparation of ſoul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, becauſe he is ſaid to have died עַל פִּי יְהוָה, that is, as we rightly tranſlate it, *according to the word of the Lord*; but according to their literal ſenſe of it, *upon the mouth of the Lord*; from

(27) *Deut.* xxxiv. 5, 6. *& alib. compared with Num.* xxi. 26 *Deut.* iv. 26. *Joſh.* xiii. 20. (28) *Vid.* Usher's *Ann. p.* 25. (29) *Ant. loc. citat.* (30) *Vid.* Maimon. *procem. ad Talmud.* (31) *Mat.* xvii. 1. *& ſeq.* (32) *Jud. ver.* 9. *Vid.* Fabric. *Apoc. Vet. Teſt.* (33) Ush. *Ann. ubi. ſup. & auct. ab eo citat.* (34) *Vid.* R. Nathan. פרקי אבית.

archbishop *Usher* ‡, or on the seventh according to the generality of the latter Jews

‡ Ant. & Ann. ubi sup.

from which they affirm, that *Moses* having begged of GOD not to deliver up his soul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiss, which the Lord was pleased to give him (35).

As to his writings, besides the *Pentateuch*, which is universally received by *Jews* and *Christians*, as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinosa*, among the *former*, and some late writers among the latter, if their avowed principles can permit us to call them *Christians*, who denied him to be the author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late author (36); besides the books, I say commonly called the five books of *Moses*, there have been some other works attributed to him, though without any certainty, such as the book of *Job*, of which we have already spoken in another place †, eleven psalms, *viz* 90, 91, 92, and so on to the 100th. *Origin* believes him to have translated the book of *Job* from the *Syriac* and *Hebrew* (37); though he is scarce followed by either *Jew* or *Christian*. A few fragments of other books are likewise quoted by some of the antients, as wrote by him; such as, 1. His Apocalypse, out of which St. *Paul* is by them supposed to have taken those words (38), *for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing*, &c. 2. His lesser *Genesis*. 3. His ascension. 4. Assumption, mentioned a little above. 5. His testament, and some other mysterious books (39).

Some Rabbies attribute to him likewise a treatise entitled באר משה, *Beer Mosheh*, or באר חכמה *Beer Chokmah, the fountain of wisdom* (40). As for the lesser *Genesis*, St. *Jerom*, who quotes a passage or two out of it, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his time (41). The *Sethites*, an ancient sect of heretics, quoted likewise two of the aforementioned books, namely his testament, and his mysterious books or discourses, but all these were so far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as fast as christianity prevailed.

The wonders of his life have been no less multiplied by the Rabbies than his writings; we shall just hint some of them. They tell us, that he was born circumcised: that *Pharaoh*'s daughter, whom they call *Bathia*, being all over leprous, was cured by the touching of the little ark in which he was exposed: that at three years of age she brought him to her father, from whose head he took the crown to put it upon his own, for which *Balaam*, who was then at that court, advised *Pharaoh* to put him to death, but the other magicians chose rather to try first whether this action was designedly done by him, or through childishness; upon which they set before him some diamonds and burning coals, and the angel *Gabriel* forced his hands towards the coals, one of which he put to his mouth, and burnt himself, which was the occasion of his stuttering, and that he saved his life by it. That he was afterwards condemned to lose his head for the murder of the *Egyptian*, but that his neck became so hard, that the sword, instead of hurting him, recoiled with such force, that it killed the executioner; and that the king becoming dumb on a sudden, and the rest of the spectators being struck blind or deaf, gave *Moses* an opportunity of running away without opposition.

Being retired to the king of *Ethiopia*, who was then in *Armenia*, and *Balaam* having caused an insurrection in *Ethiopia*, *Moses* put himself at the head of the king's army, and besieged *Balaam* in the metropolis, who endeavoured by his magic to obstruct his approach, by an innumerable multitude of serpents, which he caused to surround the city; but *Moses* having charmed them, took the town, married the queen whose consort had been killed at the war, and reigned in *Ethiopia* forty years, till his queen, complaining of his coldness towards her, caused a rebellion, which obliged him to retire to *Jethro*, where he got the miraculous rod, of which we gave an account in a former note ‡, and married his daughter *Zipporah*: that her father having stipulated that her first-born son should not be circumcised, two angels were sent by GOD, who swallowed him up to the place of circumcision, which made *Zipporah* retrieve the fault, and save her husband by the circumcision of her son.

As for the manner in which they say that *Moses* received the divine law, it is so absurd, that we should not trouble our readers with it, were it not to poin out to them the spring from which *Mohammed* did pump out all the rapsodies of his *Koran*. These grave gentlemen thought it not enough for their law-giver to have gone up and received it upon mount *Sinai*, but they make him take a journey to heaven in a cloud; and add, that he met in his way *Kemuel* the chief of a legion of angels, who endeavoured to come up to him, but that he was repulsed some thousands of miles back, by his pronouncing the name of GOD, consisting of twelve letters. Soon after this he was terribly frighted by the angel *Adarniel*'s voice, which was so dreadful, that it was ecchoed from no less than two hundred thousand spheres, all surrounded with a white fire. *Moses* was just ready to run away, when GOD heartened him up again, and bid him put the spirit to flight by pronouncing the name of GOD written with seventy two letters, which made him cry out as he fled; *how happy art thou* Moses *to know those things which the very angels are ignorant of*. They add that the two tables which *Moses* brought down from heaven being made of the finest saphire stone, he enriched himself exceedingly by the chips that fell off in the carving and polishing of them; which is no great wonder, if they were ten or twelve cubits high, as some of them pretend (42).

The *Mohammedans* have not only embraced all these rabinical dreams, but have very much improved them. The reader may remember what they say concerning this last circumstance of the two tables being brought from heaven and carried thither again †. We shall not trouble the reader with any more of their reveries, those who are fond of such things, may find them at large in Monsieur *Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, under the article *Mousbe* (43). In the mean time as the character

(35) *Vid.* GAULMIN's פטירת-משה. (36) ABBADIE *Verit. de la Relig. Chretien. pt.* 1. †*Vid. sup. p.* 481. (37) ORIG. *in Job.* (38) *Galat.* v. 6. vi. 15. (39) SYNCELL. *ex part.* *Gen.* PET. CRIMIT. *De hæres. Discipl. lib.* xvii. *c.* 1. CLEM. ALEXAND. *ex Expolem. Stromat. lib.* i. ISIDOR. HISPAL. *lib.* i. ORIG. *c. iii.* CEDREN. GLYCAS. *& al. vid. etiam* FABRIC. *de Apoc. V. T.* (40) R. SHABTAI STRIM. *cited & WOLF. Bib. Rabin. Numb.* 1582. (41) *Epist.* 127. *ad Fabiol. Manf.* 18. & 24. *Vid.* CALM. *Hist. V. Test. t. i. p. penult.* ‡*Vid. sup. p.* 489. *note* (Z). (42) *Vid. Ellesham rab. in Exod.* xxxiv. *Rab.* SAS. *in loc. Pirke Aboth. Phetirath Mosbe.* SIX. SIENN. & *al. ap.* CALM. *dict. sub. voc.* MOISE. †*Vid. sup. p.* 511. *at the end of note* (A). (43) *P.* 647. &

a *Jews*) [x] of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age; the laſt forty of which, the laſt month excepted, he had ſpent in the government of the *Iſraelites*. The people mourned for him one whole month, according to the cuſtom of the nation for the death of any eminent perſon, after which *Joſhua* entered into his office, and ſoon after that into the land of *Canaan*, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next ſection.

In the mean time it will be proper to obſerve here, that the ceremony of circumciſion was diſcontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderneſs [y]; for which no proper reaſon can be well aſſigned, unleſs it be either becauſe their frequent moving from place to place would have made it dangerous for thoſe children who b were circumciſed before a march, or that, the deſign of circumciſion being to keep the people in from intermingling with other nations, it became leſs neceſſary in the wilderneſs, where they were in leſs danger of ſuch a mixture [z]. But neither of theſe reaſons is ſatisfactory; for as to the firſt, beſides that their marches happened but ſeldom during the laſt thirty eight years, as we obſerved before †, it would have been more ſafe to have diſpenſed with the time, and, inſtead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, ſeeing there were ſome particular bleſſings belonging to it, which they were deprived of that died without it. For which reaſon therefore it did not become leſs neceſſary, though the preventing a mixture were allowed to have been the main deſign of its inſtitution. c For that could not authoriſe them to diſpence with a poſitive precept, though none of thoſe neighbouring nations had been circumciſed, which was not the caſe, ſeeing the *Edomites*, and perhaps alſo the *Midianites*, were. But whatever be the reaſon of this omiſſion, one may conclude from it, that that ceremony was not ſo neceſſary to ſalvation as ſome, both *Chriſtians* as *Jews*, have imagined, among the latter of which, ſome have run to ſuch an extreme of ſuperſtition, as to cauſe thoſe children of theirs, that happened to die before they were circumciſed, to receive it before they buried them.

Before we diſmiſs this ſection, it will be expected, no doubt, that we ſhould d give ſome account of the order and manner of encamping and marching uſed by the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs, becauſe it is not only curious, but uſeful, in order to underſtand ſeveral places of holy writ that allude to it, both in the old and new teſtament [a], eſpecially in the prophetical books. It is plain from the ſhort account which *Moſes* has left us of it [b], that it was preſcribed to him by God himſelf. And indeed, if we conſider their vaſt multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined themſelves to them, the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that any man, how wiſe and experienced ſoever, could be equal to ſuch a task without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance. 'Tis true indeed, that the word *wilderneſs*, by which the ſcene of their forty years wandering is called, ought not e to be taken too literally, ſeeing they did generally encamp near inhabited towns and villages, whoſe territories could furniſh them with proviſions for themſelves, and paſture for their cattle, and when that failed, they were often miraculouſly ſupplied; but nevertheleſs, to provide for all other exigencies, which muſt needs be ſuppoſed to happen in ſuch a numberleſs hoſt, to ſettle ſuch

[x] Vid. Sedar holam Rab. cap. 10. Maimon. Præf. ad Miſnaioth, &c. [y] Joſh. v. 2. &. ſeq. [z] Basnag. Rep. Hebr. Tom. I. lib. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, Grot. & Saurin, &c. † Vid. ſup. p. 527. c. [a] See Sir Isaac Newt. Obſerv. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. Med. Clav. prophet. paſſ. & al. [b] Num. i. 51. & ſeq.

character of this law-giver has been univerſally known by the ancients, ſo has it been as much leſſened and blackened by ſome, as it has been exaggerated by others beyond all modeſty and truth, according to their different prejudices and intereſts. *Joſephus* in his book againſt *Apion* (44), has not only recorded, but fully anſwered all that *Manetho* had ſaid to leſſen the glory of it; and what that learned *Jew* has ſaid there, will equally confute what *Juſtin* out of *Trogus* has ſaid of him (45). On the other hand ſome late authors, by comparing what we read of *Moſes* with what the fables tell us of *Bacchus*, *Mercury*, &c. have found ſo near a reſemblance in the characters, that they have not ſcrupled to affirm, that the heathen had applied what they had read of the former to the latter, concerning which the reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the learned *Huetius*'s *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, a work which could hardly have met with ſuch a ſtrenuous and bitter oppoſition from the *Carteſian* philoſophers, had it bore any other title than that of demonſtration.

(44) *Lib. i.* (45) *Lib. xxxvi.*

excellent order and diſcipline in it, as to prevent confuſion, diſorders, and defection, to breed up ſuch a number of excellent ſoldiers, and to teach them to incamp and decamp, to march and to fight in ſo regular a manner as they did, whatever *Moſes* might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who underſtood doubtleſs as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, ſeems ſtill to have been above the power of a meer man. And this conſideration ſhould, one would think, ſtop the mouths of thoſe who can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*.

HOWEVER as the ſubject has been copiouſly handled by other pens [c], who have been forced to ſupply the ſuccinct account of *Moſes* out of the writings of the *Talmudiſts* and other ancient *Jews*, not to ſay ſometimes out of their own heads; we hope, our readers will eaſily excuſe us from launching farther into theſe particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ. Though where we find anything in the *Talmud*, *Joſephus*, or any other Rabbi, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we ſhall venture to give it in a note.

THE text tells us, that *they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and ſtandard, throughout the whole hoſt: that the tribe of* Levi *was to incamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and cuſtody of it; and that the reſt of the tribes ſhould pitch their ſtandards with the enſigns of their father's houſe round about it, at an equal and convenient diſtance from it* [d]. This diſtance, let it have been what it would (L), compoſed not a perfect ſquare, becauſe the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much leſs a circle, as ſome have fancied it from the word round about taken too literally, but an oblong ſquare, in the centre of which was the tabernacle with its court in length one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits [e]. Parallel to each of the four ſides of it, and at a proper diſtance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the eaſt end was *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, with the reſt of the family of *Aaron*, at the head of the four claſſes of *Levites*. As for *Moſes*'s pavilion, all that he has told us of it, is only, that it ſtood on the ſame ſide with thoſe of *Aaron*'s children [f]; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in the moſt honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver, and neareſt the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies; but whether we may conclude from his ſituation, that the tabernacle ſtood eaſt and weſt, that is, with the holy of holies towards the eaſt, and the entrance into it facing the weſt, as *Cunæus* and others do [g], is not very material. On the weſt ſide were the *Gerſhonites* under *Eliaphaz* the ſon of *Levi*, in number ſeven thouſand five hundred: 3. The *Kohathites* under *Elizaphon*, the ſon of *Uſiel*, in number eight thouſand ſix hundred: and laſtly, the *Merarites* under *Zuriel*, the ſon of *Abihail*, in number ſix thouſand two hundred; and theſe two laſt encamped along the ſouth and north ſides. All theſe together made an army of twenty two thouſand three hundred † (M). Each of theſe had their particular functions and charges alotted

[c] BASNAG. ex CUNÆO. Rep. Hebr. Tom. II. c. 18. CALM. & al. [d] Num. i. 52. & ſeq. ii. 1, 2. & ſeq. [e] Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. [f] Num. iii. 38. [g] BASNAG. ex CUN. ubi ſup. CALM. & al. † Vid. ſup. p. 534. c.

(L) The Rabbies affirm this diſtance of the tents of the tribes, except that of *Levi*, to have been two thouſand cubits, which they therefore call a ſabbath day's journey, becauſe they were not allowed to go further on that day. This was the diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the mont of *Olives* (46). This ſpace of two thouſand cubits ſeems well grounded, it being the diſtance which GOD commanded the people to keep from the ark, when they were on their march. They affirm moreover, that there was likewiſe a diſtance of three miles between every tribe, which if true muſt form a ſquare of near thirty ſix miles about. *Joſephus* indeed doth not tell us what that diſtance was, but he calls it a great one, and adds, that there were as ſpacious ſtreets, lanes, markets, ſhops, &c. in the camp, and in as regular an order, as could be ſeen in the moſt polite cities (47). However, the moſt rational *Jews* extend not this diſtance between tribe and tribe beyond two thouſand paces, nor that which each tribe took up beyond four thouſand (48). To which they add, that in the center of the camp there was a ſpace of eight thouſand paces ſquare, of which the inmoſt four thouſand was for the tabernacle, and the tribe of *Levi*, and the reſidue, which was between theſe and the other tribes, was for paſture ground for their cattle.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the firſt recenſion of the people, but ſame time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three claſſes of which it conſiſted, he will find that it comes ſhort of the odd three hundred, which

(46) *Vid. Acts* i. 12. (47) *Ant. l. iii. c.* 12. (48) *Vid.* BASNAG. *ex* CUN. *Rep. Heb. tom. ii. c.* 18. (49) *Num.* iii. 39.

a allotted to them, both as to the worſhip of GOD, and the cuſtody of the tabernacle, with all its *apparatus*, as may be ſeen by the text [h]. This is all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning the *Levitiſh* camp, which the Rabbies affect to call *the little hoſt, or camp, of the Lord*; probably, becauſe we find, that name given to them, where mention is made of *Hezechiah*'s reſtoring them,---- *to ſing the praiſes of* GOD *within the gates of the Lord*'s *camp* [i], whereas the other tribes are commonly called *the grand army*, or *the great hoſt*.

As the tribe of *Levi* made four ſmall bodies on each ſide the tabernacle, ſo did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body con-
b ſiſting of three tribes. That of *Judah*, whether becauſe it was the moſt conſiderable, it muſtering ſeventy four thouſand ſix hundred fighting men, or in conſideration of the ſcepter, or the *Meſſiah*, being promiſed to it, had the poſt of honour, and encamped on the eaſt ſide behind the prieſts at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of *Iſſachar*, conſiſting of fifty four thouſand four hundred, and that of *Zebulun*, of fifty ſeven thouſand men; ſo that this body amounted to one hundred eighty ſix thouſand four hundred fighting men; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the *Jews* think, or, which is more probable, ſeeing he was as it were their head and general in the center betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the ſame may be ſaid alſo of the heads of the other three bodies.

c REUBEN was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the ſouth ſide; his tribe conſiſted of forty ſix thouſand five hundred men, and *Simeon* with fifty nine thouſand three hundred, and *Gad* with forty five thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, marched under his banner; this body conſiſted of one hundred fifty one thouſand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was *Ephraim* at the head of forty thouſand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom *Manaſſeh* led thirty two thouſand two hundred, and *Benjamin* thirty five thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thouſand one hundred; theſe encamped on the weſt ſide

THE laſt was the tribe of *Dan* with ſixty two thouſand ſeven hundred, with
d that of *Aſher*, conſiſting of forty one thouſand five hundred, and *Nepthali*, of fifty three thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty ſeven thouſand five hundred and fifty, and theſe were on the north ſide of the tabernacle. Thus the *Iſraelitiſh* hoſt amounted to ſix hundred and three thouſand five hundred fifty fighting men, excluſive of the *Levites*. To which if we add the old men above ſixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, which, as we ſhewed before, amounted in the whole to little leſs than three millions, their vaſt number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the leaſt ſpace that can be allowed for ſuch a prodigious camp muſt be above twenty miles, though we ſuppoſed the ſpaces between each tribe, to have been much leſs than the
e *Jewiſh* doctors affirm (N).

THESE four large bodies had each their general ſtandard (O), to which their own

[h] Numb. iv per tot.

[i] 2. Chron. xxxi. 2.

are therefore ſuppoſed to have been the firſt-born of that tribe, and therefore out of the caſe. And as the *Levites* were choſen out inſtead of the firſt-born of all the tribes, when the number of the former came to be taken, and was found to fall ſhort of the firſt-born of the latter by two hundred eighty three, this overplus was redeemed at the rate of five ſhekles of the ſanctuary, and the money given to the ſons of *Aaron* (50).

(N) This prodigious camp is by the ancient *Jews* called threefold, whereof the tabernacle with its precinct is called the *camp of the divine Majeſty*, the next the *camp of* Levi, and the largeſt *the camp of* Iſrael, and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the biſhop, dean, canons, and inferior clergy, and round them the laity. The *Gemarrab* affirms (51), that it took up twelve miles in length and breadth, which they infer from that place in *Numbers* (52), where it is ſaid, that they pitched by *Jordan*, from *Beth-jeſimoth*, even unto *Abel-ſhittem* in the plain of *Moab*, which, they ſay, is the diſtance between thoſe two places; but here we think there is no need of making the *Jewiſh* miles ſhorter than ours, as a certain author has done (53), without any foundation, only to juſtify the *Gemarriſts*, conſidering what a vaſt quantity of empty ground they allow between every tribe for paſture ground, and the like.

(O) The *Chaldee* and *Septuagint* have indeed rendered the original word גדל, *Gedel*, enſign or ſtandard, the former by תקס, borrowed perhaps from the *Greek* τάξις, גבר על תקסוי, and the latter by τάγμα. Ἀνθρωπος ἐκόμισεν κατὰ τάγμα αὐτῦ, every man to his own order, ſtation, or rank,

(50) *Numb.* iii. 41. & *ſeq. vid.* MUNST. *in loc.*
(51) *Tract.* סוטה, *cap.* 1. *ap.* GOODWIN, *Moſ. & Aar. l. vi. cap.* 8. § 4.
(52) *Ch.* xxxiii. 49.
(53) GOODWIN, *ibid. note* 1.

own and the other tribes were to repair; under these were twelve more, one to every tribe, and under these again were those of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty seven, according to *Moses*'s own account [k]; and indeed less than that number cannot be supposed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of those ensigns were, neither *Moses* nor any inspired writer has told us. The Rabbies have supplied all those defects very plentifully; but though they are not always to be depended upon, yet some particulars they have given us, relating to those of the four main bodies and those of the twelve tribes, seem not to be ill grounded. Of the first they tell us, that *Judah* had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *let* God *arise, and let his enemies be scattered* [l]; but the latter seems more proper for the ensign of *Levi*, if any belonged to that tribe, which is not improbable, because those were the words which were used by the *Levites*, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the emblem by which *Jacob* represented the tribe of *Judah* in his last will [m]; but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the standard [n]. *Reuben*'s ensign had the figure of a man, to which some add that of a mandrake, alluding to those he found in the fields when a boy [o]. That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and seems to be taken from the words of *Mose*'s blessing to that tribe; *his glory is like the firstling of his bullock* [p]. To the tribe of *Dan* they gave an eagle, which agrees neither with *Moses*'s blessing, which compares him to a lion's whelp, nor to that of *Jacob*, which compares him to a serpent in the way. However, in order to make it agree with the latter, they pretend, that the eagle was painted holding a serpent in his claws [q]; but we have still a better authority for these four emblems, namely, 1. The vision of *Ezechiel* [r], which is universally allowed to allude to it. 2. The psalmist representing the congregation of *Israel* under these emblems [s] (P), and lastly, St. *John* in his apocalypse representing the faithful by the four beasts about the throne of God, crying night and day, *holy, holy* [t], and so on; from which it is most likely, that the four evangelists came afterwards to have the same emblems more particularly appropriated to them.

That every tribe had, besides their particular standard of a different colour, and with a different emblem, and motto, if they used any so early, can hardly be questioned, and that these two last might be taken from those illusions which *Jacob* made use of in his last blessing, is far from improbable; and thus for instance, *Napthali* might have a large tree, or a hind, in his ensign †, *Issachar* an ass couching under his burthen, *Benjamin* a wolf [u], and so on, beyond which we dare not venture to affirm any thing (Q), much less concerning the ensigns of the twelve patriarchs.

[k] Num. ii. & xxvi. pass. [l] Ps. lxviii. 1. [m] Gen. xlix. 9. [n] Ita RR. Jonath. Abr. Ben Levi. Cabal Histor. ap. Cunæu. ub. sup. [o] Gen. xxx. 14. [p] Deut. xxxiii. 17. [q] Vid. Aben-Ezra & Fag. in Num. ii. [r] Ch. i. 10. [s] Ps. lxviii. 10. [t] Revel. iv. 6, & 7. † Vid. sup. p. 464. note (O) [u] Gen. xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. Se also an antient apocryphal book called the testament of

rank, which phrase the apostle doth seem to apply in a sense somewat different from this (54). However it is plain, that those versions must have supposed some such thing as standards set up in full sight; without which it would have been impossible for them to repair every one to their own tribe and family.

(P) The psalmist there describes the *Israelitish* commonwealth, particularly whilst in the wilderness, their marches, encampments, order, and many other circumstances, in a most elegant and poetic manner, and amongst other allusions used there, he represents it under that of חַיָּה, *Hajah* (55), which our aversion rightly enough renders congregation, but in the original doth properly signify *life*, beast, or living creature; and being compared to that which is mentioned in *Ezechiel*, which had all these four figures, of a man, lion, ox, and eagle, is justly concluded to allude to these four general standards, representing the *Israelitish* congregation, as it doth that of the faithful under *Christ* in the revelations (56).

(Q) The Rabbies add, from what authority is more than we can guess, many other particulars relating to those twelve standards, as first, that their colour answered to that of the twelve stones in the breast plate of the high priest (57), on which the name of each tribe was engraven; but the misfortune is, that they are far from agreeing in assigning the names and colour of those stones; besides, another difficulty arises which they do not answer, which is, that *Levi* had its own name and stone, which they affirm to have been, some a beril, others a saphire, &c. on the breast-plate, though it be not here numbered with the other twelve, but instead of it, that of *Joseph* is divided into *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. Concerning the four grand standards they add, that each of them had three letters taken from the names of their three first patriarchs *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob* *Judah* had יאי, *A. I. I. Reuben* בצע, *B. TZ. H. Ephra im* רתק, *R. CH. K.* and *Dan* מקב, *M. K. B* Bu

(54) 1 *Cor. xv.* 23. *Vid.* Goodwin *ubi. sup.* (55) *Ps. lxviii.* 10. (56) *Vid.* Mede. *Sir* Isaac Newt. *in Apocal.* Tremel. L'abbadie *& al. in Ezech. i.* 10. (57) *Ved.* R. Jonath *paraph. in Num. ii.* 5.

a the principal families, which other authors have thought fit to give us [w]. One thing more however is certain, that they had likewiſe a ſeparate camp for lepers, for thoſe who had running ſores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themſelves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one [x]: Some other orders *Moſes* gave them to preſerve cleanlineſs and decency, which need not be dwelt upon.

THE order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and ſuch like, as the which are more particularly preſcribed by *Moſes*, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and removing ſome few difficulties that occur, and refer our readers for the more circumſtantial b parts to the text itſelf, and to thoſe who have treated on them more at large [y].

IN their decamping, whilſt in the wilderneſs, the firſt thing they were to obſerve was the ſignal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already ſpoken †, which *Moſes* immediately took care to have communicated throughout the camp by two ſilver trumpets made by GOD's command [z]; and becauſe theſe were uſed for other ſignals, ſuch as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniverſary feſtivals, and the like; they were differently blown according to the ſignal they were to give, that is, for inſtance, ſingly when to call the elders; jointly when to call the whole congregation; with a conſtant and even ſound when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous in- c terrupted one, when they ſounded to battle. To theſe the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays, *if the trumpet gives an uncertain ſound, who will prepare to battle* [a]? As ſoon therefore as the firſt ſignal was given for marching, every tribe ſet about making ready for it, and this took up ſome conſiderable time, eſpecially to the prieſts and *Levites* [b], who had the tabernacle with all its utenſils to take down, cover, and pack up (R), and ſet part upon waggons for that purpoſe, and part to be carried upon men's ſhoulders (S). By that time the *Levites* had got every thing ready for the march, the ſecond ſignal was given; for it is not

[w] BASNAG. ubi ſupr. CALM. & al. [x] Numb. v. 1. & ſeq. [y] Vid. BASNAG. ubi ſupr. c. xix.
† Vid. ſupr. p. 504. a. [z] Numb. x. 1. & ſeq. [a] 1 Cor. xiv. 8. [b] Vid. Numb. iv. 5. & alib.

But theſe, with the learned interpretations of them, as well as ſome other wonderful things which they do tell us of this camp, ſuch as that, wherever they pitched it, there ſprang up a fountain before the tabernacle, which divided itſelf into ſtreams, which ran through and ſupplied every tribe with water, which we have elſewhere confuted †: that the miraculous pillar which went before them did lower the mountains, raiſe the vallies, *&c.* to make the way eaſier for them, with many more of the like nature, we willingly leave to thoſe who have either a *Jewiſh* faith to believe, or a *Jewiſh* conſcience to retail them.

(R) There ariſes a difficulty between the command here given about the taking down the tabernacle, with the veil, and covering, *&c.* and the prohibition for any but the high-prieſt to go into the ſanctuary, ſince even he was not allowed to enter it above once a year (58). This ſeeming contradiction is generally ſolved by the common anſwer, that GOD can diſpenſe with his own laws. Others confine the entrance, permitted here to the ſons of *Aaron*, only to the holy place, whilſt the high-prieſt alone went into the moſt holy one, to take down the veil, cover the ark, *&c.* and this ſeems probable enough by comparing what is commanded in the 4th and 10th chapter of *Numbers*, if we can ſuppoſe one ſingle perſon, and he not over young, to have been ſufficient for all this. But a learned critic has given us another ſolution, which we think is more ſatisfactory ſtill (59), which is, that this entrance was only forbidden whilſt the tabernacle was ſet up, and the cloud which was the known ſymbol of the divine preſence, continued to cover the holy place, but when that was removed, and the ark or mercy-ſeat had been covered, or perhaps ſhut up in ſome proper repoſitory ‡, then it might be lawful for the inferior prieſts to come in, and aſſiſt the high-prieſt and his ſons in the removal of the reſt.

(S) Another ſeeming contradiction is, where it is ſaid, that as ſoon as the ark was covered, which was to be with a treble covering, they ſhould put in the ſtaves of it (60). Whereas it is ſaid elſewhere (61), that the ſtaves ſhould never be taken out; beſides, how was it poſſible to put them in, after the ark had been packed up in ſo many coverings. Some therefore inſtead of *they ſhall put in*, read, *they ſhall lay, or put on*, the ſtaves, namely, upon men's ſhoulders; but ſince the original may as properly be rendered, *and they ſhall let the ſtaves abide in*, that is, they ſhall cover it over without taking them out, probably leſt the ark might be ſeen through the holes of the covering through which the ſtaves muſt afterwards have been put in; there is no occaſion to ſeek for a better ſolution than this, as the author above quoted juſtly obſerves (62). All the other utenſils of the tabernacle had likewiſe their particular coverings, under which they were carried, as the moſt proper way to ſtrike an awe upon the people. And therefore the opinion of thoſe who think, that the ark was uncovered, when carried in proceſſion round the walls of *Jericho*, and into the camp of *Iſrael* by the two ſons of *Eli*, ſeems ſomewhat abſurd, eſpecially conſidering, what terrible puniſhments were denounced and actually inflicted on thoſe who ventured to look upon it. It is therefore more probable, that it had, in ſuch caſes at leaſt, a ſky blue covering thrown over it. But this by the by.

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 511. *note* (T). (58) *Exod.* xxx. 10. *Levit.* xvi. 2. *& ſeq. Hebr.* ix. 7. (59) BASNAG. *ubi ſupr.* ‡ *See the next note.* (60) *Numb.* iv. 6. (61) *Exod.* xxv. 15. (62) BASNAG. *ibid.*

to be doubted, but the other tribes could be ſooner in readineſs than they; and then all that bore arms repaired to their ſtandards, whilſt the invalids, women, children, and carriages marched towards the rear. Upon the next ſignal the tribe of *Judah*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and theſe were followed, according to the moſt general opinion, by the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, ſkins, and pillars belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next ſignal, *Reuben* and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kohathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utenſils upon their ſhoulders, ſo that by that time they were got to their journey's end, the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* had ſet up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception (T). The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manaſſeh*, as ſoon as the third ſignal was given. To this alludes that of the pſalmiſt [c], *thou that ſitteſt between the cherubims ſhine forth before* Ephraim, Benjamin, *and* Manaſſeh. Laſt of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Aſher*, and *Naphthali* eſcorting the invalids that none might be left behind. For which reaſon this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering hoſt* [d]. However, it is plain, that this order was not always obſerved, for firſt, with reſpect to the ark, there are ſome places where it is ſaid it went before them [e] upon ſome emergencies; and with reſpect to the whole body, though they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands through which they paſſed would permit it; yet when they were obliged to croſs whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make the beſt of their way, ſome over heighths, others through the valleys, preſerving ſtill the beſt order they could for their own ſafety (V). All that can be added upon this ſubject is, that when the ark was taking up for the march, *Moſes* uſed to ſay, *Ariſe, O Lord, and let thy enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and when the prieſts ſet it down, he ſaid, *Return, O Lord, unto the many thouſands of Iſrael* [f]. Theſe words are ſtill uſed to this day by the *Jews*, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repoſitory, and when they carry it thither again.

CONCERNING their method of engaging with their enemies, order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain, but what has already been occaſionally mentioned before. Such as the having one prieſt anointed to be conſulted by *Urim*, inſtead of the high-prieſt, who never went to the wars, the *Amercol*, or exhorting prieſt, who is thought to be the ſame with the former by ſome authors [g], and whoſe ſpeech, at leaſt the ſubſtance of it, has been preſerved to us by the antient *Jews* (W): all that we can ſay farther on this head with any certainty

[c] Pſal. lxxx. 1, 2. [d] Joſh. vi. 9. Vid. MUNST. in loc. GOODWIN's Moſ. & Aaron. lib. vi. c. 4. art 3. ſee alſo Numb. x. 21. & ſeq. [e] See Numb. x. 33. Joſh. iii. 6. [f] Numb. x. 35, 36. [g] CALMET & BASNAG. ubi ſupr.

(T) It is not eaſy to gueſs how far ſuch a camp may be ſuppoſed to go in a day, by marching in that regular manner: an author often quoted upon this ſubject (63) has pretended to prove, that they did not exceed two miles a day, from what is ſaid of one of their marches (64), that they took up three days in going from *Sinai* to *Kibbroth-hattavah*, which, he ſays, is not reckoned above ſix miles, according to the calculation of ſeveral authors. But who knows how far this ſmall progreſs might be owing to the ruggedneſs of the ways, to ſome mountains interpoſing, or to ſome other reaſon not taken notice of by the hiſtorian; this therefore can by no means be an argument, that they never marched further in one day, ſeeing in an open country ſuch an army might eaſily march above ſix times that ground, if not more.

(V) If it be objected here, that it was unſafe or impolitic to leave the women, children, invalids, and all their baggage in the rear, where they had been once attacked by the *Amalekites* as we have ſeen before †, all that can be anſwered to this is, that, when they had once croſſed the red-ſea and ſeen an end of their enemies, they thought themſelves ſafe on that ſide, and conſequently appointed that order of marching, which was certainly the moſt convenient where it could be followed with ſafety. But we need not doubt, but whenever they had any reaſon to apprehend being attacked in the rear, they placed them nearer to the vanguard. Neither do we meet with any other inſtance of ſuch an attack, for thoſe other nations with whom they had any encounters always came in front, and endeavoured to obſtruct their paſſage. However, though we have ſpoken in this the ſentiments of thoſe who have wrote upon the ſubject, yet we are far from thinking it improbable, that the wives, children, and moſt valuable baggage might march either with each body to which it belonged, or in the ſpaces that were between them whenever the ground permitted it.

(W) Among other remarkable things in this ſpeech, were thoſe that follow: *Hear, O* Iſrael, ——*you are now going to engage, not againſt your brethren, not one tribe againſt another, by whom, if you*

(63) *Id. ibid.* (64) *Numb.* x. 33. † *Vid ſupr. p.* 320. b. 511. d.

THE CAMP OF THE ISRAELITES.

WEST.
108100.

THE CAMP OF EPHRAIM.

Tribe of EPHRAIM 40500,	*Tribe of* MANASSEH 32200,	*Tribe of* BENJAMIN 35400,

Tribe of DAN 64700,

GERSHONITES.

Tribe of GAD 45650

The Camp 7500, *of God*

All of Levites 22000,

CAATHITES. MERARITES.

The Tabernacle

Moses. *Aaron.*

Tribe of ASHER 41500,

Tribe of NAPTHALI 53400,

Tribe of SIMEON 49300

Tribe of REUBEN 46500.

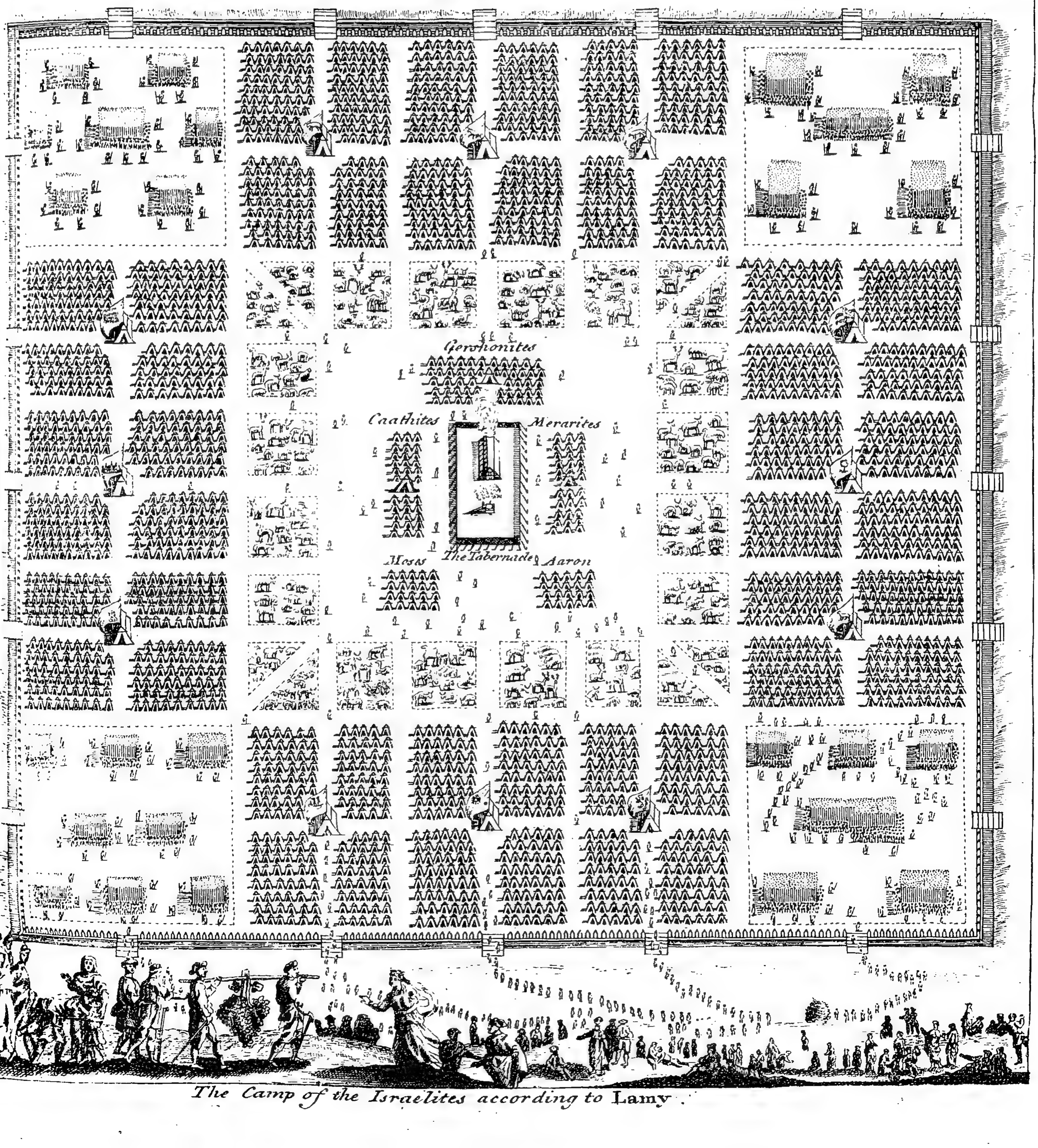
Tribe of ZABULON 57400,	*Tribe of* ISSACHAR 54400,	*Tribe of* JUDAH 74600,

THE CAMP OF JUDAH.

EAST.
186400.

THE CAMP OF REUBEN.
SOUTH.
151450.

THE CAMP OF DAN.
NORTH.
157600.



The Camp of the Israelites according to Lamy.

try is, that, as ſoon as the trumpets had given the ſignal for the engagement, the combatants gave a great ſhout, and fell immediately upon their enemies [h]; an inſtance of which we find ſome time after, when they went to engage the *Philiſtines* [i]. This was no leſs practiſed by the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other warlike nations, who often encreaſed the horrid noiſe with knocking their weapons againſt their ſhields [k]. With relation to their beſieging of towns we are ſtill more in the dark; all therefore that can be added here is, what the *Jews* tell us from a paſſage in *Joſhua* [l], that when he ſent to offer peace to the cities of *Canaan* before he enter'd it, he diſpatched three expreſſes to them: the firſt was to permit thoſe who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the ſecond was to offer peace to thoſe that would make peace with him, and the laſt, to declare war againſt thoſe that refuſed the two former offers [m].

Their manner of engaging.

a

b

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Jews *under* Joſhua.

The deſcription, conqueſt, and partition of the land of Canaan.

THE *Iſraelitiſh* camp continued at *Shittim*, near the river *Jordan*, and in ſight of the land of *Canaan*, during the days of mourning for *Moſes*, and the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, under a diſcipline intermixed with the greateſt tenderneſs and ſeverity, had rendered more tractable, and more ſenſible of GOD's paternal care, were only waiting for the ſignal for paſſing over the river *Jordan*; when their new general received freſh and repeated promiſes of the divine aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of the promiſed land [n]. Nothing leſs than ſuch an aſſurance could indeed have ſupported *Joſhua*'s courage in ſo arduous a task. He was now ninety three years of age, and had been trained up under *Moſes* at leaſt one third part of that time, ſo that he wanted neither experience nor ſagacity to foreſee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He ſaw himſelf indeed at the head of ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, but on the other hand his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, beſides ſervants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very firſt ſtep he was to take was the croſſing of a large river, in doing which he knew himſelf equally expoſed to the arms of thoſe whom he went to attack, and thoſe whom he left behind. The nations he was to ſubdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic ſtature and ſtrength, their towns well fortified by nature and art, their forces and intereſt united by the ſtrongeſt tyes and alliances; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greateſt preparations againſt him, reſolved either to obſtruct his conqueſt, or loſe their lives in the defence of their country [o].

Year of the Flood, 1548. Before Chriſt, 1451.

The ſtate of the hoſt of Iſrael.

c

d

THIS was the ſituation of the *Canaanites* and of *Joſhua*'s affairs, when he received the divine ſignal to prepare for the glorious conqueſt. His firſt care therefore was to make choice of two proper perſons to go privily to the land of *Jericho*, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. Theſe ſoon

Two ſpies ſent to Jericho.

[h] Vid. CUN. & GOODWIN ubi ſup. [i] Vid. 1 Sam. iv. 5. & JOSEPH. de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. [k] POLYB. vid. CUN. ubi ſupr. [l] Joſh. xi. 19, 20. [m] GCODWIN ubi ſupr. [n] Joſh. i. per tot. [o] Ibid. ix. 1, 2. & ſeq. x. & ſeq. paſſ.

you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be uſed with mercy:——but againſt your enemies, into whoſe hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you muſt expect no quarter——— let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horſes, the brightneſs of their ſpears, the clattering of their ſhields, or the ſound of their trumpets diſhearten you—— GOD *is in the midſt of you;——your foes come againſt you with an arm of fleſh, but you truſt in the ſtrength of the Almighty*; and ſo on (65). Part of this ſpeech we find to have been certainly dictated by *Moſes* (66), but whether the reſt was ſo or not, we dare not affirm. However, one thing is worth obſerving with reſpect to theſe words, *thou art not going to engage againſt thy brethren, from whom thou mighteſt expect mercy*; that the tribe of *Judah* having been captivated by thoſe of *Iſrael*, ſo long after as in *Ahaz*'s reign, and theſe ready to uſe their captives with the ſame ſeverity as they did ſtrangers, a prophet of the Lord did ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it, and made the conquerors cloath, feed, and anoint them, and ſend them back to their brethren (67).

(65) *Tract.* סוטה *cap. viii. vid.* GOODW. *Moſ.* & *Aar. lib. iv. c.* 8. §. 14. (66) *Deut.* xx. 2. & *ſeq.* (67) *Vid.* 2. *Chron.* xxviii. 8, & *ſeq.*

soon set out for this perilous expedition, and, having happily crossed the *Jordan*, went and lodged at an inn-keeper's-house (X) named *Rahab*, where they had not been long, before a strict search was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of *Jericho*. Their fear however was soon dispelled by their hospitable hostess, who sent away the searchers by telling them out of her window, that two strangers had indeed refreshed themselves at her house, but that they were gone since towards sunset, and might be easily taken if closely pursued. Their backs were no sooner turned, than she went to the two spies, to whom she freely owned the panick dread that had seized not only that city, but all the land of *Canaan*, at the news of what the GOD of *Israel* had done in favour of their nation, both at the red-sea, and against those kingdoms which they had so lately conquer'd. To this she added, that, being now fully persuaded, that he was the only true GOD, against whose decrees all opposition would be not only vain, but dangerous, she was now ready to save them from their imminent danger, upon condition they swore to save her and her family, when they became masters of the city. An offer so generous and so unexpected, joyned to so candid a confession, could not deserve a less reward, and the two spies, who in the condition they were in, would have purchased their safety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave her all the desired assurance, that not only she and her family, but all that were found in her house at the taking of the city, should be exempted from the common ruin. She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under some hempen stocks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back-windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after she had charged them to keep themselves concealed in some cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their pursuers were returned home. Before they took their leave they agreed, that she should hang a scarlet line out of her window, which should be a signal to them, and a safeguard to her house. The risk they had run put a stop to their further progress, and what they had learned at *Jericho* made it as needless as dangerous; so that, having happily escaped all further discovery, they returned to their camp

Concealed by Rahab.

They swear to save her and hers.

(X) We have ventured to give *Rahab* a more favourable appellative than most versions have done, who make no scruple to call her a harlot; though it is plain, that the word זונה *Zonah*, doth as properly signify an inn-keeper, or one who selleth victuals and drink, as a harlot; for it is derived from the root זן *Zon*, which signifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which renders it by the word פונדקיתא, from פונדק, *an inn* (68); in which he is also followed by some of the most learned *Jews* who paraphrase the word here by מיכרת מזון *Mokereth-mazon*, a seller of victuals (69); and *Kimchi* allows, that it may be rendered either way (70); to which we may add, that the *Septuagint*, and after them St. *James*, have made use of the *Greek* word πόρνη, which is capable of both significations, namely, of a victualler or a harlot, as *Junius* has fully proved it (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive sense doth properly signify the former, it is not unlikely that the freedoms which those kind of women were wont to allow to their customers, might give birth to the latter signification, and, from an hostess or a victualler, come in time to signify a harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text, that she did drive both these trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which she expressed in GOD, and her behaviour to his two servants, might well deserve to have the most favourable construction put upon her profession. To which we may add, that it is not likely, that *Salmon* would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if she had been such a publick woman; he who was a prince of the house of *Judah*, and one of the *Messiah*'s ancestors.

However we do not pretend to enter into a scrutiny, how far her hospitality to her two guests was blameable or praise-worthy, or how far she was guilty of betraying her country; much less shall we take upon us to justify the lye she told the king's officers, as some have done with more zeal than discretion (72); but thus much may be said on her behalf, setting even aside her faith for which she is commended in the gospel, that if she had heard of the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, *Sihon*, and *Og*; the king of *Jericho* could not be ignorant of it. It was therefore as natural for her to be terrified at it, and to provide for her safety, as it was for him to make a brave resistance, or perish in the attempt. To this we may add, that if what the scripture seems to intimate plainly enough, be true, that *Joshua* was obliged to offer peace, before he made use of the sword against any of the *Canaanitish* nations †, it was lawful for her or any other subject to accept it, as it was glorious for a monarch to refuse it. At least we think, that the refusal of such advantageous terms from an irresistible conqueror, at the risk of being all infallibly massacred by him, for the sake of a king, who, for ought that appears to the contrary, might be but a petty tyrant, and of a people whom fear had rendered incapable of making a defence, when perhaps the difference between being under the natural monarch, if he was really such, or under the conqueror, was either inconsiderable, or, it may be, on the side of the latter, such a refusal, we say, would have been an instance of patriotism that could hardly be expected from a *Canaanite*, much less from such a young inn-keeper as *Rahab* must have been, as she was the mother of *Boaz* above thirty years after, as *Junius* has fully shewn in the place above quoted.

(68) *Vid* ערוך *seu Lexic. R. Nathan.* (69) R. R. SALOM. JONA. LEVI BEN. GERSH. *vid.* & MUNST. *in loc.* (70) *In Rad.* (71) *Vid. Jun. in Epist. Jacob. ii.* 25. (72) *Vid. interpr. al.* TREMEL. *in loc.* † *Vid. supr. p.* 531 *not.* (p)

a camp on the third day, and related to *Joſhua* all that had happened to them [p], who could not but applaud himſelf, that he had made ſo much better choice than *Moſes* had done before upon the like occaſion.

Return to the camp and make their report.

THE conſternation, which they told him had overſpread itſelf throughout that whole land, was univerſally looked upon as a ſure omen of their future ſucceſs, and *Joſhua* failed not to improve it, by aſſuring them, that it was GOD himſelf who had injected ſuch a terror among their enemies, and that they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and half of their former promiſe of aſſiſting their brethren in the conqueſt of the land, and they on their part as readily promiſed b to obey his orders at the peril of their lives [q]. However, as thoſe tribes compoſed an army of upwards of an hundred thouſand fighting men, *Joſhua* contented himſelf with leſs than one half, and left the reſt to defend their new poſſeſſions and families. After this he cauſed it to be proclaim'd through the camp, that they ſhould paſs over *Jordan* within three days, during which time they ſhould make proviſion for victuals, ſeeing the manna was to ceaſe as ſoon as they had ſet foot on the other ſhore, and had taſted the bread of that country, as it actually did †; and then gave the ſignal for marching from *Shittim* to the neighbouring ſhore of that river. As ſoon as they were encamped there, *Joſhua* ſent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be obſerv'd in this ſolemn march. The prieſts bearing the ark were to begin the c proceſſion, and, as ſoon as their feet touching the water had opened a miraculous way [r] to them, each tribe was to follow in the ſame order as they had obſerved in all their marches, keeping however the awful diſtance, preſcribed of two thouſand cubits, from that ſacred ſymbol of the divine preſence *, whilſt thoſe that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole hoſt of *Iſrael* had got ſafe to the other ſhore.

They prepare to march towards Jordan.

The order of croſſing that river.

To inſpire the people ſtill with a greater regard for this wonderful paſſage, they were commanded to ſanctify themſelves, as had been formerly done upon ſuch ſolemn occaſion ‡, by waſhing their cloaths, avoiding all impurities, and d abſtaining from matrimonial intercourſe, on the eve of their march. He charged likewiſe every tribe to ſend a man to him, to be ready to execute ſuch orders as he ſhould give them on the morrow; which was no ſooner come, than the prieſts began their march towards the river, and the people made themſelves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below, the ark. This march happened on a friday, on the tenth day of the firſt month *Niſan*, which anſwers to our thirtieth of *April*, and was the day on which the lamb was to be choſen and ſet by for the paſſover [s], about which time the waters of *Jordan*, being uſually ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows of the *Libanon* and other neighbouring mountains, ſeldom or never failed to overflow its banks. As ſoon therefore as the prieſts that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, GOD, who had promiſed to ſignalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner as he had done their old one at the red ſea, cauſed the waters of the river from above to go back, and to riſe up in heaps far beyond the city of *Adam*, which is beſide that of *Zaretan* (Y), whilſt thoſe below, continuing their courſe towards the *ſea of the plain*, otherwiſe called the *Salt*,

Which divides itſelf to open a dry paſſage.

[p] Joſh. ii. per tot. [q] Ibid. i. 12. & ſeq. † Ibid. v. 12. [r] Ibid. iii. 13.
* Ibid. ver. 4. ‡ Vid ſupr. p. 448. b. 513. c. [s] USHER's Ann. p. 25.

(Y) This city was afterwards called *Zeredat hah.* It belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and became famous for the fine copper-works which *Hiram* did caſt there for the temple of *Solomon* (73). As for the city of *Adam*, though ſome geographers place it upon the *Dead*-ſea, that is, below the place where the waters divided themſelves (74), it is plain from the text, that it was above it towards *Scythopolis*; ſo that if the place where they croſſed was about *Bethabara*: where *John* did baptize, as ſome think (75), the waters muſt have riſen near ſixty miles upwards. What adds therefore ſtill to the miracle is, 1ſt, that none of thoſe cities that were ſituate along the ſhore, where the waters roſe up to ſuch a heighth, were drowned, or even hurt, as we can find; and 2dly, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, right overagainſt whom they croſſed the river, did not make ſome bold attempt to have diſputed a paſs of ſuch conſequence, and obſtructed their croſſing; all which can only be attributed to the ſame miraculous power which kept the waters ſuſpended.

(73) 2 Chron. iv. 17. *Geogr. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 13. (74) CELLAR. (75) *Vid.* CALM. *Comm. in Joſh. & Hiſt. V. T.*

Salt, or *Dead*, ſea, opened a paſſage of about ſixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the *Iſraelites*, till they were all got ſafe to the other ſide.

During all the time of their croſſing the prieſts continued with the ark in the midſt of the *Jordan*, and waited only for *Joſhua*'s orders, when to come out and joyn the reſt of the camp. But *Joſhua*, who deſigned to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful tranſaction, commanded them to ſtand ſtill, till he had made thoſe twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, to take twelve large ſtones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark ſtood, ſo that they might be ſeen afterwards from each ſhore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the ſame time he made them take up twelve other ſtones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the ſhore; which was no ſooner done than the prieſts had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to retake their uſual courſe. *Joſhua*, who by this time was in as high eſteem with the people as *Moſes* had been before, failed not to charge them to tranſmit to their poſterity the occaſion and meaning of theſe two monuments[t], both which, if we may believe *Euſebius* and others, were ſtill to be ſeen many centuries after[v]. From this place *Joſhua* commanded the vanguard, which conſiſted of the forty thouſand men of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*, to march towards the plains of *Jericho*[w], and theſe were ſoon followed by the reſt of the army, and encamped at *Gilgal*, about ſeven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and about three or four from *Jericho*.

Two monuments of it reared up.

In the mean time the feaſt of the paſſover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumciſed perſon was to be admitted under the ſevereſt penalties; and yet at leaſt two thirds of the men were ſo. That ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, ſo that all that had been circumciſed beſides *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, were only thoſe who were under twenty years of age at the rebellion of *Cadeſh-Barnea*, all the reſt were dead in the wilderneſs †; it was therefore neceſſary before all things that it ſhould be renewed out of hand: wherefore *Joſhua* was commanded to have it immediately perform'd. The circumſtance of time was altogether favourable for ſuch an operation; and their miraculous paſſage over the *Jordan* had ſpread ſuch an univerſal dread among their enemies, that they now had no cauſe to apprehend being ſurprized by them, as the *Shechemites* had been by *Simeon* and *Levi*. Beſides, it was God that commanded, to whom they had all the reaſon in the world to commit their ſafety, ſo that his orders were cheerfully and punctually obeyed. The ſharp ſtones which they made uſe of being more proper for the ceremony than knives or razors made of metal, as being leſs apt to cauſe inflammations, was a means of their being ſooner healed, and conſequently in a condition to celebrate the paſſover at the appointed time, as it was accordingly done; and God highly pleaſed with their obedience, told them, that he had now, *removed, or rolled away from them, the reproach of* Egypt, that is, that he did no longer look upon them as *uncircumciſed* Egyptians, but as his own people, in memory of which the place was called *Gilgal*, or *rolling* (Z).

Circumciſion renewed.

This

[t] Joſh. iii, & iv. per tot. [v] Euseb. loc. Hebr. ſub Bounos & Gilgal. Anselim. Adret. Joſ. Mosch. Vit. patr. & al. ap. Calm. Hiſt. V. T. lib. 3. cap. 1. [w] Joſh. iv. 12, 13.
† Vid. ſupr. p. 556. d.

(Z) The text in this place (76) uſes an expreſſion which has puzzled ſeveral commentators, and even St. *Jerom*, as great an *Hebraiſt* as he was, to find out what this circumciſion was, that was performed a ſecond time. The generality of the *Jews* affirm that they had been circumciſed in the wilderneſs, but that one of the three parts of the ceremony, namely the puſhing quite back the remainder of the ſkin of the penis after the fore part was cut off had been omitted during thoſe forty years, becauſe it put the infant to too much pain and agony. And that it was this operation which *Joſhua* cauſed to be performed, and which, being as troubleſome as the other two, is therefore here called a ſecond circumciſion (77). Another learned *Jew* (78), having taken upon him to prove from the words of *Jeremiah*, *I will puniſh the circumcized that have foreſkin* (79), for ſo he reads it, that it was poſſible to bring the foreſkin again by art, ſome have thought that the *Iſraelites* had done ſo during their abode in the wilderneſs; for which they were ordered to be circumciſed afreſh. Thoſe *Chriſtians* who have embraced this notion, pretend to back it by the words of St. *Paul* (80), *if any man is called, being uncircumciſed, μη περιτεμνεσθω let him not get a foreſkin again*, or, as we render it, *let him not become uncircumciſed* (81). To conclude

(76) Joſh. v. 2. (77) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.* (78) *Rab. Nath. in Lexic.* ערוך *ſub. voc.* ערלה. (79) Jerem. ix. 25. (80) 1 Cor. vii. 18. (81) *Vid.* Drus. *ap.* Cunn.

THIS was the third time of their celebrating that feſtival; the firſt was at
a their departure out of *Egypt*, and the ſecond on the next year at the ſetting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount *Sinai*, ſince when, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or any other reaſon, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells, the *Iſraelites* having provided themſelves with corn both old and new, they baked themſelves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the ſhaves, and eat it inſtead of bread, this laſt being equally ſuitable to the feaſt, as being eaten without leven. In this place it was alſo, that GOD, or, as ſome will have it [x], his angel, appeared unto *Joſhua* in the plain, in the ſhape of a warrior, ſtanding at ſome diſtance
b from him with a drawn ſword. *Joſhua* knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to reconnoitre the city, and contrive the propereſt means of beſieging it. Being therefore ſurprized to ſee a man ſtand ſo near him in that hoſtile poſture, he aſked him, whether he was for or againſt *Iſrael?* and upon his anſwering, that he was the captain of the Lord's hoſt, *Joſhua* fell down at his feet and worſhipped him, whilſt the viſion commanded him to ſhew the ſame reſpect to the place, as *Moſes* had formerly done at the ſight of the miraculous buſh *. He had no ſooner obeyed, and in the humbleſt terms expreſs'd his readineſs to receive his command [y], than the Lord was pleaſed to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have *Jericho* beſieged, that the reſt of the *Canaanites*
c might be made ſenſible, that it was not an arm of fleſh that fought againſt them (A).

The paſſover celebrated.

God appears to Joſhua.

WE have already given ſome account of the ſiege and taking of this place in the hiſtory of *Canaan* †*. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, ſome to help to defend it, and others to ſave themſelves, had been cloſely ſhut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in perſon, no man being ſuffered to go in or out of it, and that, on the ſeventh day which was the ſabbath, the circumviction of the ark was repeated ſeven times with the uſual ſolemnity; the prieſts ſounding with the rams-horns (B), and the ſame guard of armed men marching

[x] GROT. LE CLERC, & al. vid. ſupr. p. 484. note (S) & alib. * Vid. ſupr. p. 488. at the end of note (V), [y] Joſh. v. per tot. †* Sup. p. 330. e.

which St. *Jerom* has taken a great deal of pains to prove though perhaps without any reaſon, that this prepuce can never be recovered, when once cut off; and conſequently, that the circumciſion mentioned in *Joſhua*, muſt be underſtood of the circumciſion of the heart, and to have been performed with a ſpiritual knife. The truth is, that good father, though the moſt learned of all that bear that name, was ſo fond of the virginal, and ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt a matrimonial ſtate, that he has wreſted theſe words, thoſe of the apoſtle, and a vaſt number more out of the old and new teſtament in favour of his favourite opinion, right or wrong, and wrote with ſuch an air of triumph, and with ſo much heat againſt his oppoſers (82), that when he became ſenſible of it, he made no difficulty to cenſure himſelf for it in a pathetic apology, which is perhaps the fineſt piece of oratory that ever he penned, and may well atone for his indiſcreet zeal in favour of celibacy. However, all the difficulty in the words before us ariſes from miſunderſtanding the idiom of the original, and would have been eaſily removed if they had been tranſlated or paraphraſed thus:——*Let*, the ceremony of, *circumciſion*, which has been ſo long diſcontinued, *be renewed*, or, *ſet on foot* once more.

(A) Nothing could be more wiſely ordered than this miraculous manner of taking the city; not only to ſignalize the firſt conqueſt of the *Iſraelites* in the land of *Canaan*, but likewiſe to inject ſuch a terror into its inhabitants, as might either make them more ready to accept their terms of peace, or, at the worſt to induce them to ſave their own lives, by timely abandoning the country to the conquerors. To ſay that the latter was impracticable is begging the queſtion; nay, the contrary ſeems plain from the *Gibeonites* finding means to ſend two different embaſſies to *Joſhua* ‡; though they could not do it without paſſing through ſome of the territories of the allied kings, as will appear by and by from the geography of that country.

(B) The original is שפרות היובלים *Shopheroth-hajoblim*, which all the *Jews* in general (83), and after them very many *Chriſtians*, underſtand, as we do, of trumpets made of rams-horns *. And from the word יובל, *jobel*, the ſingular of it, they alſo think the *jubilee* to have taken its name, becauſe it was to be proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (84). We ſhall have occaſion to offer a more proper etymon of the word, when we come to ſpeak of the jubilee itſelf; in the main time there have not been wanting thoſe who have oppoſed this notion as ridiculous, becauſe they think it impoſſible to perforate them ſo as to give any ſuch ſhrill ſound (85), and therefore have ſuppoſed them to have been made of copper, in the ſhape of rams-horns. But this notion, as well as the impoſſibility of boring

(82) HIERON, *cont. Jovinian. in Joſh. in loc. & alib.* ‡ *Vid. ſupr. p.* 331. *& ſeq.* (83) *Ita Rabin. ſer. omn. vid* MUNST. *in loc.* * SPENC. & MEYER. *de rem. ſacr. c. xiv.* § 11. GOODW. *Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c.* 10. § 2. *& al. mult.* (84) *Id. ibid. vid & R. Selomo Ben. Melech in* Levit. XXV. 10. (85) MASIUS *in* Joſh. vi. 4. BOCHART *Hieroz. l. ii. c.* 43. CALM. *& al.*

The manner of taking Jericho.

marching before and after it, as had been done during the firſt ſix days. The whole proceſſion, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, kept at ſuch a diſtance from the walls as to be out of reach of their ſhot, whilſt the beſieged, too well ſkilled in warlike affairs to think, that a city was to be taken by ſuch whimſical marches, did probably conclude, that they were only making an aukward ſhow of their ſtrength. However, as ſoon as the ſeventh round was ended, the ſound of the trumpets was accompanied with an univerſal ſhout of all the beſiegers, and this was followed by the fall of the city wall which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was next before him. Their firſt care was

Rahab *and her family ſaved.*

to convey *Rahab* and all her family out of the city, and theſe were no ſooner got ſafely out, but the *Iſraelites* killed all the men, women, children, and cattle that were found in it, after, which having ſeized upon all the gold, ſilver, braſs, and other baſer metals to be repoſited in the treaſury, they ſet the place on fire, and levelled it to the ground. *Joſhua* added a prophetic curſe on the man that ſhould afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing, that he ſhould lay the foundation of it in his firſt-born, and ſet up the gates againſt his youngeſt ſon[z], by which the *Jews* do underſtand, that all his children from the biggeſt to the leaſt ſhould die an untimely death before he had finiſhed it[a]. However, we find it literally fulfilled above five hundred and fifty years after by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, who laid the foundations of it in his eldeſt ſon *Abiram*, and ſet up its gates in his youngeſt ſon *Segub* accordingly[b]. Such was the fatal end of *Jericho*, which *Moſes* choſe to call by the name of the city of palm-trees[c], by reaſon of the great number of them that grew in the plain round about it. To which *Joſephus* adds, that the tree from which flowed the famed balm of *Gilead*, and other odoriferous trees, did likewiſe grow in its neighbourhood[d], from whoſe flagrancy it is ſuppoſed to have been named *Jericho*, which in the original ſignifies odour (C). As for *Rahab* and her family, they had a place aſſigned them out of the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, and ſhe was ſoon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, and her marriage to *Salmon*[e], head of the tribe of *Judah* as was hinted before: whether the reſt of her kindred followed her example or no, is neither certain, nor of great conſequence (D).

She is married to Salmon.

In

[z] Joſh. vi. per tot. [a] Vid. MUNST. in loc. [b] 1 Kings xvi. ver ult. [c] Deuter. xxxiv. 3. [d] Jew. Wars. l. v. c. 4. [e] Matth. i. 5. Vid. USHER's Ann. p. 26.

boring a ram's horn, has been ſufficiently confuted by our learned *Spencer*. Sure it is, that it has a ſofter part in the inſide, which is eaſily drawn out whole by art, after which they are hollow all the way up, except about four or five inches towards the tip; part of which is ſawed off to make it broad enough for the mouth, after which the reſt is eaſily bored. And we can aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen ſome of them made in that manner, and uſed by ſhepherds and ſwineherds in the ſouth parts of *Germany*.

Joſephus, who is very particular in deſcribing thoſe ſilver ones which *Moſes* made (86), ſays little or nothing of theſe here, but calls them plainly horns (87); only when he comes afterwards to ſpeak of thoſe which *Gideon* and his men made uſe of (88), he calls them rams-horns (89). However, let them have been made how, and of what they would, 'tis plain from this inſtance of *Gideon* and ſome others both before and after him, that, beſides thoſe trumpets which were appropriated to the prieſts, to ſound before the ark, to proclaim feaſts, jubilees, and the like, whoſe number was increaſed to ſeven in *Joſhua*'s (90), and to ſix ſcore in *Solomon*'s time (91); (*Joſephus* ſays (92) two hundred thouſand, and adds, *that it was according to* Moſes's *command*, though upon what authority is hard to gueſs) beſides theſe, I ſay, 'tis plain, there were others for the war, which each general cauſed to ſound upon all exigencies. Thus *Ehud*, after he had privately killed *Eglon* King of *Moab*, ſounded a trumpet, and gathered *Iſrael* on mount *Ephraim* (93). And the ſame was afterwards done by *Joab*, *Abſalom*, and many more (94).

(C) This however muſt not be literally underſtood, as if there had been no City of that Name from *Joſhua* to *Hiel*, ſince we read of the City of *Palm-trees* in *Eglon*'s time (95), and of *Jericho* in *David*'s days, for there it was that he bid his embaſſadors ſtay, till their beards, which had been cut off by *Hanun* King of *Ammon*, were grown again (96). And *Joſephus* tells us, this new one was rebuilt not upon the ſpot of the old, the ruins of which, he ſays, were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, but at a ſmall diſtance from it (97), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the geography of *Canaan*. However, after *Hiel* had ventured to rebuild the old town, no ſcruple was made of inhabiting it; ſo that it became afterwards famous upon many accounts. Here the prophet ſweetened the waters of a ſpring that ſupplied it and the neighbouring countries: here *Herod* built a ſumptuous palace: it was the dwelling place of *Zacheus*, and was honoured with Chriſt's preſence, who likewiſe vouchſafed to work ſome miracles there.

(D) The *Jews* tell us, that *Joſhua* was very

(86) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 12. (87) *Ibid. l.* 5, c. 1. (88) Judg vii. 8. *& ſeq.* (89) *Ant. l. v. c.* 8. (90) Joſh. vi. 4. (91) 2 Chron. v. 12. (92) *Ant. l. viii. c.* 2. (93) Judg. iii. 27. (94) *Vid.* 2 Sam. ii. 28. xv. 10. *& alib.* (95) Judg. iii. 13. (96) 2 Sam. x. 5. (97) JOSEPH. *Ant. lib. v. c.* 1. *& al.*

a In the mean time, though the wonderful ſucceſs of the *Iſraelites* againſt this city opened a way to new conqueſts, yet their general, wiſely conſidering the time which the making and dividing of them would take, during which his numerous army muſt be ſupplied with proviſions, choſe to make that fruitful plain the center of his camp, from whence he might conſtantly draw out a ſufficient number of men to invade other territories, till they had ſo far enlarged their own as to admit of a diſtribution between the tribes, which was not done till ſix years after †. As ſoon therefore as *Joſhua* had ſettled the beſt order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thouſand men againſt the king of *Ai*, whoſe capital was about ten or twelve miles diſtant from *Jericho*, where they received b an unexpected repulſe, with the loſs of about thirty ſix men. This defeat, how ſmall ſoever, did ſo damp the people's courage, that *Joſhua* was forced to have recourſe to GOD, who immediately anſwered by *Urim*, as is ſuppoſed, that his commands had been ſacrilegiouſly infringed, and ordered him to diſcover the guilty perſon by lot, and (E) to puniſh him with immediate death. *Joſhua* loſt no time, and having caſt lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan*, the ſon of *Carmi* of the tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the ſacrilege, who, at the general's requeſt, confeſt, that he had concealed ſome of the accurſed plunder of *Jericho*. His crime was no ſooner verified by the ſearch that was made in his tent, than he, his children, cattle, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent c valley, which was from that time called the valley of *Achor*, or *trouble*, from the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people, and there the former were ſtoned to death, and the reſt burnt (F); after which they reared up an heap of ſtones, for a monument of his crime and a determent to the reſt [f].

The Iſraelites *repulſed at* Ai.

Achan's *crime puniſhed.*

THE

† Vid. ſupr. p. 333. b.

[f] Joſh. vii. per tot.

doubtful, whether the promiſe which the two ſpies had made to *Rahab* was lawful or not, and that he could not ratify it, till he had firſt conſulted *Eleazar* the high-prieſt and the ſeventy elders, who not only gave ſentence in her favour, but pronounced her worthy of a greater reward than ſhe had ſtipulated; upon which, as ſoon as ſhe had accompliſhed the days of her purification without the camp, on account of her being a *Gentile*, ſhe was admitted a proſelyte, and ſoon after married to *Salmon* the ſon of *Nauſhon*, and great grandfather of *David*. A *Romiſh* chronologiſt (98) ſays upon the authority of the *Jewiſh* rabbies, that *Joſhua* married her, from which another writer of the ſame church has inferred, that it was a grand daughter of hers of the ſame name, that was afterwards married to *Salmon* (99); but, as we can ſee no foundation for either of theſe notions, we have choſen to follow the far greater majority of chronologers, and particularly the learned *Uſher*, who affirms, that it was this *Rahab* whom *Salmon* took to wife †. However, as it is forbidden, by the cxiiith negative precept of *Moſes*, to make any affinity with any of the ſeven nations there mentioned (100), the *Jews* affirm her to have been of ſome other nation, and only an inhabitant of *Jericho* (1), which is not at all improbable, ſeeing they were ſo ſtrangely intermixed, as we have ſeen elſewhere ‡.

(E) How theſe lots were caſt is neither plain from ſcripture, nor agreed about by commentators, though we have a great many inſtances of their being made uſe of, both to diſcover guilty perſons, not only by the *Jews*, as in this and the caſe of *Saul* (2), but by other nations, as we find by the hiſtory of *Jonah*; and for ſeveral other purpoſes bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itſelf was performed, except the calling of the tribes one after another till it came to the right, and ſo down to the inferior branches of each family till they came at laſt to ſingle perſons, as in the two caſes above mentioned, except this we have nothing certain about it. *Joſephus* (3) only ſays, that it was done before the high-prieſt and ſeventy elders. To this other *Jews* add, that they were made to paſs before the ark, and that the high-prieſt was directed by the *Urim* to pitch upon the right tribe, family, *&c.* (4). However that be, the lawfulneſs of this way of caſting lots cannot be denied, ſeeing it was not only countenanced, if not preſcribed, by GOD, but afterwards practiſed even by the apoſtles (5), though the heatheniſh ſuperſtition which did ſince mix itſelf with it, and the vile purpoſes to which it has been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(F) The law againſt ſacrilege condemning the tranſgreſſor to the flames, and GOD commanding the perſon here guilty to be burnt accordingly (6), the *Jews* affirm, that *Achan* was actually burnt (7); and whereas it is ſaid in the text, that he was ſtoned (8), they think it to have been done accidentally by the people, who were ſo highly provoked, that they could not forbear caſting ſtones at him as he was led to execution (9). However, their large comment on this place obſerves judiciouſly enough, that he was alſo guilty of the breach of the ſabbath, becauſe it was on that day that *Jericho* was taken, and therefore, that as he had been guilty of a double crime, ſacrilege and ſabbath breaking, ſo he received the double puniſhment preſcribed, ſtoning and burning (10). The *Jews* add, that the place where the 3000 men were routed by the men of *Ai*, was called שברים, *Shebarim*, breaches or defeats, from the defeat which they received there, as עכור, *Achor* was from the grief which *Achan* cauſed them.

(98) GENEBR. *Chronol. p.* 13. (99) BE RUY. *Hiſt. de Peup. de Dieu. Age iii. l.* 1. † USH. *Ann. p.* 26. (100) Deut vii. 1, *& ſeq.* (1) *Vid.* מצות לא תעשה: *ſub* מצוה: CXII. ‡ *Vid. ſupr. p.* 322. *& ſeq.* (2) 2 Sam. xiv. 38, *& ſeq.* (3) *Ant. l.* v. *c.* 1. (4) *Vid.* MUNST. *in* Joſh. vii. (5) Acts i. *ver. ult.* (6) Joſh. vii. 15. (7) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc. ver.* 25. (8) *Ibid.* (9) MUNST. *ibid.* (10) *Bammidbar. Rab. in loc.*

Canaan conquered in six years.

THE army being thus purged, as *Josephus* words it, they had much better success, not only in their next expedition against *Ai*, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which was, though not perfectly, finished in six years. But as we have already given some account of it in the history of *Canaan* *, we shall, to avoid prolixity and repetition, refer the other material circumstances, that have been either but lightly touched upon there, or postponed as foreign, such as the setting up the tabernacle in *Shiloh*, engraving the law on stone, setting up the blessings and curses, and the like, to the next article of the geography and partition of the land, where the whole will be more distinctly seen at one view.

The sun stands still at Joshua's *prayer.*

IN the mean time our readers will not perhaps think it amiss, if we venture to subjoin here some few, we hope not improper, remarks upon those two miraculous transactions which happened at this time; namely, the stopping the course of the sun by *Joshua*, and the remarkable rain of hail-stones, which did such a terrible execution upon the confederate army of the *Canaanites*, both which happened on the same day §; but having been but barely mentioned before ‡, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them, how many, otherwise learned men, among the *Christians* have scrupled to fall in with the *Copernican* system, in this and many other countries free from the inquisition, upon a mistaken notion, that it is point blank contrary to several express testimonies of holy writ, among which this of the sun and moon standing still is strenuously urged by them; whilst others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to question its divine authority, because it favoured so absurd a one as that of *Ptolemy* is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was doubtless this last error which gave occasion to those two witty, though profane, sayings reported of that great philosopher *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, that *if the system of the earth's standing still were true, the whole universe was but a bungling piece of mechanism; and that if he had been admitted into* GOD*'s council at the creation, he could have saved him a world of trouble* †.

Now it is plain, that these two extremes might have been easily avoided by two very obvious observations, namely, 1st, that the expressions here made use of, *sun stand still upon* Gibeon, and so on, are figurative, and incapable of a literal sense (G); and 2d, that the system which places the earth immoveable in the center, and supposes the sun, moon, and stars to turn round it, was the most universally received, the most adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freest from seeming difficulties, because most agreeable to common appearances and observations; and that the gross *Israelites* were so used to it, that had *Moses*, *Joshua*,

*** Supr. p. 332. c. § Josh. x. 12. & seq. ‡ Ubi supr.] † Vid. BACON's Apophthegms.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun be thou silent in, or upon*, Gibeon, *and thou moon in the valley of* Ajalon; and in the next verse it is said, that they stood still accordingly; now it is plain, that those two luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over, these places in any other than a relative sense, and that they had a different situation with respect to those that were one mile east or west of the place where *Joshua* stood. We may venture to add, that it was impertinent to make the moon stand still with the sun, upon any other supposition than that *Joshua* had the solar system in his thoughts when he used those expressions, because the presence of the moon was useless to him as long as he had that of the sun, but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in *statu quo*, till he had accomplished his conquest, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but know, that upon the earth's standing still, both the sun and moon, and all the rest must seem to do so. It is plain our great philosopher Sir *Isaac Newton*, who was sufficiently master of the *Hebrew*, was not frighted by these, or any such popular phrases from his favourite system, though no man payed a greater deference to the authority of the scriptures than he did; and that he thought it sufficient that the effect was the same, whether the sun or the earth were supposed to be stopped in their career.

If it be asked how it was possible for the earth to resist, for so many hours, the impulse of the circumambient fluid of the *Cartesians*, or of the attraction and gravitation of the *Newtonian* system, or of whatever other mover that hurries it along, without causing an universal stop in the whole system? besides, that the objection will be equally strong, if not stronger, in the other hypothesis of the sun standing still, it may be answered, that the fact being altogether preternatural, we need but suppose a sufficient power to have diverted that impulse from the earth, and directed it to glide on each side it, and then all the rest might easily keep on their motion, though this stood still all the while. However, we do not pretend to answer all the objections that have been raised against the possibility of this miracle from principles, which for ought we know, have no foundation but in the heads of those who first invented them; we think it enough to say, that the supreme author of nature, who first gave motion to matter, and whose will alone appointed the laws of it, can either suspend, or dispense with them, whenever his own glory, or any wise ends of his providence, make it necessary, or expedient: to doubt of this is to deny the truth of all miracles, and unworthy of any answer.

or any other inſpired writer, known any thing of the ſolar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous, to have ſo much as hinted at it. However, theſe conſiderations, though obvious and reaſonable, have been ſo far from being univerſally admitted, that a great number of authors, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, have ranſacked their brains to find out more ſatisfactory ſolutions, though with ſo little circumſpection and ſucceſs, that they have rather multiplied, than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

The ſyſtems of ſome authors concerning it examined.

a Among the firſt ſome have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a chariot is from a full gallop to an even pace [h], from an expreſſion uſed there, that *the ſun did not haſten to go down about a whole day.* But whether or no they thought it eaſier to retard, than b wholly to ſuſpend their motion, ſure it is, that neither of them could be done but by a ſupernatural power; the ſame may be ſaid of what ſome rabbies affirm, that God ſubſtituted ſome meteor, or body of light [i], or that he retained the moon above the horizon to ſupply the abſence of the ſun [k]; but all theſe are modeſt men in compariſon to the learned *Maimonides*, who makes all the miracle of this tranſaction to have conſiſted in a bare wiſh or prayer of *Joſhua*, that the ſun might not go down till he had gained a compleat conqueſt, and in God's granting his requeſt, not by ſtopping the ſun's career during ſo many hours, as we underſtand it, but by enabling that general and his army, to do as much execution in c one, as would reaſonably have taken up two days [l]. After this we need not wonder, if *Spinoſa*, the laſt among the *Jews* we ſhall mention, has ſtill improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the ſun's rays by the ſky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people miſtook for the ſun's ſtanding ſtill. According to him *Iſaiah* was no better a philoſopher than *Joſhua*, when he attributed the change that happened upon Ahaz's dial to the retrogreſſion of the ſun, rather than to a refraction of it from ſome cloud [m].

Maimonides *and* Spinoſa *confuted.*

d We do very much queſtion, whether any of theſe, eſpecially the two laſt, would ever have been thought worth anſwering, or even mentioning, had they not been too cloſely followed by ſome very learned *Chriſtians*, proteſtants as well as papiſts. We ſhall only take notice of three of the moſt eminent of them, namely, *Grotius*, *Peirerius*, and *Le Clerc*, whoſe ſentiments, as well as what has been ſaid to confute them, we ſhall now give in as few words as the ſubject will admit of.

As for *Grotius*, though he doth not think it impoſſible, that God ſhould ſuſpend the courſe of the ſun, or make it appear upon our horizon after it is ſet, yet he is ſo far from granting that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of leſs moment, in the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* [n], to be a ſtrong argument againſt it (H). And therefore what is ſaid in

Grotius *confuted.*

[h] Chald. Paraph. R. Levi Ben Gersh. & al. Vid. Munst. in loc. & Calm. Differt. [i] R. Eliakim. B. Napthal. שם טוב. [k] Jos. & Dav. Kimchi. vid. מבלול. & Epiſt. ſup. Mor. Nevoch. Maimonid. [l] More Nevoch. part ii. c. 39. [m] Tract. Theologico Politic. c. ii. [n] Hebr. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally againſt ſeveral other miraculous tranſactions, which are likewiſe omitted by the apoſtle, though expreſly mentioned in holy writ; ſuch as the plagues of *Egypt*, all the wonders wrought by *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, the miraculous paſſage over *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature. He doth not ſo much as ſpeak a word of the conqueſt of *Canaan*, or mention *Joſhua* among his worthies, though his character be ſo vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, and others that are mentioned in that place. Beſides it is plain, the deſign of this chapter was only to give ſome few notable inſtances of the wonderful power of faith: to have enumerated all that is recorded upon the ſubject would have ſwelled it beyond the bulk of the whole epiſtle; and to have been too curious in the choice of them, eſpecially to thoſe of his nation, who knew all theſe things as well as himſelf, would have been too affected, and have ſavoured too much of art and human wiſdom, which was always carefully and profeſſedly avoided by the inſpired writers *.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the ſilence of all the antient hiſtorians, which, it is urged, could never have been ſo univerſal, had ſuch a memorable tranſaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembered, that this fact is vaſtly previous to any profane writer, either extant or quoted, ſo that it was eaſy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be loſt among a vaſt multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the moſt antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out

* *Vid.* Luke xxi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 17, 21, 27. 2 Cor. i. 12. *& alib.*

in *Joshua*, that GOD hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with *Maimonides* to mean no more, than that GOD, at his request, granted him as much time and dispatch as was necessary to gain a compleat victory [o].

Peirerius *confuted.*

Peirerius, mentioned before † for his extraordinary skill in accounting for all scripture miracles in a natural way, supposes [p], contrary to all reason as well as the plain meaning of the text, that *Joshua* only wished for a longer day, about the time of the sun's setting, upon which the land of *Palestine*, or perhaps the territories only about *Gibeon*, were enlightened by a kind of twilight, or something like our *Aurora Borealis*, which, continuing long enough to answer *Joshua*'s purpose, was mistook by him for the sun, though it was actually set as usual; and made him and his army fancy that day to have been longer than any other by all that interval. But here the question is, not how far these *Parelia*, or mock suns, can supply the absence of the real one, but whether the historian's account can be capable of such a forced interpretation. The text says expressly, that the sun stood still in the mid heaven (I) at *Joshua*'s prayer, and that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known before or since. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of lights, as to have fancied the sun still above the horizon, could they be so stupid as not to know his usual place at noon from that of his setting? but should we suppose even this, could they chuse being undeceived, either by seeing it rise on the next morning at his usual time, or by the concurring testimony of other people who had seen him rise and set as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely, that they would have transmitted an account of it in such terms, as must of necessity betray either their want of common sense, or common honesty? Lastly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inspired, suppose, that the

[o] Comm. in Josh. x. 14. † Vid. supr. 528. note (L). [p] Præadamit. lib. iv. c. 6.

out of darkness, whence could the notion come into the poets heads of their demigods and heroes, having the power of lengthening days and nights, as best served their warlike or amorous designs, but most likely from this wonderful event? How came *Jupiter*, for instance, to be supposed to have spun the night which he spent with *Alcmene*, to twice its natural length? or *Minerva* to have done the same in favour of *Ulysses*, whilst he was butchering his competitors, and making himself known to his wife (11)? and many others of the like nature (12); but though we could bring nothing out of profane history to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument against the truth of it, or the veracity of the writer, abstracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the same candor, as we do of any other historian.

(I) The words are בחצי השמים, *in the midst of heaven*, or, *in the mid-heaven*, which is always understood, both by astronomers, and by the vulgar, to signify the place where the sun is at noon; and that he hasted not לבוא *to go down*, or literally to decline towards its setting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verse, that no day was ever like it, either before or since, doth plainly confirm it. However, as these authors seem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiss to try to confute them in their own way, by shewing, that their supposition of the sun's being then near setting, when *Joshua* stopped it, makes against their favourite hypothesis, and leaves him not time enough for all the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expressly said, that the army marched all that night from *Gilgal*, and came early in the morning to *Gibeon*, where *Joshua* engaged and beat the enemy, put them to flight, and pursued them from the ascent of *Bethoron* to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*; and that, as they were going down the descent of *Bethoron*, the storm of hail fell upon them, after which he commanded the sun to stand still in *Gibeon*, and the moon in *Ajalon*. All this might be done easily enough before the sun was past the meridian, and the situation of those two last places shows, that it must have have been about that time of the day. From the *Bethoron* here mentioned, or lower *Bethoron*, he pursued them to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*, which could not be less than twelve or fourteen miles, according to St. *Jerom*, who places the former at nine, and the latter at eight, miles, northward of *Eleuteropolis* †. There he is told, that the five kings had hid themselves in a cave, and he ordered the mouth of it to be stopped with a heap of stones, and then continues his pursuit till part of the enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities, and then returns to *Makkedah*. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down and buried again in the same cave. Can an army which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, kill them all the way they went, then come back to *Mazekah*, and execute and bury the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set and by the help of a refracted light? And if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? how much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting? The reader may further convince himself how much the situation of *Gibeon* and *Ajalon* is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, from the maps and geography that is to follow.

(11) *Vid.* HOM. *Odyss.* xxiii. ver. 242, 243.
(12) *Vid.* BACON. *Syren.* HUET. *Demonstr. Evan.* CALM. *Dissert. & al.*
(13) Josh. x. 13.
† *Vid. Epitaph. Paulæ, & loc. Hebr.*

a the holy Ghoſt would have ſuffered the *Hebrew* general, not only to have continued under ſuch a deluſion, but even to have tranſmitted it to poſterity with the divine ſtamp upon it?

THE laſt perſon, we propoſed to mention under this head, is the famous M. *Le Clerc*, who has not only embraced the ſentiments of the two former, but has endeavoured to back them with new reaſons. The two firſt are taken from *Joſhua*'s expreſſion, *Sun ſtand ſtill upon* Gibeon, which can admit of none but a figurative ſenſe; and from the literal one being contrary to the received ſolar ſyſtem. We have already ſhewn above, that they prove nothing on either ſide of the queſtion, and refer the reader to it. But he goes farther and ſays, b 3. That providence is too ſparing of miracles, to beſtow ſo ſignal a one, as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of ſo ſmall a moment, as the defeat of the *Canaaniti∫h* army in one day rather than in two. To this it is added, that *Joſhua*'s prayer was too unreaſonable for GOD to grant in the ſtrict ſenſe it is commonly underſtood in, ſince the next day might have done as well, without lengthening this at the expence of ſo great a miracle (K): But is not this very preſumptuous, and may not ſuch bold way of reaſoning, againſt the plaineſt facts mentioned in ſcripture, prove the ſource of endleſs errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold againſt all the other miracles wrought from *Moſes* to *Chriſt* himſelf? Why were ſo many done in *Egypt*, when *Pharaoh* might c have been ſoftened into compliance at a much eaſier rate? Why muſt the red-ſea or the *Jordan* be miraculouſly divided, when the former might have been coaſted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did *Chriſt* and his diſciples work ſuch a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones, well known and atteſted, were ſufficient to prove their divine miſſion? Well might *Job* ſay, *vain man would be wiſe* [q]. 4. The ſame author ſuppoſes the account of this tranſaction to have been taken from the book of *Jaſher*, or *the upright*, in which, like the expreſſions of other poetical works, eſpecially thoſe that are written in the eaſtern tongues, are too ſwollen and hyperbolical to admit of a literal ſenſe, and cannot be rightly underſtood, unleſs they be reduced vaſtly d below it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with examining how unreaſonable the ſuppoſition of ſuch diſparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and eſpecially of their being afterwards cloſely followed by an inſpired hiſtorian, whoſe ſtyle is every where elſe rather in the other extream: it will be ſufficient to ſay, that all this is affirmed gratis, and without any foundation. For who told *Grotius*, or our author, that the book of *Jaſher* was a poetical piece, abounding with ſuch hyperbolical flights? Sure it is, that no mention is made of it any where but in this place, and in the ſecond book of *Samuel* [*]; and theſe would rather incline one to believe it to have been a hiſtory of *Hebrew* worthies, written, and continued, by ſeveral hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the e ſuppoſition that they are the ſame book, which yet doth not appear. The *Jews* indeed think ſo, but then they underſtand by *Jaſher*, or righteous, *Moſes* himſelf, and this book to be the *Pentateuch*, in which are contained ſeveral promiſes of the wonders that GOD was to work in favour of his people [*,*]. But, as this is owing to a ſuperſtitious unwillingneſs in them, to own that any inſpired book could be loſt, they are not followed by any *Chriſtian*. However that be, M. *Le Clerc* has taken the pains to verſify the two places in queſtion, by the tranſpoſition of ſome words, in order to make it appear at leaſt probable, that the author of the book of *Joſhua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jaſher*, had only reduced them to hiſtorical proſe by the contrary tranſpoſition. But here we beg

Le Clerc *confuted.*

[q] Ch. xi. 12. [*] Ch. i. 18. [*,*] Vid. MUNST. in loc.

(K) The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the reaſon of the lengthening of this day was, becauſe the next was the ſabbath, which would have given the *Canaanites* an opportunity either of rallying or eſcaping, whilſt *Joſhua* and his army were at reſt (14); but, beſides that we have nothing but their bare word for it, it is plain from their own confeſſion, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the ſabbath, ſince *Jericho* was ſo lately taken on that day, as we hinted before. Some *Chriſtians* however ſay, it was on a ſunday that the ſun ſtood ſtill (15). The learned *Uſher* ſays nothing of the day, or even the month, in which it happened, but only ſuppoſes it to have been towards the latter end of the year (16). As for the number of hours which that day laſted more than uſual, the text is neither plain, nor authors agreed, and therefore we ſhall affirm nothing about it.

(14) *Rabbin in Sedar Olam. vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* (15) SERRAR. BONFRER. DE LYR. *in loc.* (16) *Ann. p.* 26.

beg leave to obſerve, that it is at leaſt a very bold aſſumption to ſay, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for the truth of a ſingle inſtance, has taken the whole from him. The moſt that can be fairly concluded from ſuch an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the ſame or equivalent terms; but ſuch as an honeſt hiſtorian would never have uſed, who had had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being ſo monſtrouſly exaggerated by poetic rapſody; and that all that was meant by thoſe expreſſions of the ſun and moon ſtanding ſtill in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby ſo miraculouſly lengthened, was no more than that there remained ſo much light after their ſetting, occaſioned by ſome unuſual refraction, as made the whole army think thoſe luminaries to be ſtill above the horizon.

As to what our author adds, that it is more probable, that *Joſhua* ſhould pray for a longer day, when he perceived the ſun juſt going to leave him, than when it was at his height; though it carries a great appearance of reaſon, yet can it by no means conclude againſt a poſitive text, backed with other circumſtances equally ſtrong on the other ſide. *Joſhua* might have his reaſons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to gueſs at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a compleat victory, which alone could ſave his new allies from the impending ruin, and able no doubt to compute what time it would take to atchieve it; ſo that his fear of loſing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But after all, where is the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing, that GOD, who deſigned to ſignalize this day's action, by one of the greateſt miracles that ever was done, did himſelf inſpire the *Hebrew* general with that wiſh or prayer, which otherwiſe perhaps would never have come into his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occaſion was too inconſiderable to deſerve ſuch a ſignal miracle, ſince it was only the giving one inconſiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but beſides, that this ſeems to ſet limits to the divine wiſdom and power, our author ſeems not to have examined the caſe thoroughly; we beg leave to do it for him, and to ſet it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader, that this battle was not fought offenſively, but defenſively on *Iſrael*'s ſide, and in order to ſave a people, whom they had ſolemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly deſtroyed upon that very account. The *Gibeonites*, as a free people, had a right to take all proper meaſures for their ſafety, ſo that *Joſhua* could not but look upon the confederacy formed againſt them as cruel and unjuſt, and conſequently, that it would have been baſe and diſhonourable in him to have refuſed them the deſired ſuccour upon any pretence whatſoever. To this we may add, that the honour of GOD himſelf was concerned in the preſervation of his new made proſelytes, whoſe alliance with the *Iſraelites* had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high-prieſt. Upon theſe conſiderations *Joſhua* loſes no time, but marches all that night to their aſſiſtance, and on the next day GOD is pleaſed to reward his faithfulneſs and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only ſaves the oppreſſed by the total defeat of the oppreſſors, but makes at once the whole land of *Canaan* ſenſible, that a mightier GOD was on *Iſrael*'s ſide than any that was worſhipped there, by ſtopping the courſe of the ſun and moon, the two grand deities of thoſe idolatrous nations. Had *Iſrael*'s ſword alone gained the conqueſt, it would have been imputed to their ſuperior valour and ſtrength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it than the rain of ſtones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at beſt, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the ſtopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus univerſally felt, could not but convince thoſe unhappy people, that the gods which they truſted to were ſubject to that of *Iſrael*, as well as prove a moſt powerful determent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

WHAT ſhows this laſt to be more than a bare conjecture is, that noble zeal which the nine tribes and half did expreſs ſome years after againſt their brethren on the other ſide *Jordan*, whom they ſuſpected to have ſet up an altar there with an idolatrous intent. This ſignal inſtance, being the more remarkable as it is perhaps the only one of that kind, is recorded by the divine hiſtorian †+†, with

†+† Joſh. xxii. per tot.

with all its circumſtances very much to their praiſe, and may be as properly inſerted here, as in any other place in this hiſtory, and is as follows.

THE tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*, having aſſiſted the reſt in the conqueſt of *Canaan*, as far as was thought neceſſary, were honourably diſmiſſed by their brethren; but before they landed on the other ſide *Jordan*, they took care to erect an altar of a prodigious ſize upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory, both of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour. However, their intention was ſo far miſtaken by their brethren, that they aſſembled themſelves at *Shiloh*, and there reſolved to enter into a bloody war againſt them, in caſe they could not diſculpate themſelves from the crime of rebellion and apoſtaſy, which this new altar had given them cauſe to ſuſpect them guilty of. They therefore deputed ten of their chiefs, with *Phinees* the high prieſt's ſon at their head, to go and enquire into the reaſons of this proceeding; and theſe were no ſooner come, than they began to charge them home with a manifeſt violation of GOD's law, and with a deſign of ſetting up ſome idolatrous worſhip there, ſince it was expreſly forbidden by *Moſes* to offer up any ſacrifices any where, but in the place which GOD was in due time to appoint. They reminded them of the heavy judgments which their former idolatries had brought upon them, and concluded their pathetic ſpeech with aſſuring them, that they were reſolved one and all to oppoſe, even at the peril of their lives, the introduction of any new worſhip, which might involve them in a greater guilt.

THOUGH their alarm and reproaches were ill grounded, yet, being imputed to their heat of zeal, they were not in any ways reſented by the reſt, who, being heard in their turn, took GOD to witneſs, that they had not built that ſumptuous altar with a deſign to offer up any ſacrifices there, much leſs to withdraw themſelves from his worſhip at the place that was to be appointed; but, on the contrary, to prevent their poſterity from being debarred that privilege in proceſs of time, either by their being diſowned by the other tribes, or by a pretence that GOD had ſeparated them from the commonwealth of *Iſrael*, by ſetting the river *Jordan* as a barrier between them. This anſwer, which was couched in the humbleſt terms, and backed with the ſtrongeſt tokens of ſincerity, not only gave the deputies and the reſt of the nation a full ſatisfaction, but fully ſhows how great a change all thoſe wonders had wrought on both ſides, and turned their ſtrongeſt propenſity to idolatry into a dread and utter deteſtation of it. Upon the whole then, ſince this miraculous tranſaction of ſtopping the courſe of the two luminaries is recorded in words ſo expreſs, ſo free from ambiguity, and ſo incapable of any other interpretation, without doing the greateſt violence both to the text and to the character of the hiſtorian, we cannot ſee, how it is poſſible to depart from the obvious meaning of the former, without denying the authority of the latter.

Some other objections urged againſt our ſide of the queſtion, ſuch as the intolerable heat to which *Joſhua*'s army muſt have been expoſed, had the ſun continued ſo long over their heads: the neceſſity there was of their ſtopping to refreſh themſelves with ſome ſuſtenance; and laſtly, that had *Joſhua* wrought a miracle, which ſo far exceeded thoſe of *Moſes*, he would have been greater than he: theſe, we ſay, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhow to what ſtrange ſhifts a favourite notion or ſyſtem will drive men of the greateſt learning. For 1ſt, the exceſſive heat of a vertical ſun might be allayed by interpoſing clouds and refreſhing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this ſuppoſition than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than uſual ‡ (L). As to the next, we need not tell our readers, that nothing is more common in ſuch exigencies as theſe, than for

‡ Ita MASIUS, GROTIUS, LE CLERC poſt MAIMON. ubi ſup.

(L) We may likewiſe add here, that the effects of ſuch a violent heat, as is here ſuppoſed, might be nothing ſo dreadful or fatal as is pretended, eſpecially to a people inured to it from their infancy, as the *Iſraelites* had been, during the ſpace of forty years. Hiſtory furniſhes us with inſtances enough of marches and battles in as hot regions and ſeaſons at leaſt, though thoſe exceſſive heats were nothing ſo natural to the armies that were expoſed to them. Even theſe more northern climates have ſometimes, nay very lately, endured ſuch a degree of ſultry weather, during ſome weeks ſucceſſively, as came little ſhort of that of the torrid zone, without any of thoſe ill conſequences which are urged by the other ſide.

for the ſoldiers, who carry their proviſion in their ſnapſacks, to take a piece in their hands and eat it as they march. The laſt thing objected, that ſuch a miracle would make *Joſhua* a greater man than *Moſes*, contrary to ſome expreſs texts of ſcripture, is too jejune to deſerve an anſwer. *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were both inſtruments in the hands of GOD, to whoſe glory alone the greatneſs of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, ſince one miracle cannot be ſaid to be greater than another, with reſpect to an Almighty power.

IT is plain then, that, if we admit the divine authority of this book, we cannot but look upon this tranſaction as altogether ſupernatural, and of the number of thoſe many which GOD was pleaſed to work in favour of the *Iſraelites*; it will be therefore needleſs to dwell long upon our next enquiry, how far the ſtorm of *hail-ſtones* that preceded it was ſo or not?

The rain of ſtones which fell upon the Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of hail, not ſo much in compliance with the modern taſte, as becauſe the original is capable of that ſenſe, without any great violence being done to it; yet it is plain to thoſe that underſtand it, that the moſt natural one is, that it was a ſhower of real ſtones (M). The misfortune is, that men, who are more afraid than hurted, are apt to run themſelves into greater difficulties than thoſe they endeavour to avoid; and whilſt they take ſuch care to ſcreen themſelves from the ſuſpicion of being over credulous, eſpecially in caſes which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in queſtion the moſt pregnant teſtimonies of the like facts in profane hiſtory, both antient and modern, but likewiſe caſt a diſtant reflection on the divine hiſtorian, and thoſe inſpired writers who have mentioned the ſame facts after him, as if they had deſignedly made choice of ſuch terms in their recording of them, as would make them appear more ſupernatural than they really were. For if nothing had fallen on the *Canaanites* but a common ſhower of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the ſize, why muſt they be ſuppoſed to have exaggerated it at any ſuch rate?

Le Clerc's notion confuted.

BUT here our two learned critics, *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, who uſed to go hand in hand before, have taken a ſeparate tract: the former believes them to have been real ſtones, becauſe he finds many parallel inſtances of it in profane hiſtory; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by ſeveral eminent authors on that ſide of the queſtion[r]. However, *Le Clerc* has not ſcrupled to affirm, that it was nothing elſe but a large ſhower of hail; to call teſtimonies alledged out of hiſtory mere forgeries, and the endeavours of ſome authors to account for it in a natural way trifling and not worth confuting. How eaſy he would have found the taſk, had he gone ſeriouſly about it, will be beſt known by an impartial view of the teſtimonies themſelves, and of what has been urged to prove the poſſibility of the thing from natural cauſes.

As to the firſt, we hope our readers will think it ſufficient for our purpoſe, to inſtance in two or three of the moſt pregnant and unqueſtionable facts recorded in antient hiſtory, and back them with ſome few of a more recent date, but too authentic to be ſo eaſily eluded: and if the latter are of ſuch a nature as to lead us to an eaſy diſcovery of their cauſe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for a ſufficient ground to admit the poſſibility, if not the reality, of the former. It is no wonder, that they who lived in the early ages of the world did look upon a ſhower of great ſtones as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonſtration. Such prodigies happen ſo ſeldom, that we find the *Romans*, above a thouſand

Inſtances of it out of hiſtory.

[r] G. J. Voss. in loc. CALM. Differt. on the ſubject, and others.

(M) The text literally runs thus, *And the Lord cauſed great ſtones to fall, or to be caſt, upon them, and many more died by the* אבני הברד, *Abne habarad, the hail-ſtones, than by the ſword*; and it is this laſt expreſſion that made the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *Joſephus* (17), and the author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (18), to underſtand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bigneſs, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand it is certain, that it is ſo far from being the obvious meaning of it, that the word *hail* ſeems rather to be uſed here to expreſs the vaſt quantity, bigneſs, vehemence, and execution of thoſe ſtones which then fell; and the expreſſion of flying and falling as thick as hail is not only common to all the antient, but is likewiſe retained in moſt modern languages; for which reaſon ſeveral learned men have underſtood it of a miraculous ſhower of real ſtones, as being the moſt eaſy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(17) *Ant. lib.* v. *c.* 1. (18) Eccluſ. xlvi. 6. (19) H. GROTIUS, MASIUS, BONFRER. GER. VOSS. JUN. MUNST. *& al. mult. Vid.* CALM. *Differt. on the ſubject.*

a thouſand years after *Joſhua*'s time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius* ſucceſſor to *Numa Pompilius*, till they had it confirmed by thoſe whom they ſent thither on purpoſe to examine it, who brought them word, that the fact was not only true, but that thoſe ſtones had fallen from the ſkies in the ſame manner as hail that is driven down by the wind [s]. They became in time more familiar and leſs queſtioned, eſpecially after that remarkable one which fell upon the ſame mountain, which the ſame author tells us [t] laſted two whole days. The ſame, or ſomething like it, is likewiſe affirmed to have been ſeen at *Rome*, *Capua*, *Lavinium*, and ſo many other places in *Italy*, by ſo many authentic au-
b thors [u], that we cannot ſee how they can with any modeſty be called in queſ-
tion (N). We might here alſo take notice of ſome other kinds of ſtony rains, mentioned by antient and modern authors, which are ſtill more natural, as be-
ing occaſioned either by vehement hurricanes, earthquakes, or by ſubterranean fires. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which fell upon and routed the *Perſians*, when they went to plunder the temple of *Delphos* [w], and are affirmed by other travellers to be very frequent in ſome parts of *America* †. Thoſe that fell upon the *Gauls*, upon the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by *Pauſanias*, but to an earthquake by *Juſtin* [x]. The laſt ſort is that which is
c cauſed by vulcanoes and ſubterraneous fires; and theſe are ſo well known, that we ſhall mention but two remarkable inſtances of it, of a very late date, name-
ly, that which preceded the ſurprizing emerſion of the iſle of *Santorino* out of the *Archipelago* in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account. That a dreadful noiſe had been heard ſeveral days, like that of thun-
der, or of great guns, during which volleys of ſtones all on fire were ſeen to riſe out of the ſea, and to fly up quite out of ſight like ſo many rockets, and then fall into the ſea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the air was filled with a thick ſulphureous ſmoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty diſperſed itſelf, and fell in ſuch
d abundance, that the neighbouring countries were covered with it, and with ſmall ſtones that fell with it. Something like this is what *Montfaucon* tells us hap-
pened in *Italy*, near the village *Tripergola*, whence, after ſeveral terrible ſhocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkened, and the ground was co-
vered with ſtones and duſt, which kept pouring down from the ſky during the ſpace of two days, at the end of which a mountain was obſerved to have reared itſelf

Some cauſed by hurricanes and earthquakes.

[s] T. Liv. lib. i. dec. 1. [t] Id. lib. xxv, xxx & xxxiv. Vid. CALM. ub. ſup. [u] Vid. & de Bell. Afric. c. 47. AMAN. Bell. Civit. lib. iv. AUGUST de Civit. lib. iii. c. 32. & al. [w] Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Bibl. lib. xi. † Vid COREAL and FEUILLEE's Voyages. [x] PAUS. lib. i. JUST. lib. xxiv. ſub fin.

(N) To theſe various Inſtances, of which the authors quoted above, have given us ſeveral other particulars, ſuch as that thoſe ſtones that fell in that prodigious manner were ſometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, ſometimes like hard clods of earth, and ſometimes like ſand or duſt, we might add, what is likewiſe recorded by others of equal credit, of ſtones that have been obſerved to be car-
ried for ſome conſiderable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by *Plutarch* to have fallen in *Thrace* into the river *Argos* (20), which *Anaxagoras* fancied to have fallen from the ſun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22), was obſerved to fly a-
bout in the air like a luminous cloud, about the ſpace of ſeventy-five days, during which time, ſe-
veral ſplinters did now and then break off and fly about like wandering ſtars before they fell down. The main ſtone itſelf was of ſuch prodigious big-
neſs, that *Pythagoras* could by no means think with *Ariſtotle* (23), that it had been broken off from ſome rock, and carried up into the air by ſome ve-
hement wind, becauſe, as he juſtly obſerves, it would have been impoſſible for it to have kept it-
ſelf ſo long ſuſpended there, as *Damachus* affirms it to have done. *Pliny*, who tells us, that it was ſtill carefully preſerved in his time, ſays, that it was *magnitudine vehis* of the bigneſs of a four-
wheeled cart, or rather of a loaded waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewiſe which is recorded to have fallen in *Alſace*, in the midſt of a ſtorm of hail, in *November* 29, 1630, (24) which our author (25) tells us he has ſeen in the great church of *Anxiſſem*, where it is ſtill preſerved, and is like a large, dark, flint ſtone, whoſe ſurface has been ſplintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the ſame nature were thoſe which count *Marcellin* relates to have fallen in *Thrace*, A. D. 1452, and ſeveral others. For if ſuch prodigious ſtones could either be engende-
red in the air, or carried up thither by the force of vehement winds, or of ſubterraneous fires, the like may be more reaſonably ſuppoſed of thoſe which fell upon the *Canaanites*, which had nothing ſo extraordinary either in their ſize, appearance, or effects.

(20) *In Vit. Lyſand.* (21) *Vid.* DIOG. *in Anaxag. & Not.* MENAG. *in Laert.* (22) DAMACHUS. *ap. Plut. ub. ſup.* (23) *Meteorolog. lib. i. c. 7.* (24) GESNER. & ANS. *de* BOOT. *Hiſt. Lapid. & Gem.* (25) CALM. *ub. ſup.*

itſelf in the midſt of the lake *Lucrino*; this happened according to our author in the year 1538 [y].

Others ingender in the air.

THE reader may find ſeveral other inſtances of the like, and perhaps of a more ſurprizing nature, in ſome of the authors above-mentioned [z], which we forbear to dwell upon; all that we ſhall add at preſent, is, a remark or two on the poſſibility of ſome ſort of ſtones, different from thoſe of hail, being ingendered in the air, according to the hint we have given in the laſt note. How common hail is formed in the clouds is too well known to want any explanation; that duſt, ſand, earth, and other ſuch materials, may be carried up a conſiderable height into the air by a ſtrong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly obſerved; here then we need but ſuppoſe, that theſe, mingling themſelves with other exhalations, whether ſulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moiſture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the preſſure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer ſupported (O). There is nothing in all this but what is natural, and might, for ought appears to the contrary, have been the caſe of that which is mentioned in *Joſhua*. We ſee therefore no reaſon for having recourſe to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as *Le Clerc* has, nor to the aſſiſtance of good and bad ſpirits to prove the poſſibility of the ſuppoſed miracle, as others have done [a], ſince if any thing was ſupernatural in it, it was only the directing of that ſtorm to fall juſt at that time and place upon the flying *Canaanites*. However, the reader is at his liberty to attribute the phenomenon to which of theſe ſyſtems he pleaſes, though the ſeaſon of the year, the nature of the ſoil, of which we are going now to give the geography and natural hiſtory, and many other circumſtances, do rather incline us to aſcribe it to the laſt.

SECT. III.

A Deſcription of the Land of PROMISE.

THIS remarkable country, at firſt, a great part of it at leaſt, called the land of *Canaan* [b], or *Chanaan* (A), has been ſucceſſively known by ſeveral names; as the land of *Iſrael*, the land of *God*, the *Holy Land*, and ſimply

[y] Vid. MONTFAUCON's Diar. Ital. [z] G. VOSS. CALM. ub. ſup. GASSEND. in lib. x. DIOG. LAERT. de Meteor Epicur. [a] MASIUS, BONFRERIUS, & al. [b] See before, pag. 322.

(O) Of this nature ſeem to have been thoſe which, an author of credit (26) tells us, did fall in the neighbourhood of *Abdua*, to the number of twelve hundred, which he ſays were of the colour of ruſty iron, ſmooth and hard, and of a ſulphureous ſmell, not unlike in all theſe reſpects to thoſe which are commonly called thunder-ſtones, or bolts. Theſe, he adds, were obſerved to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmoſphere of fire, and were ſo large and heavy, that one of them weighed ſix ſcore, and another ſixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that theſe rains of ſtones were ſo far from being queſtioned either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they were looked upon both by them, and by other leſs polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of conſulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by ſacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have laſted nine days (27), inſomuch, that theſe kinds of heathenish expiations have induced ſome chriſtians to believe, that the devil was the author both of thoſe prodigious rains, and of the ſuperſtitious rites that were uſed to avert them (28), in order to confirm mankind in their idolatry. But as ſuch overſtrained notions need not be confuted in the age we live in, we ſhall cloſe this note, and the ſubject, with obſerving, that it is not unlikely, that the fabulous ſtory of *Hercules* obtaining ſuch a ſhower of ſtones from *Jupiter* to cruſh thoſe enemies, which his arm and valour could not overcome (29), might owe its birth to this we are upon. We have already obſerved, under a former head, that the poets have joined in the character of that fabulous hero ſeveral characters and exploits, which they have taken from thoſe of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Samſon*, and other *Jewiſh* worthies (30); what makes it very probable, that this rain of ſtones is of that number, is, that thoſe enemies, againſt whom he procured it, are called *the ſons of Neptune* (31), which expreſſion, being diveſted of the fable, properly ſignifies any people that traffick by ſea, and is very applicable to the *Phœnicians*, and to their neighbours the *Canaanites*. But this we ſubmit to the reader.

(A) This name ſometimes includes the whole land poſſeſſed by the twelve tribes, though it peculiarly belongs to no more than the country weſtward of the river *Jordan*. This being evident, and

(26) GARDAN. *de Variet. lib.* XIV. *c.* 72. (27) ALEX. *ab* ALEX. *Genial Dier. l.* V. *c.* 27. *ap.* CALM *ub. ſup.* (28) *Vid.* MASI. *in* Joſh. X. (29) MELA *lib.* ii. Gall. Narbon. Plin. *lib.* V. ÆSCHYL. *ap.* Strab. *lib.* iv. *& al.* (30) GROT. *de Verit.* HUET. *Demonſt. Evang.* (31) *Vid.* MELAM. *ub. ſup.*

pic the *Land*; as alſo *Judea*, or *Judæa*, *Palæſtine*, or *Paleſtin*, *Syria Palæſtina*, *Syria*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Idumæa*, or *Idumea*, and *Phœnicia*, or *Phœnice*.

THESE are the various names that have in general been impoſed on this ſmall part. It was called the land of *Canaan*, as a great ſhare of it was originally poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of the ſon of *Cham* of the ſame name [c], who being expelled and cut off to make room for the *Iſraelites* [d], it thence was called after their name [e]; to which we ſhall alſo add, that it was ſometimes called the land of the *Hebrews* [f], and ſometimes the land of the *Jews* [g]. It was called the land of GOD, as it was immediately given by him to the poſterity of *Abraham*, the place of his more eſpecial choice, and as he cauſed it to produce in proportion as his worſhip was obſerved or neglected; as it was alſo the place which he ſelected for his royal ſeat, and as here it pleaſed him to dwell, and more particularly in the temple of *Jeruſalem* [h]. It was called the *Holy Land* firſt by the *Jews*, and ſince by the Chriſtians. By the *Jews* it was ſo called, as GOD declared it to be particularly his own, to be as it were his only ſeat, and ſolely appropriate to his ſervice; beſides, that GOD had promiſed it to his own people, upon the expulſion of the prophane and unclean nations (B). By the Chriſtians it obtained this ſame name, as it was the great and ſtupendous ſcene of what was wrought and ſuffered for their ſalvation, and that of the whole world [i]. It is ſometimes ſimply called the Land, by way of pre-eminence, and as above all others; as when at the crucifixion it is ſaid, *there was darkneſs over all the land*, which cannot ſafely be extended beyond the limits of this [k]. Whence it derived its appellation of *Judæa* is ſeemingly plain; *Judah*, being the head or chief of the tribes [l], communicated its name to the reſt; beſides, that the kingdom of *Judah*, ſtanding after the diſſolution of the kingdom of *Iſrael* may have given farther ground for the extenſive (C) and general uſe of this name. There are other, but erroneous, accounts of

[c] See before, pag. 322. [d] See before. [e] 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 2 Kings vi. 23. Ezek. vii. 2 Matth. ii. 22. JOSEPH. Antiq. vii. 10, &c. &c. &c. [f] Idem ibid. l. xv. c. 7. [g] PAUSAN. lib. vi. c. 24. JOSEPH. ub. ſup. lib. vii. c. 9. [h] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. illuſt. lib. i. c. 3. [i] Vide eund. ibid. c. 4. [k] Vide eund. ib. c. 5. [l] See Numb. xi. 3. vii. 12, &c. Revel. vii. 5.

er agreed on, we ſhall only obſerve that the *Jews* themſelves make a diſtinction between the land of *Canaan* promiſed to their fathers, and recommended for its abundance of milk and honey, and the lands of *Sihon* and *Og*, which were to the eaſtward of the river (1). *Moſes* plainly does the ſame (2) in this expreſſion: *Until I ſhall paſs over Jordan, into the land which the Lord our God giveth us* (3). But we muſt not forget that *Canaan*, in the general extent of it, may be divided into the larger and the leſſer. The larger was to have extended to the *Euphrates* on the one hand, and the *Mediterranean* on the other (4). This was promiſed, but the *Jews* never had peaceable poſſeſſion of this wide dominion, though they, in a manner, ſubverted all the *Syrian* powers (5). The leſſer *Canaan* was confined to the land poſſeſſed by the nations particularly marked out for exciſion and expulſion (6). It is obſerved as an eſſential difference between the larger and the leſſer *Canaan*, that in the former, when the *Jews* beſieged a city, they were by God himſelf commanded to make offers of peace, while in the latter no conditions were to be granted on any account, but the People were to be deſtroyed and utterly rooted out (7). Again, the land on this ſide *Jordan* was eſteemed more holy than the land on the other; nay, ſuch a wide difference was in this reſpect ſuppoſed to be between them, that the latter was even accounted unclean, if compared with the former, tho' poſſeſſed by the two tribes and a half (8). The one was barely called, *the land of your poſſeſſion*, the other, *the land of the poſſeſſion of the Lord* (9).

(1) *Vide* RELAND, *Palæſt. illuſt. c.* 1. *pag.* 5. (2) *Deut. ii.* 29. (3) *Ibid. See before, pag.* 340. *Vid. etiam* RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (4) Deut. vi. 24. (5) *See before, pag.* 382. (6) *See before, pag.* 322. (7) *See* FULLER's *Piſgah-ſight, lib. i. c.* 2. (8) *Vide* RELAND. *ubi ſup. c.* 4. (9) *See* Joſhua xxii. 19. (10) *Vide* RELAND. *ubi ſup.* (11) *Vide eund. ibid.* (12) *Apud eund. ibid.* (13) *Antiq. lib xii. c.* 5. (14) *Vid.* RELAND. *ub. ſup. c.* 6. (15) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (16) Geneſ. xlix. 8.

(B) This region was holy to the *Jews*, as it was God's choſen ſeat, and as it had been promiſed to their forefathers upon the expulſion of its firſt prophane and unclean inhabitants; but much more to the chriſtians, as there it was their ſalvation was wrought and effected (10). But the *Jews* did not account their whole poſſeſſion to be equally ſacred, as we have obſerved in the Note next above, and that the Chriſtians ſeemingly at leaſt, give preference to ſome places above others, it may be needleſs to ſay. But the *Jews* particularly exalt this land far above all others elſe in the world, as they believe, that here is to be the reſurrection of the dead, and that perſons buried elſewhere cannot enjoy a re-union of the ſoul and body, 'till the body has been transferred to the land of *Iſrael* (11). *Abarbanel* (12) pronounces, that *whatſoever lives without the limits of the land of* Iſrael *is as he that is without God.*

(C) That the name of *Judæa* not only comprehended what the *Jews* poſſeſſed on this ſide of *Jordan*, but alſo what they held on the other, is plain, from *Joſephus*'s (13) Ιυδαια περαν του Ιορδανου, or *Judæa beyond Jordan*, or the *Judæa of Jordan* (14), by way of diſtinction. For the portion of *Judah*, whence this general denomination derives its origin, was not bounded by the *Jordan*, but by the *Dead-ſea*, or *Aſphaltite* lake (15). The extenſiveneſs of this name in honour of the patriarch *Judah* and his poſterity, is thus foretold by *Jacob*, according to thoſe who favour this tranſlation of the text, (16) Juda *te confitebuntur*,

of the origin of this name. In ſhort it was called *Paleſtine*, as being a part of that tract or region very early ſo denominated (D); and this is the name that has ſince particularly prevailed with the chriſtian doctors, and mohammedan writers [m]. It has alſo paſſed under the names of *Syria Paleſtina*, *Syria*, and *Cœle-Syria*, as being generally comprehended under the noted appellations of *Syria* [n], and *Cœle-Syria* [o], the antient cuſtom, as it is alſo at preſent, with the *Arabian* geographers [p]. How this country came to be known by the name of *Phœnice* we have ſufficiently explained already [q], and ſhall inſiſt no farther thereon. We have already obſerved, that the whole nation of the *Jews* were ſometimes called *Idumæans* [r]; and now add as conſequential thereto, that the country of the *Jews* was ſometimes called *Idumæa*, from the *Edomites* who ſeized on the ſouthern parts of the country during the *Babyloniſh* captivity [s] (E). Theſe have been, and are, the ſeveral names of the land promiſed to the deſcendants of *Abraham*, and theſe are the beſt and moſt ſuccinct reaſons we have to aſſign for their variety.

Situation and boundaries.

IT was a received opinion formerly, that this country was, as it were, the navel of the whole earth [t], and exactly in the midſt of the nations (F); a notion which may be well excuſed in thoſe who had ſo ſlight a knowledge of the ſtructure and extent of the world as the antients. Its ſite, with regard to the ſeveral people round about, may be gathered from the geography of the ſeveral countries that precede in this hiſtory; wherefore we ſhall touch no farther thereon, than to exhibit the boundaries that have been aſſigned to this favourite land: but not to enter into a long detail of critical niceties, we ſhall briefly and roundly ſay, that to the ſouth it had the mountains, or land of *Edom* [u], and *Amalek* [w]; to the eaſt it had the *Aſphaltite* lake, the river *Jordan*, the ſea of *Tiberias* or *Galilee*, and *Samachonite* lake; to the north it had the mountains of *Libanus*, or *Anti-libanus* rather, or the territory of the *Phœnicians*; to the weſt it had the *great* or *Mediterranean* ſea. We forbear to ſet bounds to the *Perœa*, or land beyond *Jordan*, and content ourſelves with what is more peculiarly the *Land*

[m] Vide RELAND. ubi ſup. c. 7. [n] See before, pag. 360. [o] STRAB. lib. xvi. [p] See before, pag. 361. [q] See before in the notes, pag. 392. [r] See before, pag. 510. [s] See before, pag. 317. Vide etiam RELAND. ub. ſup. c. 9. [t] Vide eund. ibid. c. 10. [u] See before, pag. 308. [w] See before, pag. 318.

tur, (de nomine tuo dicentur) fratres tui: Judah thy brethren ſhall confeſs thee, or be called by thy name. This verſion is approved by a man (17) of great eminence, tho' different from any other we have ſeen; but the completion of the prophecy in this ſenſe, having been moſt remarkably made good, may incline us to embrace it. The common interpretation is, *that his brethren ſhould praiſe him*, or *pride themſelves in him*, which in the judgment of ſome may imply what is ſuggeſted above. *Euſebius* (18) attributes the prevalence of this name to the efficacy of the ſame prophecy. *Alexander Polyhiſtor* (19) derives the name from the children of *Semiramis*, *Juda*, and *Idumæa*; while *Claudius Iolaus* (20) borrows it from one *Judæus*, the ſon of one *Sparto* who followed *Bacchus* to *Thebes*; abſurd fables.

(D) We have elſewhere obſerved, that tho' this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the *Pentapolis* of the *Philiſtines*, it had the fortune to ſpread itſelf over almoſt all the neighbour region (21). We have alſo touched on the vague and uncertain uſe of this name, together with thoſe of *Syria* and *Phœnice* (22). *Dio Caſſius* (23), ignorant, as he himſelf confeſſes of the origin of the name *Judæa*, tells us, that the name of *Paleſtine* was prior thereto; and *Julian* (24) ſpeaks of the *Jews* as a handful of People, inhabiting a part only of *Judæa*. That the *Philiſtines* ſhould have been conſidered above the *Jews* by the idolatrous nations of old, is no wonder, and thence it muſt ſeemingly have happened, that *Paleſtine* has been ſo much the name of all this tract for ſo many ages, and with ſuch numbers of nations and ſects as it has been.

(E) This is what we have formerly obſerved (25). It has been remarked above (26), that *Alexander Polyhiſtor* derives *Judæa* from one *Juda*, the ſon of *Semiramis*, to whom he gives a brother by the ſame queen called *Idumæa*, who according to him muſt have communicated his name to his country. But not to inſiſt upon ſuch authorities, it is evident, that this name naturally flows from the *Edomites*, who, being vaſſals to the great monarchies, and ever active againſt the *Jews* (27), came into great conſideration with the heathen, who may have accounted them more honourable than the *Jews*, and have therefore propagated their name beyond its natural bounds. Whenceſoever it happened, *Idumæa* was very often uſurped for *Judæa* (28).

(F) This was alſo arrogated to themſelves both by the *Athenians* and the *Delphians*. The *Jews* borrowed this notion from paſſages in ſcripture, ſuch as theſe— *This is* Jeruſalem: *I have ſet it in the midſt of the nations and countries that are round about her* (29)— *that dwell in the midſt, or* (as it is in the margin) *the navel of the land.* Theſe expreſſions, taken in too vulgar and literal a ſenſe, have tempted men (30) to pronounce *the land of* Iſrael *to be in the midſt of the habitable world*, and *to be the navel*, as it were, *of the earth.* What the *Delphians* and *Athenians* had to ſay for themſelves, as to this particular, may be beſt deferred 'till we come to treat of them diſtinctly.

(17) RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (18) *Demonſtrat. Evang. lib. viii.* (19) *Apud.* STEPH. BYZANT. *in* Ἰουδαία. (20) *Apud eund. ibid.* (21) *See before, pag.* 338. (22) *See before in the notes, pag.* 392. (23) *Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxvii.* (24) *Contr. Chriſtianos.* (25) *See before, pag.* 319. (26) *In not.* (27) *See before, pag.* 317. (28) *Vide* RELAND. *ub. ſup. c.* 9. (29) Ezek. v. 4. (30) KIMCHI & HIERONYM. *in* Ezek. *ub. ſup.*

a *Land of Promiſe.* Theſe were its natural bounds; but the bounds of the conqueſts and other acquiſitions are not ſo eaſy to be ſettled (G).

Diviſions. We have already exhibited the diviſion of this land by the *Canaanites*, its firſt inhabitants [x], we are next to part it between the children of *Iſrael*. *Simeon* was the ſouthermoſt of all: he had *Edom* to the ſouth, the *Dead*-ſea to the eaſt, *Judah* to the north, to the weſt uncertain whether a deſert tract, or inhabited land. *Judah* was the next: he had *Simeon* on the ſouth, the *Dead*-ſea on the eaſt, *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the north, the *Philiſtine* on the weſt; *Dan* had the *Philiſtine* and *Judah* on the ſouth, *Benjamin* on the eaſt, *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the north, the *Mediterranean*-ſea on the weſt; *Benjamin* had *Ju-*
b *dah* on the ſouth, the *Jordan* on the eaſt, *Ephraim* on the north, *Dan* on the weſt; *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* we join together in one common incloſure; they had *Dan* and *Benjamin* on the ſouth, the *Jordan* and part of *Iſſachar* on the eaſt, part of *Iſſachar* and *Aſher* on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the weſt; *Iſſachar* had *Ephraim* and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, the *Jordan* on the eaſt, *Zebulun* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt; *Aſher* had the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the ſouth, *Iſſachar*, *Zebulun*, *Naphtali* on the eaſt, the *Phœnician* on the north, the *Mediterranean*-ſea on the weſt; *Ze-*
bulun had *Iſſachar* on the ſouth, part of the *Jordan* and part of the ſea of *Galilee* on the eaſt, *Naphtali* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt; *Naphtali* had *Zebulun* on
c the ſouth, part of the ſea of *Galilee* and the *Samachonite*-lake on the eaſt, the mountains of *Antilibanus* on the north, *Aſher* on the weſt. To croſs on the other ſide; *Reuben* and *Gad* had their portion along the eaſtern banks of the *Jordan* between the *Dead*-ſea and the ſea of *Tiberias*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* lay along the eaſtern ſhores of the ſea of *Tiberias* and the *Samachonite*-lake; in this order was the land on this and that ſide of the river divided and diſtributed to the children of *Iſrael* under *Moſes* and *Joſhua*.

Solomon afterwards divided the land into twelve portions (H); but as the bare mention of this is ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe, and as it is impoſſible, ſeemingly, to aſcertain the limits and extent of each, we ſhall proceed to obſerve, that under
d the ſecond temple, it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies, greater and ſmaller parts; the greater were *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee* (I); the leſſer were *Darcma*, *Gerariticа*, *Sarona*, and others (K); theſe were on this ſide of *Jordan*. The other ſide of the river was divided into *Gilead*, the *Peræa*, *Gaulonitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Decapolis*.

In after times, and under the chriſtian diſpenſation, it was comprehended, for the moſt part, if not quite, under the denominations of *Palæſtina prima*, *Palæſtina ſecunda*, *Palæſtina tertia*, or *ſalutaris*.

Again,

[x] See before, pag. 323

(G) We need only obſerve, that the river *Arnon* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt northern boundary of the children of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*. With regard to the boundaries on this ſide of the river, *Reland* (31) takes notice of a great difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch; his words are *Quod ad terminos Palæſtinæ attinet deſcriptos*, Gen. x. 19. *eſt obſervatu dignum, pentateuchum* Hebræo-Samaritanum *non niſi duos trefve extremos memorare, uti fluvium Ægypti & Euphraten vel mare magnum, licet in codice* Hebræo *pluriorum aliorum locorum in finibus ſitorum fiat mentio. Contextus* Hebræus *ita habet*; & termini *Canaan* ſunt a *Sidone, Geraram* uſq; *Gazum*, qua itur *Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, & Tzeboim* uſq; ad *Leſcha*, Samaritanus *hoc tamen ita exhibet*—— Et fuit terminus *Cananæorum* à fluvio *Ægypti* uſq; ad flumen magnum *Euphratem*, & uſq; ad mare poſterius, i. e. *occidentale. Vides inſignem differentiam quæ inter* Hebræum & Samaritanum *codicem intercedit.*

(H) It is ſaid, (32) he appointed *twelve officers over* Iſrael, *to provide victuals for the king and his houſhold: each man his month in the year made proviſion.* Now there was great inequality, as to extent at leaſt, between the portions of land belonging to the tribes; ſo that to have taxed them alike had been a ſeeming hardſhip. It muſt therefore follow, that this new diviſion was in equal parts, either in regard to extent or to production, and that this new diviſion was very different from the old. *Reland* (33) has confronted *Joſephus* with the Scripture as to this matter, and to him we refer the curious reader.

(I) *Reland* (34), in the map he gives us of this diviſion, makes *Idumæa* encroach conſiderably upon *Judæa*, but in his text takes no notice of it, either as a tetrarchy or toparchy. Perhaps he does this upon ſufficient aſſurance, that *Judæa* and *Idumæa* were promiſcuouſly uſurped for each other, as we have obſerved before (35). To enquire farther into this were needleſs. We have only to add, that *Galilee* was twofold, the upper and the lower (36).

(K) *Pliny* (37), reckons up ten toparchies in this country; *Jericho, Emmaus, Lydda, Joppa, Acrabatena, Gophna, Thamna, Bethleptephene, Orine, Herodium. Joſephus* (38) has eleven; *Gophna, Acrabatta, Thamna, Lydda, Emaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engadæ, Horodion, Jericho*; a very obſcure piece of geography, which we ſhall not take upon us to illuſtrate.

(31) *Ub. ſup.* c. 25. (32) 1 Kings iv. 7. (33) *Paleſt. Illuſt. lib.* 1. *c.* 29. (34) *Ub. ſup. c.* 31. (35) *See before, pag.* 316, & 568. (36) *Vide* Reland. *ub. ſup.* (37) *Lib. v. c.* 14. (38) *De Bell. lib. iii. c.* 4.

AGAIN, it is divided into the hilly country and the low (L), which will naturally lead us, and no place more proper, to take a survey of the more remarkable mountains, valleys, and plains. The midland, between the *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean*, is on all hands allowed to be particularly mountainous, while the land towards the sea, mount *Carmel* excepted, and towards the river, is flat, except some gentle risings as at this day.

Mountains. IT may be reckoned inaccurate in us to comprehend the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, or either of them, within the district before us, seeing they might have been more properly described in our geography of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, and we in part submit thereto, and the rather as we have tacitly, as it were, admitted them to have been a part of the proper *Syria*, when we formerly described the cedars of *Lebanon* among the natural curiosities of that country [x]. But, having occasion to make mention of these hills once more, we would venture here to supply our former omissions. These mountains, as to their extent and situation with respect to each other, have been very obscurely described by the antients, and very confusedly understood by all the modern geographers, one seemingly excepted (M), who agrees very well with the only ancients (N), who have spoken with some degree of clearness relating thereto. It is a confirmed opinion [y], that, whether you call them *Libanus* † or *Antilibanus*, they derive their names from the whiteness of the snow which lies upon them; which some seem to think it perpetually does (O); while others aver it is there but for a certain season only (P). St. *Jerom* [z] says, that no hill in the *Land of Promise* is more lofty, more woody, or thicker set, than *Libanus*, and elsewhere [a] it is said to be the highest of all *Palestine*. The cedars, once the great pride and ornament of these hills, are now, in a manner, extinct [b], though some few there are among the pines, cypresses, and other noble vegetables, here produced. Finally, these mountains have, at several times, been a place of refuge and retreat for robbers and other desperate people in great numbers.

MOUNT *Hermon* (Q) appears next, like *Libanus* capped with snow [c] (R), but

[x] See before pag. 362 [y] Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 48. [z] In Zachar. ix. [a] THEODOR. in Ps. lxxi. [b] See before, ub. sup. [c] Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 49.

(L) The *Jews*, in their *Talmud* (39), have a threefold division of their country into mountains, valleys, and plains, allotting to each its peculiar (40), to the mountain the ash, to the valley the palm, and to the plain the mulberry.

(M) *Maundrell* (41) is the person we mean; who has very satisfactorily distinguished between the one and the other, which have been most unaccountably blended together, and confounded by all the geographers we have seen; but as we shall copy these mountains from his map published by *Reland* (42), we may save ourselves the trouble of his verbal description.

(N) We mean *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who make them two distinct ridges running almost parallel with each other.

(†) Some have affected to derive it from Λίβανος, *Libanus*, the *Greek* for frankincense; but *Reland* (43) very justly remarks, that they should, in the first place, prove, that any sort of that aromatic ever grew there.

(O) We have already touched (44) upon this; *Rauwolf* (45) will have it, that the snow rests on these mountains all the summer long. *Le Bruyn* (46) says, these hills are over covered with snow. *Sandys* (47) observes, that when he was in this neighbourhood, a Moor, returning from these *snow-topped* mountains in company with an *English* merchant, perished with the excessive cold, tho', at the same time, the heat in the valleys on both sides was excessive. Prince *Radzi-ville* (48) reports, that the snows on the tops of these mountains never melt away, tho' the heats here be far more intense and scorching than in *Italy*. *Phocbas* (49) speaks of the mountains as covered with snow from the head to the foot; which agrees well with what *Maundrell* (50) relates. We have been the more particular upon this, as well formerly (51) as now, because it has been roundly and formally contradicted by a traveller of more than ordinary reputation.

(P) The person who so differs from all the rest is Monsr. *La Roque*, or rather the chevalier *d'Arvieux* (52); but it being so common for snow eternally to lye on the summits of great hills, the absence of it he observed must very likely have been owing to some very extraordinary cause.

(Q) It was also called *Baal-Hermon* (53), and seemingly by other names, not strictly to our purpose. *Hilarius* (54) derives *Hermon* from חרם, anathema. *Hermon*, says he (55), is a mountain in *Phœnice*, whose interpretation is anathema——*It is reported*——*that the* angels, *when they descended from heaven for love of the* daughters of men, *assembled together upon this very lofty hill.* That it was a place of antient superstition may be not only gathered hence, but is also confirmed by *Eusebius* (56), who says, that on the top of it there was a famous temple, held in high veneration with the neighbouring Heathen about, in *Libanus* and *Paneas*.

(R) Travellers have but little on the remarkables of this hill.

(39) *In* SHEVITH. c. 9. 2. (40) *In* GEMAR. *Hierosolym.* (41) *Journey to Jerusalem.* (42) *Palæstin. Illust.* (43) *In Palæst. Illust. ub. sup. c.* 48. (44) *See before in the notes, pag.* 362. (45) *Itinerary into the East Count. part ii. c.* 1. (46) *Voyage au Levant, tom.* 2. *c.* 57. *p.* 286. *in* 4to. (47) *In his travels, book, iii. p.* 163. (48) *Peregrinat. Hierosolym. p.* 27. (49) *Apud* RELAND. *ub. sup. c.* 48. (50) *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* (51) *See before in the notes, p.* 362. (52) *Vide ibid.* (53) Judges iii. 3. (54) *In* Ps. cxxxiii. (55) *Ibid.* (56) *In Onomastico, ad vocem* Ἀερμών.

but for nothing more remarkable than the abundant dews which fall upon and about it (S).

a MOUNT *Carmel* (T) on the ſkirts of the ſea is the moſt remarkable head of land of all the coaſt, at leaſt ſouthward of it, on all hands famed for its fertility (V), of particular note among the antients for being, above all others, the favourite place of *Pythagoras* (W); but by far more revered among the Chriſtians, as here they ſuppoſed *Elias* ſojourned in a cave, ſometime before he was raviſhed into heaven (X).

THABOR is the next mount we are to ſurvey. There was a city of the ſame name. It was alſo called *Itabyrion* and *Atabyrion* (Y), and borrows its *Hebrew* b name from its form (Z). It is remarkable for the regularity of its form, and proportion of its parts (A); for its being ſeated in the midſt of a plain, at a diſtance from any

(S) *We were,* ſays *Maundrell* (57) *ſufficiently inſtructed by experience, what the holy* Pſalmiſt *means by the dew of* Hermon, *our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.*

(T) This was a name common to both a town and a mountain, and is equally applicable to any fertile and woody place; or it may be underſtood of purple, which was fiſhed at the foot of this ſame mountain (58). It was alſo a name common both to a mountain and a god (59) *Thevenot* (60) obſerving there are two *Carmels* mentioned by St. *Jerome*, ſuppoſes they are both mountains.

(V) This mountain *is rich in olives and vines when husbanded, and abounding with ſeveral ſorts of fruit and herbs, both medicinable and flagrant; though now much overgrown with woods and ſhrubs of ſweet ſavour* (61). But according to another (62), *this mountain is round about, towards the ſea-coaſt, very bare and rough, that we may very well ſay with the holy prophet* Amos, *That the paſtures of the herdſmen ſhall look miſerably, and the top of the mountain dried up.* Others there are who do not ſpeak of this place, as it is at preſent, with any greater advantage, than, as it were, a Rock (63).

(W) It was antiently called Ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός, (64) *the holy mountain of* Jupiter, if not rather, as it is thought (65), Ὄρος καὶ ἱερὸν Διός, *the mountain and temple of* Jupiter. The name of *Carmel* was common both to the mountain and a god (66). In ſhort, in ſuch high veneration it was, either for its advantages of nature, or the famed traditions of old *Paganiſm*, that here *Pythagoras* is reported (67) to have taken particular delight, and to have frequently amuſed himſelf alone in the temple. But *Tacitus* (68) denies there was here any temple, or image of a god, but an altar only and veneration.

(X) This is on all hands allowed, and on this Account it came to be in ſuch high eſteem with the Chriſtians, that it is ſeemingly early, that they began to diſtinguiſh it by particular marks of piety. There was here a very large monaſtery, which, by the envy of time and the rage of the enemy, being brought to decay, the ruins of it were, as we may ſay, a-new conſecrated, by a *Calabrian* prieſt, urged hither to the work, by revelation, who gathered together about ten monks, and reſtored the venerable credit of the place (69). "From hence "proceeded the order of the frier *Carmelites*, as "ſucceſſors to the children of the prophets there "left by *Elias*, who had their beginning, in the de- "ſart of *Syria*, in the year 1180, inſtituted by *Al-* "*mericus* biſhop of *Antioch*; and ſaid to have re- "ceived their white habit from our lady; whom "*Albertus* the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* tranſported "firſt into *Europe*. There is yet to be ſeen the re- "mains of their monaſtery, with a temple dedicat- "ed to the bleſſed virgin; under which a little "chappel, or cave, the antient dwelling of *Elias* "(70)——Some years ago, without doubt, have a "great many of this order [of *Carmelites*] lived "hereabout, as ſtill to this day doth appear by their "cloiſters and churches, which by age are ſo mighti- "ly decayed, that they are left deſerted and unin- "habited (71). Their convent now is not on the "top of the mount, where they had a lovely one "before the chriſtians loſt the *Holy Land*, the ruins "whereof are ſtill to be ſeen; but there is a very "little one ſomewhat lower, and needs no "more but three monks to fill it, who would have "much ado to ſubſiſt, if they had not ſome alms "given them by the *French* merchants of *Acre*, who "go often thither out of devotion.—Their church "is the very ſpot where *Elias* abode, which is very "neatly cut out of the rock."—They have an excellent proſpect, eſpecially upon the ſea (72). This mountain ſeems not to have much bettered its condition with regard to its religious ſtate, though the late king of *France* did what he could to regain its former ſplendor (73), and the reaſon may be, becauſe it has been pretty much the ordinary reſidence of an emir of the *Arabs* (74).

(Y) Names beſt known to the *Greeks*, and ſuppoſed to be derived from אתרביך, *a place where cattle was led to* paſture (75). Other places there were of the ſame name; in *Rhodes* there was a mountain called *Atabyrum*: in *Sicily* there was an *Allabyrium*, a city of the ſame name in *Perſia*, and laſtly another in Phenice (76). There was a Ζεὺς, Ἀταβύριος, who was chiefly worſhipped in *Rhodes* (77): but what relation this *Atabyrian* Jove, may have had to our mountain, does no where plainly appear, tho' that ſome he had may be eaſily conjectured, eſpecially if we recollect what has been ſaid of mount *Carmel*, that its name belonged both to the mount itſelf, and to a god (78).

(Z) טביר *Tabor*, is properly a navel.

(A) In the ſeventh century, it is deſcribed to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid, to have

(57) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p.* 57. (58) BOCHART. *Hier. pt.* 2. *lib. v. c.* 9, *&c.* (59) TACITUS. (60) *Coſmog. de Levant, p.* 180. (61) SANDYS, *ub. ſup. p.* 158. (62) RAUWOLF, *ub. ſup. p.* 225. (63) THEVEN. *Voy. au Levant, pt.* 1. *c.* 58. (64) SCYL. CARYAND, *in Minor. Hudſ. vol.* 2. (65) *Vide* RELAND, *Palæſtin. Illuſt. lib. i. c.* 50. (66) *Vide eund. ibid.* (67) JAMBLICH. *in vita Pythag. c.* 3. (68) *Hiſtor. lib.* 2. (69) JOHAN. PHOC. *ap.* RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (70) SAND. *Trav. lib.* iii. *p.* 158. (71) RAUWOLF's *Itinerary, pt.* 3. *c.* 1. (72) THEVEN. *Voy. au Levant. pt.* 1. *c.* 59. (73) DE LA ROQUE *Voy. dans la Paleſt. in the preface.* (74) SAND. *ub. ſup.* DE LA ROQUE, *ub. ſup.* (75) HILLER. *in Onomaſt. ſacr. ap.* RELAND. *ub. ſup. c.* 51. (76) STEPH. BYZANT. Ἐθνικὰ. (77) POLYB. *lib.* IX. (78) *See before in the laſt note but one.*

any other hill; for its fertility and beauty of production, and for its height (B); but above all for being the ſcene of the glorious transfiguration (†), which has derived on it the particular veneration of Chriſtians in almoſt all ages, but that here this ſplendid miracle was wrought is doubted by ſome (C).

MOUNT *Olivet*, or the mount of olives (D), is the next that claims place, which, on ſome accounts, it may almoſt do before all others. It is about a mile

have had an ample plain at top, ſurrounded with a great wood, with a great monaſtery, and many cells in the midſt thereof (79). This monaſtery, or church, was dedicated to our Lord, *Moſes*, and *Elias* (80). The ſame author adds, it was by the inhabitants called *Age Mons*; which muſt have been, in ſome ſort, a corruption of the *Greek* ἅγιον ὄρος, the *Holy Mount*, which denotes the veneration it was in, even in very early days, as well as at preſent. It ſeems to have been an antient tradition, that upon this hill, at the laſt day, four angels will, with four trumpets, raiſe the dead from the beginning of the world, that they may appear alive before the face of our lord, in the valley of *Jehoſaphat* (81). But not to inſiſt farther on the received ſanctity of the place, we will only add concerning its amænity as at this day, that "it has a plain area at top, moſt "fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended "about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. "This area is encloſed with trees on all parts, ex-"cept towards the ſouth. It was antiently inviron-"ed with walls, and trenches, and other fortifica-"tions, of which it exhibits many remains at this "day (82)." Another traveller (83), deſcribing the appearance of it more particularly, obſerves, that it ſeems to have been rather the work of art than of nature, and of wonderful beauty; that from the bottom to the top it looks like a continued ſpiral of cinder-coloured rock continually crowned with verdant trees, which agrees not amiſs with the cut the former has given us to repreſent this ſame mount. A third (84) tells us, that moſt of the trees on this hill are *kar-loaks*.

(B) *Joſephus* writes, that this mountain is thirty ſtades or furlongs in height, and *Adamnanus* (85) agrees with him exactly therein; but that it falls much ſhort of this meaſure, whether conſidered perpendicularly, or obliquely, will appear by the undoubted Teſtimony of modern travellers. *Maundrell* (86) ſays, he aſcended it in leſs than an hour, and *Thevenot* (87) computes the aſcent of it at not quite half a league, tho' at the ſame time he obſerves, that ſome of his company went up on horſeback; ſo that the acclivity ſeems to be not ſo abrupt, as is commonly imagined, by the ſugar-loaf ſhape of this hill. In ſhort, this account tends to depreſs the perpendicular height of it. Before we cloſe up this note, we muſt remember, that *Adamnanus* (88) gives the plain at top an extent of twenty-five ſtades, which is very ſufficiently contradicted by *Maundrell*, in the note above.

(†) This place having been had in great veneration by the Chriſtians, as we have partly obſerved already (89), we have only to add, that there are ſtill ſome remains of the religious ſtate of it. Prince *Radziville* (90) writes, that on the top of it, there is a middling ſort of a church, between two cells, or chappels rather, according to him erected by St. *Helen*, on the ſpot of the tranſiguration. *Thevenot* (91) has it, that there is here but one grott, and that but a little one, in which is a chappel, made up of four arches croſs-wiſe: that the firſt is the entrance only; the ſecond, oppoſite to it, the place where our lord was transfigured; that on the right-hand of this, the place where *Moſes* ſtood; that on the left where *Elias*: thus does he ſeemingly differ from the former traveller. A third there is, (92) who varies from both, and tells us, that on the top of this mount, there is a grott, which ſeems to be a part of ſome old ruins, all lined with great ſtones, and with many vaults ſtill ſtanding. The ſame author tells us, the mount itſelf is ſo ſteep that there is no aſcending it on horſeback, which *Thevenot* contradicts (93). Finally, we have a fourth eye-witneſs (94), who ſeems to vary from the three in the deſcription he gives us of theſe remains, which is, that they are no more than *three contiguous grottoes, made to repreſent the tree tabernacles. St.* Peter *propoſed to erect, in the aſtoniſhment which poſſeſſed him at the glory of the tranſiguration.*

(C) "Its being ſituated in ſuch a ſeparate man-"ner has induced moſt authors to conclude, that "this muſt needs be that holy mountain, as St. "*Peter* (95) ſtiles it, which was the place of our "bleſſed lord's transfiguration, related by *Mat-"thew* (96) and *Mark* (97). There you read, that "Chriſt *took with him* Peter, James, *and* John *into "a mountain apart*; from which deſcription they "infer, that the mountain there ſpoken of can be "no other than *Tabor*. The concluſion may poſ-"ſibly be true; but the argument uſed to prove "it, ſeems incompetent; becauſe the term κατ' "ἰδίαν, or *apart*, moſt likely relates to the with-"drawing and retirement of the perſons there "ſpoken of, and not the ſituation of the moun-"tain (98)." *Reland* (99) thinks it in ſome ſort raſh to diſpute a point, which has been ſo generally received for ſo many ages, but confeſſes himſelf in ſome doubt as to the thing, for many very ſtrong geographical and other reaſons, but particularly, becauſe there is no mention made of the name of this hill, as of the mount of *Olives*, mount *Carmel*, and others; the ſacred writers having been ſo very particular in naming the places where any thing memorable was wrought by Chriſt.

(D) By the *Greeks*, ὄρος ἐλαιῶνος or ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν; by the *Jews*, in their language, called the mount of *Unction*, or the mount of *Olives*, or oil. It was alſo called the mountain of *three Lights*, becauſe it was lighted on the weſt by the fire of the altar; becauſe on the eaſt it received the earlieſt light of the ſun, before the city; and becauſe it produced much oil, an aliment of light (100). But it is rather ſuppoſed to have been called the mountain of three heads or tops, as *Sandys*, in the Cut he gives us of it, deſcribes it to be. For three ſummits it had, the *firſt*, in the middle, whence Chriſt aſcended into heaven, the

ſecond

(79) ADAMNAN. *de loc. ſacr. lib.* xi. (80) *Itin. Sir* WILLIBALD. *ap.* RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (81) MAUNDEV. *c.* 10. (82) MAUND. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 113. (83) RADZIVIL. *Peregrin. Jeroſol. p.* 43. (84) THEVEN. *ub. ſup. c.* 55. (85) *Ub. ſup.* (86) *Ub. ſup.* (87) *Ub. ſup.* (88) *Ub. ſup.* (89) *See before in the laſt note but one.* (90) *In Peregr. Jeroſ. ub. ſup.* (91) *Voy. au Levant, ub. ſup.* (92) LE BRUYN *Voy. au Levant, tom.* 2. *in 4to.* (93) *In the note before this.* (94) MAUND. *ub. ſupr.* (95) 2 *Epiſt.* i. 18. (96) xvii. (97) ix. (98) MAUND. *ub. ſup.* (99) *Ub. ſup.* (100) RELAND. *Palæſt. Illuſt. lib.* i. *c.* 52. *Idem ibidem.*

a mile diſtant from *Jeruſalem*, and commands the beſt proſpect over that city (E). It is ſaid to have ſometime been the reſidence of the Shecinah (F). It has been falſly, or rather inaccurately, ſuppoſed to have been in, or on, the ſkirts of *Galilee* (G). Of fame it was (H), and ſtill might be (I), for fertility. In eſpecial veneration held by the chriſtians (K) for what was here wrought, tranſacted, and fulfilled by our Saviour, and particularly for his aſcenſion into heaven; nor much leſs revered even by the *Mohammedans* (L).

THE foregoing are the more remarkable of the greater mounts, the more remarkable of the leſſer are theſe, both on the one ſide and the other of the river *Jordan*; mount *Gilead*, mount *Baſhan*, mount *Gilboah*, mount *Gerizim*, mount b *Ebal*, mount *Sion*, and others we need not name.

Of the low-country, and of firſt of the valleys.

WE will not enter into a nice diſquiſition of what were properly vales, and what were properly plains, in this country: whoever contemplates the face

ſecond to the ſouthward of it, called the mountain of *Offence*; the *third* to the northward, and higheſt of all (1).

(E) In this the bulk of travellers are agreed, it being the loftieſt eminence in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, and overlooking the higheſt part of that city. But this muſt be obſerved, that *Jeruſalem* being itſelf ſeated high, it from thence looks to be no very lofty hill; but from other places it appears a mountain (2). Hence a poet (3) calls it a ſmall hill.

(F) The *Jews* ſay it reſted here during the ſpace of three years and an half, to try whether or no the *Jews* would return to God, during which it cried out, *Return to me, O my children, and I will return to you*; and that, having expected in vain, it migrated again to its place (4). This is underſtood to have reſpect to the true *Shecinah*, our Saviour, who often ſojourned here, and would have recalled the *Jews* to the true worſhip of God (5).

(G) This miſtake certainly aroſe from the diſciples who were *Galileans*, tho' in a deſcription of this mount it has been roundly aſſerted, that but two furlongs thence was *Galilee*, and *Cana* where the marriage was, at which Chriſt turned the water into wine (6). Whence this extraordinary miſtake aroſe is pretty well explained to us; for on the higheſt ground of this mount there was formerly erected an high tower, in memory of the apparition of the two angels to the apoſtles, after the aſcenſion (7), from whence the tower itſelf had the name given it of *Viri Gallilæi* (8)! not to examine farther into this, hence the miſtake may very likely have derived its origin.

(H) It is thus deſcribed by an author (9) of the ſeventh century: few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and the vine, according to the report of *Acculfus*; but wheat and barley there flouriſh in a moſt kindly manner: for the nature of the ſoil is quite productive.

(I) The weſt ſide of mount *Olivet* is "bedecked "with olives, almonds, fig-trees, and heretofore "with palms; pleaſantly rich when huſbanded, "and now upbraiding the barbarous with his "neglected pregnancy (10).

(K) This mount is much reſorted to by pilgrims who viſit *Jeruſalem*; nor do travellers, who have been this way, forget to enumerate the ſeveral ſanctuaries of this famous eminence; but it will be enough for us to conſult one of them, who agrees almoſt to a tittle as to what is here to be ſeen. He (11) tells us, they here ſhew, "about two thirds of "the way up, certain grotto's cut with intricate "windings and caverns under ground, theſe are "called the ſepulchres of the prophets. A little "higher up are twelve arched vaults under ground, "ſtanding ſide by ſide; theſe were built in me-"mory of the twelve apoſtles, who are ſaid to "have compiled their creed in this place. Sixty "paces higher you come to the place where, they "ſay, Chriſt uttered his prophecy concerning the "final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (12). And a little "higher, on the right hand of this, is the place "where they ſay he dictated, a ſecond time, the "*Pater-noſter* to his diſciples (13). Somewhat "higher is the cave of St. *Pelagia*; and as much "more above that a pillar, ſignifying the place "where an angel gave the *Bleſſed Virgin* three "days warning of her death. At the top of the "hill you come to the place of our bleſſed Lord's "aſcenſion. Here was antiently a large church, "built in honour of that glorious triumph: but "all that now remains of it, is only an octogonal "cupola, about eight yards in diameter, ſtand-"ing, as they ſay, over the very place, where "were ſet the laſt footſteps of the ſon of God "here on earth. Within the cupola there is ſeen, "in a hard ſtone as they tell you, the print of "one of his feet. Here was alſo that of the "other foot ſometime ſince; but it has been re-"moved from hence by the *Turks* into the great "*Moſch* upon mount *Moriah*—— About two fur-"longs from this place northward is the higheſt "part of mount *Olivet*; and upon that was anti-"ently erected an high tower——— *called Viri* "*Galilæi*. This antient monument remained till "about two years ſince, when it was demoliſhed "by a *Turk*, who had bought the field in which "it ſtood." More of this ſort is added by other travellers, but this ſhall ſerve our purpoſe.

(L) The *Turks* pretend ſo great a veneration for the building over the print of our Saviour's foot on this mountain, that they have ſometimes denyed the Chriſtians all entrance into it; ſo that they were allowed only to ſtand at the door, to perform their devotions, and view the holy ſtone of impreſſion at the diſtance of about four cubits from them (14). This it ſeems was owing to the rigid humour of the governor of thoſe parts, tho' before it was free and open to both Chriſtians and Mohammedans (15), as it has been ſince (16). But notwithſtanding this pretended veneration on the part of the *Turks*, with regard to this and other places, it is ſhrewdly doubted (17), whether they do it "out of real "devotion, or for lucre's ſake, and to the end that "they may exact money from the Chriſtians for "admiſſion into them."

(1) *Vid. eund. ibidem.* (2) PHOC. *in Deſcript. Loc. Terr. Sanct.* (3) PREDIC. EPHES. *in Deſcript. Hieroſolym.* (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *Vid. eund. ib.* (6) *Anonym. ap. eund. ib.* (7) Acts i. 10, 11. (8) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 105. (9) ADAMNAN. *de Loc. Sanct. lib. i. ap.* RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (10) SANDYS *ub. ſup.* (11) MAUNDR. *ub. ſup.* (12) Matt. ii. 2. (13) Luke. xi. 1, 2. (14) RADZIV. *Peregrin. Jeroſol. m. pag.* 74. (15) *Idem ibid.* (16) SANDYS *ub. ſup.* (17) MAUND. *ub. ſup.*

of the country, so very remarkably distinguished into high lands and low, a may think it a needless task; and besides, it has been done to our hands with all the accuracy and industry imaginable [d]. To proceed then, the vale of *Gerar* was where *Isaac* sojourned when he departed from *Abimelech* [e]. The vale of *Shittim* of situation quite uncertain. The vale of *Hinnom*, or the valley of the children of *Hinnom*, near the walls of *Jerusalem* (M), remarkable for the superstition there practised in times of old (N). The vale, or valley, of *Salt*, of note for the overthrow of the *Edomites* [f], there. The vale of the *Rephaim*, called also the vale of the *Titans*, and of the *Giants* (O), of uncertain situation (P). The valley of *Jehoshaphat* (Q), mentioned but once in scripture [g], close in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, and supposed to be b the place of the last and general judgment (R). The vale of *Berachah* (S) in the wilderness of *Tekoa*. The valley of *Shaveh* (T), or the king's dale [h], famous for the interview between *Abraham* and *Melchisedeck*. The valley of *Elah*, or of the *Terebinth* (U), where *David* slew *Goliah*. Others we forbear to mention.

Plains. WE shall only take a cursory survey of the plain part of this country, tho' a very considerable portion of it. In *Palestine* there are two *great plains*, the one properly so called, and divided by the *Jordan*, one hundred and fifty miles in length; the other called the great plain of *Esdraelon*, or of *Legion* [i]. The former of these, according to *Josephus* [k], extended from *Scythopolis*, on c the sea of *Tiberias*, to the *Asphaltite*-lake. In the New Testament [l] it is called the region about *Jordan* (W). Besides, there was, as we just now said, another

[d] Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 54. [e] See before, p. 346. [f] See before, p. 316. [g] Joel iii. 2, and 12. [h] Gen. xiv. 17. [i] Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 55. [k] Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2. [l] Matth. iii. 5.

(M) *Eusebius* (18) writes it was close, or near, to the walls of the city on the east side; but *Reland* (19) is rather inclined to believe, it lay southward of the same (20).

(N) This superstition we have already (21) dwelt on, and given a sufficient description of the spot in general (22).

(O) So rendered by the seventy and *Josephus*; whence St. *Jerome* (23) hastily supposes the *Rephaim* of scripture to have been the *Titans*, and giants of the fabulous antients. But that the *Rephaim* were one of the ten nations of the *Canaanites*, we have shewn elsewhere (24); nor have we forgot to observe all that can be well said of them, down to their exit and migration (25).

(P) *Eusebius* (26) places it within the portion of *Benjamin*; *Bonfrere* will have it to be in the tribe of *Judah*; but we forbear so useless and uncertain an inquiry.

(Q) According to St. *Cyril* (27), it was a few stades or furlongs eastward of *Jerusalem*, a bare spot, and fit for riding. *Aben-Ezra* (28) takes it to be the same with the valley of *Berachah*, *Blessing*, or *Praise*, so called by *Jehoshaphat* (29). *Kimchi* (30) takes it to be a valley in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, where, perhaps, *Jehoshaphat* erected some building, or performed some memorable action. Concerning the situation of this valley, Sir. *John Mandeville* (31) expresses himself thus, "between *Jerusalem* and the mount of *Olivet* is the vale of *Josaphathe*, under the walls "of the cytee.— And there righte nygho, is the "tombe of kyng *Josaphathe* (*); of whom the "vale berethe the name." He adds, "This *Josaphathe* was kyng of that contree, and was con-"verted by an heremyte, that was a worthi man, "and dide much gode." *Thevenot* (32) insinuates the situation of it to be the very same, as does also prince *Radzi-ville* (33), and the whole class of travellers, antient and modern.

(R) This tradition took birth from this text of scripture (34), *I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of* Jehoshaphat, *and will plead with them there for my* people, *and* for *my heritage* Israel, *whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land.* Hence, says *Reland* (35), the *Jews* have gathered that the general jndgment is to be on mount *Olivet*; adjoining to which many have persuaded themselves this valley of *Jehoshaphat* to be, tho' upon a very slender argument. *Reland* then is not satisfied with the situation of this valley, so universally laid down by travellers; and no body has ever considered the geography of these parts like him.

(S) In the *Latin* of the *Vulgate*, *Vallis Benedictionis*; in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, Κοιλας Ευλογιας, the valley of *Blessing*, or *Praise*, so called because of the overthrow and miraculous rout of the *Moabites* (36), *Ammonites* (37), and the *Edomites* (38), or inhabitants of mount *Seir*, in their war combined against *Jehoshaphat*.

(T) In the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, it is called, Κοιλας τοῦ Σαβη, or τῆ Σαβη; the valley of *Saba*, or *Saby*; which by the same is interpreted to mean, τὸ πεδίον τῶν Βασιλεων, *the Field of Kings.*

(U) By *Aquila* and *Theodotian* render'd Κοιλας τῆς δρυὸς (39), *the valley of the Oak.*

(W) So the *Greek* interpreters have rendered it, περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (40), and τὴν ἔρημον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (41), or *the wilderness of* Jordan, and that such it might, properly enough, be called, or at least comparatively will hereafter appear.

(18) *Ad vocem* Ραββα. (19) *Ub. sup. c.* 51. (20) *See before, pag.* 294. (21) *Ibidem.* (22) *See before in the notes of pag.* 322. (23) *In Comment. ad* Gal. iii. (24) *See before in the notes of p.* 322. (25) *Ib. p.* 321. (26) *In Onom. ad voc.* Ἐλεφ Ραφαιν. (27) *Comment. in loc.* Joel. (28) *Ap.* RELAND. *ub. sup.* (29) 2 Chron. xx. 26. (30) *Ap.* RELAND. *ub. sup.* (31) *Cap.* 8. (*) *Vide etiam* MAUND. *ub. sup. pag.* 103. (32) *Cosmog. de Levant. pag.* 177. (33) *Peregrin. Hierosolym. p.* 60. (34) Joel iii. 2. (35) *Ub. sup.* (36) *See before in the notes of page* 291. (37) *See before, p.* 307. (38) *See before, p.* 315. (39) EUSEB. *in Onomast. ad vocem* Ηλ. (40) 2 Chron. iv. 17. (41) Ib. xxxv. 2.

another *great plain*, which from the city of *Jezreel*, and *Legion* (X), is called the plain of *Jezreel*, or *Eſdraelon* (Y), or the *great plain* of *Legion* [m] (Z). Beſides theſe, which are moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed as flat parts of the country, the whole coaſt from mount *Carmel*, to the ſouthermoſt borders of the land, is a plain and a level; excepting here and there a gentle hill, or ſand-heap. This great extent was not all known by the ſame name under the ſecond temple [n]. The northern part of it, from *Joppa* to *Cæſarea*, and no more as ſome will have it [o], was called *Saron* and *Saronas* (A). To the ſouthward of this was the plain of *Sephela* (B). The other plains, as that of *Jericho* (C), which may be included into the *great plain* properly ſo called, we forbear to mention.

Wilderneſſes and deſarts.

Of the wilderneſſes, or deſarts of this country, we ſhall not have much to ſay; but by theſe we are not always to underſtand places quite uninhabited, and deſtitute of all uſeful production (D). The firſt of theſe is the wilderneſs of *Judah* [p]; and in this wilderneſs, as it is called, were the cities of *Beth-arabah*, *Middin*, and *Secacah*, and *Nibſhan*, and the city of *Salt*, and *En-gedi*; ſix cities with their villages [q]. The wilderneſs of *Gibeon* [r], *Joſephus* [s] repreſents all the mountainous tract, from *Jericho* to *Scythopolis*, as quite barren and uninhabited, and under the ſame character includes all the ſpace waſhed by the *Jordan*, from the ſea of *Tiberias* to the *Aſphaltite*-lake (F). To theſe we may add the

[m] Vide RELAND. ub. ſup. [n] Vide eund. ibid. [o] Vide eund. ibid. [p] Judg. i. 16. [q] Joſh. xx. 61, 62. [r] 2 Sam. ii. 24. [s] De Bell. Judaic. lib. iii. c. 8.

(X) Now ſuppoſed to be called *Legune* (43). *Reland* (44) thinks, this great plain was partly in *Samaria*, and partly in *Galilee*, and that thence we have the μέγα πεδίον Σαμαρειτιδος, *Magnus Campus Samaritidis* of *Joſephus* (45).

(Y) So the ſeventy call it Πεδίον μέγα Ἐσδρηλών, with a little variation, the name either way being ſuppoſed to have been moulded by the *Greeks*, from the *Hebrew* name *Jezreel* (46). It being objected, that this valley of *Jezreel* appears not to have been conſidered as of any great dimenſion in ſcripture, confirmed by St. *Jerome*; it is anſwered, that to this great level it may have happened as to ſeas, which are divided into many portions, diſtinguiſhed by different names, borrowed from the more conſiderable places on the coaſts (47); ſo that the plain of *Eſdraelon*, or *Jezreel*, peculiarly ſo called, may have been of ſmall circumference, while the name itſelf, by a uſual cuſtom among men, may have extended itſelf over the whole of what it was only a part; inſtances of which it were needleſs and endleſs to give.

(Z) *Euſebius* calls it, μέγα πεδίον Λεγεῶνος, *Campum Magnum Legionis*; and St. *Jerome* calls it, *Latiſſimum Campum*, vel *Campum Maximum*, or, adding the name, *Grandem Campum Legionis* (48).

(A) In our verſion *Sharon* (49). It afforded excellent paſture, and it is obſerved, that it is no wonder the *Gadites*, or children of the tribe of *Gad*, who were chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, ſought here to feed their flocks (50). But hence it has been miſtakenly concluded (51), there was another *Sharon* in the tribe of *Gad*. That this is a miſtake, may be ſeen, where it is ſaid, the children of *Gad*—*dwelt in* Gilead, *in* Baſhan, *and in her towns, and in all the ſuburbs of* Sharon (52). Now would they have dwelt in the ſuburbs and not in the cities, if the country had been their own? is this likely? The truth is, *the ſuburbs were appointed for cattle*——— *and for all their beaſts* (53). Is their *Sharon* then to be ſought for in the country, where they poſſeſſed not the cities, but took up with the ſuburbs? And ſince the country of *Sharon* was moſt noted and famous for the nurture of cattle, and ſeeing the *Gadites* did, in a particular manner, employ their time as graziers and ſhepherds far beyond all the tribes on this ſide the *Jordan*, why ſhould we croſs on the other ſide, in queſt of another *Sharon*? Thus is it that *Reland* (54) endeavours to deſtroy the notion of another place of this name on the other ſide of the river *Jordan*.

(B) So called from the *Hebrew* שפלה, extending itſelf weſtward and ſouthward of *Eleutheropolis*, tho' the name is equally applicable to the one plain and the other (55).

(C) *Joſephus* (56) writes, that *Jericho* ſtood in a plain, which others (57) call a vale; but, whether vale or plain, it muſt, by its ſituation, have been a part of the *great plain* divided by the *Jordan*; and may have been called the vale or plain of *Jericho*, by a rule we have obſerved five notes above, in ſpeaking of the great plain of *Jezreel*.

(D) *Reland* (58) obſerves, that the *Hebrew* word, which the *Greeks* render ἔρημος, and the *Latins Solitudines*, does, in its ſtricteſt import, mean no more than barely an uncultivated place; and thereupon remarks, that tho' St. *John* is ſaid to have proclaimed the goſpel in the wilderneſs of *Judea*, it is plain, it was not ſuch a deſart as was quite wild and inhoſpitable, for that it had cities, whoſe inhabitants were the firſt auditors to whom the *Baptiſt* foretold the immediate advent of the Meſſiah. He then quotes *Jewiſh* doctors (59), who acquaint us, that the ſmaller cattle, as ſheep, goats, and the like, were not fed in the land of *Iſrael*, but in *Syria*, and the wilderneſſes, as we render the original word, of the land of *Iſrael*. Upon the whole he ſuppoſes, that all ſuch places were by the *Jews* conſidered in oppoſition to thoſe which afforded corn, wine, and oil.

(E) Many, ſays *Reland* (60), are of opinion, that the wilderneſs of *Judah* was on the other ſide of *Jordan*, and there placed the wilderneſs of St. *John the Baptiſt*: but, by the authority of the *Jews* themſelves, he ſufficiently evinces this to be a miſtake.

(F) Hence *Reland* (61) takes occaſion to condemn the geographers, who raſhly and preſumptuouſly croud

(43) *See* MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſal.* (44) *Ub. ſup.* (45) *De Bell. Judaic. lib.* ii. *c.* 2. (46) *See* WELL's *Geog. vol.* 2. *ſub fin.* (47) RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (48) *Vide eund. ibid.* (49) 1 Chron. v. 16. (50) *Vide* RELAND, *ub. ſup.* (51) *Vide eund. ibid.* (52) Chron. *ub. ſup.* (53) Numb. xxxv. 3. Joſh. xiv. 4. (54) *Ub. ſup.* (55) *Vide* RELAND. *ub. ſup.* (56) *De Bell. Judaic. lib.* v. *c.* 4. (57) *Vide* RELAND. *ubi ſup.* (58) *Ibid. c.* 56. (59) *In Cod. Bava Roma.* (60) *Ub. ſup.* (61) *Ibid.*

the forests or woods of this land; as the forest of *Hareth* (G), whither *David* retired. The wood of *Ephraim* [t], where *Absalom* perished on an oak; and the forest of *Lebanon* [u], where *Solomon* built him a house. Others we pass over.

Seas. HAVING thus taken a transient view of the mountains, plains, dales, and solitudes of the country before us, order requires us next to consider the waters which are properly said to have belonged to it; and first of the seas. Of these are, commonly and more accurately, reckoned but four, the *Mediterranean*, the *Dead*-sea, the sea of *Tiberias*, and the *Samachonite*-sea. The *Mediterranean* was by the *Jews* called the *Great*-sea, the sea of the *Philistines*, the *Salt*-sea (H).

THE *Dead*-sea (†), or the *Asphaltite*-lake (I), called also the *Salt*-sea (K). Much has been said and supposed of this famous, or as most will have it infamous, lake; as that nothing will sink in it, and that it rose up from the submersion of the vale of *Siddim* [x], where once, as is most generally concluded, stood the five cities of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and the other three. On this account has it been abhorred and detested, and represented as a prodigious and everlasting monument of the just judgment of God, to deter mankind from the sins committed by those, who thus drew down on them the fierce wrath and vengeance of the almighty. Now, tho' it were a seeming rashness to contradict what has been so very universally advanced and received among christians, with relation to the origin of this lake, it has all been very solidly contradicted, and, if it were lawful so to say, refuted even by the authority of scripture itself [y] (L). But, misled by the common tradition, and blinded by an irregular

[t] 2 Sam. xvii. 6——9. [u] 1 Kings vii. 2. [x] See before, p. 323. [y] Vide RELAND. ub. sup. c. 38.

croud both sides of the *Jordan* thick with cities and villages; but, at the same time, makes allowances for their zeal and warmth of imagination, unguided by documents, or the least degree of certainty.

(G) This forest was evidently within the tribe of *Judah*, by the words of the prophet *Gad*, who *said unto* David, *abide not in the hold, depart, and get thee into the land of* Judah (63).

(H) *Bochart* (64) is angry with *Maimonides* for saying, the purple fish was found in the *Salt* sea, imagining, he thereby meant the *Asphaltite* lake; but that he meant the *Mediterranean*, and expressed himself not improperly, has been sufficiently shewn (65).

(†) It is so called for that it breeds no fish, nor sustains any thing that has life, because of its excessive saltness (66). A late traveller (67), however, says, he has some reason to suspect this, observing among the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oyster-shells; and "that "they were thrown up by the waves, at two "hours distance from the mouth of *Jordan*;" which he mentions, lest it should be suspected they might have been brought into the sea that way. As for the common tradition, the birds, attempting to fly over this sea, drop down dead into it, the same traveller (68) saw it actually confuted by several birds, who flew over and about it, without the least visible harm.

(I) So called from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was anciently supposed, that great quantities of this combustible substance were thrown up by this sea (69). And travellers (70) represent it as in great plenty on the shores of it. Whatever there might have been formerly, it seems, it is not now to be found every where upon the shore, tho' it is gathered in great quantities near the mountains on both sides. It exactly resembles pitch, and cannot readily be distinguished from it, but by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste (71). This bitumen seems not to have been sufficiently, or at all, distinguished from a sort of combustible stones found on the shore; being a black sort of pebbles, which being held in the flame of a candle soon burn, and yield a smoke of an intolerable stench (72); but have this extraordinary property, that by burning they lose only of their weight, and not at all of their bulk.

(K) It is to the highest degree impregnated with salt; insomuch, that *Galen* (73) supposes it in specific gravity to be as much beyond other sea-water, as sea-water is beyond the water of rivers, and that it was impossible to immerge in it; and elsewhere adds, that, by the addition of salt, it would be possible to make any water as bouyant as this. The same physician elsewhere has it, that the saltness of this sea is attended with a bitterness and unpleasantness. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at present, except that bodies will immerge in it, tho' not so easily as in other water (74).

(L) It is *Reland* (75) who professedly undertakes this task. To enter into a detail of his arguments would exceed our bounds, we shall therefore only touch on some principal heads, 1. He observes, that the five kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and the rest, are said to have met in the vale of *Siddim*, as if it was not the place of their immediate abode. 2. The sacred penman no where says, the five cities were in the vale of *Siddim*. 3. In the whole books of scripture there is no mention made of the submersion of the same five cities. 4. He observes, that this supposed submersion is contradictory to many passages he cites of holy writ. He contends, that some, if not all, of the five cities, were not on the spot where now stands the *Dead* sea. The scripture itself is what he chiefly builds on throughout this whole argument; tho' he finds no want of authorities elsewhere to support him in his opinion, which we leave to be discussed by such as think it of importance sufficient to require it.

(63) 1 Sam. xxii. 5. (64) *In* HIEROZOICO, *pt.* 2. *lib.* 5. *c.* 9. (65) *Vide* RELAND. *Pal. Illustr. lib.* i. *c.* 37. (66) *Vide* HIERON. *in Comment. ad* Ezek. xlvii. (67) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerusalem*, *p.* 84. (68) *Ibid.* (69) *Vide* RELAND. *ub. sup.* BOCARD. *Descrip. Terr. Sanct. c.* 7. (70) RADZIV. *Jerosolym. Peregr. p.* 35. PROCARD. *ub. sup. &c.* (71) MAUNDR. *ub. sup.* (72) *Ibid. vide etiam* RADZIV. *ub. sup.* (73) *Apud* RELAND. *ub. sup.* (74) MAUND. *ub. sup.* (75) RE-

lar zeal, travellers have for the moſt part (M) repreſented it as a place diſmal to
a beheld, all ſulphureous, bituminous, and combuſtible. Nor has it not been ſeri-
ouſly averred, that ruins of the five cities have been actually ſeen (N) in theſe latter
times. This ſea in its preſent ſtate is incloſed on the eaſt and weſt with exceeding
high mountains, on the north it has the plain of *Jericho*, or, if we take in both
ſides of the *Jordan*, *the great plain* properly ſo called; on the ſouth it is open,
and extends beyond the reach of the eye. In length it is ſaid to be twenty four
leagues, and in breadth ſix or ſeven. Its water is limpid and clear. On the weſt
ſide of it is a promontory, where they pretend to ſhew remains of *Lot*'s metamor-
phoſed wife [z] (O).

Sea of Tiberias.

b THE ſea of *Tiberias*, called alſo the ſea of *Kinnereth*, *Kinneroth*, *Chinnereth* [a], *Cinneroth* [b] (P), the water of *Geneſar* [c], lake of *Geneſarit* and *Geneſareth* (Q), was alſo called the ſea of *Galilee*. According to *Joſephus* * it was one hundred furlongs in length and about forty in breadth. The ſame hiſtorian [d] commends it for the temper of its water, which expoſed in the night to air, as the inhabitants near were wont to do in ſummer-time, became as cold almoſt as ſnow itſelf. It is every way by the ſame author ſet in oppoſition to the *Dead*-ſea; eſpecially as this afforded no ſort of fiſh, and the other abounded with it. The one is repreſented as a water every way pleaſant and agreeable, the other as every way forbidding and horrid.

Samachonite-lake.

c THE *Samachonite*-lake is next in order. Whence it derives its name is uncertain (R). It is chiefly remarkable for the thickneſs of its waters [e]. Its length was ſixty furlongs or about ſeven miles and half; its breadth thirty furlongs, or about three miles and three quarters [f]. It is ſuppoſed, that this may be the lake mentioned by *Pliny* † on account of its odoriferous reeds; but this is mere conjecture.

Lake Phiala.

Nor far from this is the lake of *Phiala*, the true ſource or fountain-head of the river *Jordan*, tho' whether it was ſo or no was long diſputed [g] (S). This name,

[z] MAUNDR. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 84. 85. [a] Num. xxxiv. 11. [b] Joſh. xii. 3. [c] 1 Macc. xi. 67. * De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c. 18. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. [f] Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 1. † Lib. xii. c. 22. [g] RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. l. i. c. 41. p. 264.

(M) Geographers, ſays *Maundrell* (76) in their writings and maps, generally deſcribe a ſmoke aſcending from the ſurface of this lake, but for his part he could ſee nothing of the kind. It is alſo obſerved as a moſt wonderful circumſtance, that this lake, as *Joſephus* (77) obſerves, ſhould change colour three times a day, which prince *Radziville* (78) confirms as an eye-witneſs: in the morning, ſays he, it was blackiſh, at noon blewiſh, in the evening yellowiſh, and as it were mixed with ooze (79). A variety which plainly proceeds from natural cauſes, and is eaſily accounted for, by the nature of its ſituation and the land about it, with the help of a little optic. The infernal apples alſo mentioned by *Joſephus* (80) and *Tacitus* (81) to be on the borders of this lake, all fair and beautiful without, and all ſoot and aſhes within, which have againſt all experience exiſted in the fickle imagination of the ſuperſtitious votaries who have fondly reſorted hither, are now concluded never to have been in nature (82); for nothing, not the leaſt trace of the kind is now to be found.

(N) Concerning this, we ſhall give you *Maundrel*'s own words (83). "I diligently ſurveyed the "waters, as far as my eye could reach; but nei-"ther could I diſcern any heaps of ruins, nor—— "But yet I muſt not omit what was confidently "atteſted to me by the father *Guardian* and pro-"curator of *Jeruſalem*, both men in years, and "ſeemingly not deſtitute either of ſenſe and pro-"bity, viz. that they had once actually ſeen one "of thoſe ruins; that it was ſo near the ſhore, "and the waters ſo ſhallow at that time, that "they, together with ſome *French* men, went to "it, and found there ſeveral pillars and other "fragments of buildings." *Maundrell* has, at leaſt, as much weight with *Reland* (84) as any modern traveller whatſoever, and perhaps more, but yet is unwilling to think, there ſhould be ſuch viſible remains of the original five cities.

(O) It ſeems the natives here have different ſtories at different times. They told prince *Radziville* (85), there was no ſuch thing as *Lot*'s wife's pillar of ſalt to be found, and about a century afterwards they tell *Maundrell* (86), that there is a ſtump of it ſtill left, and point out to him the very place where it is. In ſhort, it is almoſt wonderful, they cannot always find a lump of ſalt in ſuch a place as this, to perſonate what has been ſo eagerly inquired for and ſought after.

(P) Theſe names are ſuppoſed to be derived from a muſical inſtrument which is ſuppoſed to have been nearly of the form of this ſea: but *Reland* (87) chuſes to borrow the ſame from the city of the name, in the tribe of *Naphtali* on the borders thereof.

(Q) Theſe names are ſuppoſed to have been formed from the foregoing; but *Reland* (88) is rather inclined to have them from the country of *Gennesar*, on the borders of this ſame lake; celebrated by *Joſephus* (89), for fertility of ſoil and felicity of climate.

(R) In the *Greek* of *Joſephus*, it is written, Σαμαχωνίτις λίμνη, and Σεμεχωνίτις which ſome derive from *Samach*, a fiſh, or from the plural *Samachon* (90).

(S) This doubt was ſettled by *Philip the Tetrarch*, who caſting ſtraws or chaff thereinto, they came out at *Panion*.

(76) *Ubi ſup.* (77) *De Bell. Judaic. l. v. c. 5.* (78) *Ubi ſupra.* (79) *Ibid.* (80) *Ubi ſupra.* (81) *Hiſt. l. v.* (82) *Vide* MAUNDR. *ubi ſupra*; *vide etiam* RADZ. *ubi ſup.* (83) *Ubi ſup.* (84) *Ubi ſup.* (85) *Ubi ſup.* (86) *Ubi ſup.* (87) *Ubi ſup. c.* 39. (88) *Ibid.* (89) *De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c.* 8. (90) *Vide* RELAND. *Palæſt. Illuſt. l. i. c.* 40. *p.* 262.

name, which ſignifies a vial, was common to other waters of the ſame kind. It is ſituated in the midſt of a moſt delightful country, which is alſo ſo very opportune for buſineſs, that marts, or fairs, are here held all the ſummer long, by the neighbouring people [h].

The Jordan. To paſs over other lakes and waters of inferior note and degree, we will proceed to the river *Jordan*, which, riſing from the lake of *Phiala*, enters the *Samachonite*-lake, whence proceeding it divides the ſea of *Tiberias*, and thence diſcharges itſelf into the *Dead*-ſea. The origin of its name, or names, is ſomewhat obſcure (T); therefore not to inſiſt thereon, this being by far the principal ſtream of theſe parts, it is by way of eminence called the *River* [i]; the reſt of this country being mere brooks in compariſon of it. *Joſephus* [k] makes mention of a *leſſer Jordan*, whoſe fountain-head he places about *Panion*, while he derives the other, or greater *Jordan*, from mount *Libanus* [l]; but he is not to be underſtood here as meaning two diſtinct rivers; but as dividing the ſame river into two parts, which are greater or leſs, as nearer to, or farther from, the original ſpring (U). To recapitulate the courſe of this river we learn [m], that taking its riſe from *Phiala*, it runs under ground for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, and breaking forth at *Paneum*, goes through the *Samachonite*-lake; whence proceeding again to the diſtance above-mentioned of fifteen miles, it ſtreams through the ſea of *Tiberias*, and thence holds its courſe through a vaſt and horrid deſart, till it loſes itſelf in the *Aſphalite*-lake. Here it is noted [n], that *Joſephus* ſpeaks but of one original ſpring belonging to this river, a demonſtrative proof, that this leſſer *Jordan* is no river diſtinct from his greater, and that no more than different parts of the ſame main ſtream are to be underſtood thereby. It is remarkable of the *Jordan*, that in the time of harveſt it is moſt full, and apt to overtop its banks [o], contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are moſt full in time of winter; whence it may poſſibly have been, that ſome have imagined a ſubterraneous communication to have exiſted between this river and the *Nile* of *Egypt* (X). But to wave ſo unlikely a matter, the banks of this ſtream are a harbour for lions and other wild beaſts, who take ſhelter amidſt the reeds and canes [p], which here ſo remarkably abound; and not only abound, but alſo grow ſo thick and tall, as to obſtruct the ſight of the river (Y); together with the willows, tamariſks, and other native vegetables of theſe banks

[h] SANCH. Secret. Fidel. Crucis. apud eund. ibid. viii. c. 3. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. v. c. 1. [k] Ibid. c. 2. and l. viii. c. 3. [l] Antiq. l. v. c. 1. [m] Ibid. l. iii. c. 18. [n] Vide RELAND. ubi ſup. [o] Vide eund. ibid. [p] MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.

(T) It has been a commonly received opinion, that this river is called ירדן, *Jarden*, as if it was אר דן, the *River of Dan*, becauſe it took its riſe near the city of *Dan*, or becauſe it was derived from two ſprings, the one *Jor*, the other *Dan*. That the firſt of theſe derivations is unlikely we ſhall now attempt to ſhew, and that the ſecond is falſe has been partly demonſtrated in the note above. To ſuppoſe it to have received any part of its denomination from the city of *Dan* is ſeemingly wrong, in as much as it was called *Jorden* long before the city of *Dan* was built. But you may ſay, it may have been ſo called by way of prolepſis. But why *Den* ſhould be changed into *Dan* may be difficult to account for; ſo that after all, it is moſt natural to borrow this name from ירד, *deſcendit*, *labitur*. The *Arabs* call it *Arden*, and *Ordounon*; the *Perſians*, *Herdun*; and the *Nubian* geographer, or the *Sharif Edriſi*, *Zacchar*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies *tumid*, *full*, or *overflowing its banks*, and therefore a name properly enough applied to the *Jordan* (91).

(U) Examples of this kind are exhibited to confirm this (92), as in the *Vetus Vechta*, and *Vetus Rhenus*, and the *Anapus* παλαιὸς and καινὸς, mentioned by *Vibius Sequeſter*; whereby it is not to be underſtood, that theſe rivers, ſo diſtinguiſhed into old and new, were to be deduced from different ſprings, but to be parts of one and the ſame.

(X) The more to confirm this, it has been reported that the *Coracinus*, a fiſh reputed to be peculiar to the *Nile*, has been taken in the *Jordan*. But this concludes nothing poſitively; for the *Coracinus*, as much as it is a native of the *Nile*, is to be found elſewhere (93)

(Y) Prince *Radziville* (94) writes, that on this ſide of the river, in the place where Chriſt was baptized, there is a ſhady thicket, about half a mile, (a *German* one we ſuppoſe) in length, and a bow ſhot in breadth; and that here were trees which bore the likeneſs of willows, but upon a nice examination proved not exactly ſo in fact. He adds, that he could perceive nothing of the locuſts and wild honey, which afforded ſuſtenance to St. *John*, who, with others, he ſuppoſes to have ſojourned in this wilderneſs. *Maundrell* (95) alſo obſerves, that this part is ſo beſet with buſhes and trees, ſuch as tamariſks, willows, and others, that you can ſee no water till you have made your way through.———He adds, that on the other ſide there ſeemed to be a much larger thicket, than on the ſide they were. To this effect do the travellers this way in general deliver themſelves..

(91) *Vid. eund. ibid. c.* 43. *p.* 271, 272. (92) *Apud eund. Ibid.* (93) *Vide Athenæum.* (94) *In Peregrin. Jeroſolym. p.* 98. (95) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 81.

banks (Z). The ſtream of this river is ſo ſtrong and rapid, that a man cannot
a ſtem it in ſwimming; but the dimenſions of it are by no means large, the
breadth of it, where it ſhould be ſeemingly greateſt, not exceeding ſixty foot (A).
It was formerly fordable in ſome places [q], and may be ſo ſtill, tho' we know of
no one that particularly takes notice of it. It ſeems alſo to have been formerly
croſſed in boats or ferries [r].

To deſcribe or even to enumerate, the other rivers, either on this or that
ſide of the *Jordan*, were too minute, and indeed needleſs, and contrary to our
cuſtom hitherto; wherefore we ſhall only ſay, that the *Arnon* ſeems to deſerve
the place next to *Jordan*; and proceed to obſerve, that the productions of this
b land were great, and excellent, and abundant. This country was antiently of
great fame for fertility, and well correſponded with the figurative deſcription
of it, that it flowed with milk and honey; nor at this day are there wanting
ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, tho' now it is, as it were, decayed and
neglected. But the preſent barren ſtate of this country having prevailed on ſome
to imagine, it never was what the ſcripture repreſents it to be, we ſhall, with
the ſame deſign, and in the ſame order, obſerved by a learned man [s], who has
made this favourite region his ſtudy, more than ever any body did before and
to ſounder purpoſes, proceed to diſplay what it affords for the uſe of its inha-
bitants.

Fertility. And here it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that as fine a country as *Egypt* is
c on all hands allowed to be, it ſubmitted, and ſtill ſubmits, to this, in ſome
very noble productions, and particularly wine and oil, two of the moſt uſeful
liquids to man next to water; to go about to prove which, were to ſuppoſe
the reader ignorant of what he cannot poſſibly but know, and be convinced, and
aſſured of (B); as for water, it is plain, there could have been no ex-
ceſſive want of that, for how ſhould the men and cattle have ſubſiſted at all
without it? That they had ſufficient, for their uſe at leaſt, muſt be readily
granted, and has been ſufficiently proved to our hands [t]; but it were needleſs
for us to go about to do the ſame. Then for meats, and wherewithal to reliſh
d them, and ſerve them up; the *Aſphaltite*-lake produced a ſalt, which, in the
judgment of *Galen*, was for digeſtion and extenuation preferable to all other
ſalts whatſoever. Then wheat, and barley, and other kinds of corn and grain,
were ſo plentifully abundant, that it is in ſcripture (C) particularly denominated
therefrom

[q] Guliel. Tyrius, Hiſt. xxii. 20. apud Reland. ubi ſup. [r] Vide Reland. ibid. [s] Reland.
[t] Vide eund. l. 1. c. 46.

(Z) *Maundrell* diſtinguiſhes the banks of this river as twofold: theſe are his own words (96); "On the farther ſide of the forementioned convent [dedicated to St. *John*] there runs along a "ſmall deſcent, which you may fitly call the firſt "and outermoſt bank of *Jordan*; as far as which "it may be ſuppoſed the river does, or at leaſt "did antiently, flow, at ſome ſeaſons of the year, "*viz.* at the time of harveſt, *Joſh.* iii. 15, or "as it is expreſſed, *Chron.* xii. 15, in the firſt "month, that is, in *March*. But at preſent, [whe-"ther it be becauſe the river has, by its rapidity "of current, worn its channel deeper than it was "formerly, or whether becauſe its waters are di-"verted ſome other way] it ſeems to have forgot "its antient greatneſs: for we could diſcern no "ſign or probability of ſuch overflowings, when "we were there; which was the thirtieth of "*March*, being the proper time for theſe in-"undations. Nay, ſo far was the river from "overflowing, that it ran at leaſt two yards be-"low the brink of its channel." The *Jordan* ſeems then to be very different from the river it was formerly.

(A) This is *Maundrell*'s meaſurement (97), in which the moſt ſincere travellers are pretty nicely of a mind with him. As for depth, the ſame traveller ſays, it was deeper than his height. The water is turbid, the natural conſequence of its rapidity; to which *Radziville* (98) adds, it is very wholeſome, and incorruptible in its nature, as he ſufficiently found by the experiment of ſome of it he brought away with him.

(B) This land was among other things preferred to *Egypt*, in that it enjoyed the benefit of rain (99); but that it exceeded this laſt for wine and oil is certain; and tho' it is not to be denied, but *Egypt* had her olives (100), they were certainly inferior to thoſe of *Paleſtine*. Whence the queſtion is aſked (1), *What did the ten tribes? They ſent oil into* Egypt. *Solomon*, we know, ſent yearly to the king of *Tyre* twenty *cors*, or meaſures, of pure oil (2). Then for vines, the *Egyptians* had none at all. *Herodotus* ſays (3), they drank a liquor made of barley to ſupply their want of wine (4). Accordingly *Judæa* is by *Rabſhakeh* called, *a land—of vineyards, a land of oil-olives* (5). In ſhort, who knows not, that the wine of *Aſcalon*, the wine of *Gaza*, and *Sarepta*, were famed among the moſt remote nations? ſays *Reland*.

(C) It is there called, *a land of wheat and barley* (6).

(96) *Ibid.* (97) *Ibid.* (98) *Ubi ſup.* (99) Vide Proc. Gaz. *ad Deuteron.* (100) *Vide* Theop. *de Cauſ. Plant. lib.* vi. *c.* 12. (1) *In Icha. Rabbal. fol.* 85. 3. (2) 1 Kings v. 11. (3) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 77. (4) *See before p.* (5) 2 Kings xviii. 32. (6) Deut. xiii. 8.

therefrom (D). That oxen, ſheep, goats, and the like, together with fowl, were a
in no degree wanting, appears by the frequent ſacrifices, and by the paſture
grounds occupied by the two tribes and half on the other ſide of *Jordan*, not
to mention the paſtures of *Saron*a, and the plains about *Lydda*, *Jamnia*, and
elſewhere. For fiſh; the *Jordan* and ſea of *Tiberias* yielded a ſufficient ſupply,
as may be gathered from the New Teſtament; nor are we told, that they are at
this day deficient therein. Beſides the ſea not only afforded quantities ſufficient
for the people on the coaſt, but helped to ſubſiſt even the citizens of *Jeruſalem*,
from whence you have the *fiſh-gate* of that metropolis, if any credit is to be
given to St. *Jerome* [u], to omit the fiſh that was certainly taken in the other
ſtreams and waters of this land. Plenty of honey, beſides what was collected b
by the bee, was here to be had in the woods, and flowing from trees (E).
Of trees, the palm of this country, and of ſhrubs, the balſam, are eminent
above all others. The fruit of the palm of this country was thought the only
of the ſort capable of being kept for a future ſtore (F). The balſam of
Jericho (G) is famous beyond any thing of its kind, and applauded as the pe-
culiar product of this happy country (H), and a moſt precious drug it was
among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as every ordinary ſcholar cannot but know.
Wool muſt have been a natural commodity in a country which fed ſuch flocks
of ſheep, and cotton is the common product of theſe parts, and of this coun-
try particularly about *Lydda*, and the plain of *Eſdraelon*. To go about to c
prove all this by authorities, antient and modern, were endleſs and mere af-
fectation. Let it ſuffice, that we obſerve of this ſmall region, that to have
ſuſtained ſuch numbers of inhabitants, who in a manner lived upon their own
growth, without any conſiderable aſſiſtance, by foreign commerce, it muſt have
been by far a more noble and fertile place, than by ſome at preſent repre-
ſented.

The Extent. We have been naturally induced to break into the order we have hitherto followed in our other geographical ſections, and now, with ſeeming irregularity, we come to ſpeak of the extent of this coutry, which from north to ſouth did not exceed ſeventy leagues, and from eaſt to weſt not above thirty. d

The Soil. Being partly in the fourth and fifth north climate its ſoil was of the beſt, tho' greatly diverſified, as the country happened to be mountainous or plain, cloſe or open,

[u] Apud Reland. Pal. Illuſt. lib. 1. c. 57. p. 382.

(D) And well it ſeems to have deſerved it, ſeeing *Solomon* could annually afford to ſend the king of *Tyre* a preſent of twenty thouſand *cors*, or meaſures, of wheat (7).

(E) This ſeems to be an extraordinary production; but is nevertheleſs ſuppoſed to have been the μέλι ἄγριον or *wild honey*, St. *John* found in the wilderneſs (8). Our author cannot agree with *Bochart*, that this wild honey was depoſited by the induſtrious bee; but recurs to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, ſpeaking of the *Nabatæans* who inhabited theſe parts, tells us what this wild honey, or μέλι ἄγριον, may have been, ſaying, *in their trees they have a honey they call wild, which they drink mixed with water*; as alſo to *Pliny*, who, ſpeaking of what he calls the *Elaomeli*, or oil-honey, ſays that *it flows from the olive*; and that *in the maritime parts of* Syria *it comes ſpontaneouſly, flowing from the trees, of a fat ſubſtance, thicker than honey, finer than roſin, and ſweet of taſte*: and hence concludes, that *Maundrell* (9) was ſo ſenſible of a ſtrong ſmell of honey in the maritime parts of *Paleſtine*. *Pliny*, however, does not tell us, it has the ſmell of honey, but that this is the μέλι ἄγριον, or wild honey of *Scripture*, we think there is all the reaſon in the world to believe.

(F) This is the opinion of *Theophraſtus* (10); and doubtleſs he had good ground for what he ſays. *In three ſandy places only*, ſays he, *is the fruit of the palm fit to be laid up for ſtore*. Theſe four places are *Jericho*, *Phaſaelis*, *Archelais*, and *Livias*.

(G) *Theophraſtus* (11) leaves us in ſome doubt as to the ſpot which produced this precious balm, ſaying in general, that it grew in the valley of *Syria*; which is thus particularized by *Juſtin* (12): "There "is a valley ſurrounded by mountains, as it were "with a wall—*and* the extent of the place may "be about two hundred acres. Its name is *Hieri-* "*cho* [*Jericho*]. In this valley there is a wood "moſt famous for the fertility and amenity of its "trees, but above all for the balm and opobalſam." The ſame is atteſted by *Strabo*, *Joſephus*, and others.

(H) So writes *Joſephus*, *Pliny*, and *Dioſcorides*. "But [ſays *Reland*] (13), *Proſper Alpinus* and "*Peter Bellonius* will have it, that theſe are mi- "ſtaken, becauſe it now grows in *Judæa* no "where but in gardens; and requires there to be "tended very carefully; whereas balſam of every "ſort comes from *Arabia*, as from its native ſoil, "and is thence conveyed into other regions. But "I, for my part, [continues he] am of opinion, "that *Joſephus* and *Dioſcorides* wrote nothing but "the truth, for there is no reaſon why plants, "which ſeventeen hundred years ago flouriſhed in "one country, may not in length of time, be pro- "duced in countries far diſtant therefrom. But "ſuppoſing even the nature of the ſoil to have "changed; it would be no ſuch great wonder. "Viciſſitudes of this kind certainly happen, as well "as of others.

(7) 1 Kings *ubi ſup.* (8) *Vide* Reland. *Pal. Illuſt. lib.* i. *c.* 57. *p.* 382. (9) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 66. (10) *De Hiſt. Plant. lib.* xi. *c.* 8. (11) *Ubi ſup. lib.* ix. *c.* 6. (12) *Lib.* xxxvii. (13) *Ubi ſup.*

a open, bordering on ſalt waters or freſh, which ſeveral circumſtances of ſituation muſt naturally have propagated an almoſt endleſs variety of things pleaſant and uſeful, neceſſary for life, and incentive to luxury. In ſhort, ſuch a country it muſt have been, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (I) would have preferred in his choice. But to recur to authorities for all this, even from the moſt approved writers of antiquity. *Greek* and *Roman*, would be, as we apprehend, to no purpoſe, and draw us into a length we would avoid as much as poſſible; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with this general ſummary, which will raiſe a ſufficient idea of this choſen ſeat, that, when carefully huſbanded, it was inferior to no place elſe in the world. We would only add, that the ſoil is ſo very
b light, that it is ploughed with the leaſt labour, tho' returning an exuberant increaſe (K), and that the nature of it is ſuch, that to plough it deep were to deſtroy almoſt the hopes of any tolerable crop (L).

Why ſo much altered for the worſe.

How it has happened, that this country has changed face from ſuch beauty to ſuch deformity, may be with no great difficulty underſtood; for overwhelmed by calamities of the moſt bitter and deſtructive ſort, and its natives driven out to wander the wide world over, and the very ſoil itſelf groaning under the heavy preſſure of divine vengeance, it became quite another place: And more particularly after the mercileſs and mutual devaſtations during the *holy war*, between the chriſtians and *Mohammedans*. This great and blindly zealous
c ſtrife has ever ſince ſubjected this now unhappy ſpot to perpetual ravages and inſecurity, from the *Arabs* and other wandring tribes; ſo that, upon the ſurface of the whole earth, there is not a place more dangerous or comfortleſs to travel in, than is now this promiſed land, as by every traveller we are told. How then can we, with any juſtice, compare the preſent with the antient aſpect of this country? So that it is in vain to object the ſterility and naked rocks now beheld, and the rather as nothing we are told is plainer, than that theſe ſtony heights were once covered with ſoil [u] (M). But what muſt this country have been to have withſtood the unparallelled and continued rage of the enemy it has ſo cruelly ſuffered? or what cannot an enemy do to deſtroy and utterly lay

[u] See MAUND. pag. 64.

(I) He ſays (14) he ſhould not ſo much value a country for one production only, nor would chuſe to dwell where, at the ſame time the fields ſhould be fruitful, there ſhould be a total want of all the other neceſſaries of life, or at leaſt a ſcarcity of them; but that he would chuſe a country which ſhould be as much as poſſible ſufficient of itſelf, or ſtand the leaſt in need of foreign aſſiſtance. This he thinks to have been the happy lot of *Italy*.

(K) *Brocard* (15) ſays, he has often with his own eyes ſeen two oxen only at the plough, and that the land ſtands in need of manure of no ſort, being naturally very fat and rich.

(L) The ſoil being ſhallow, if the plough went deep, the clods would dry up by the heat that would be reverberated from the ſtony bottom. In *Syria* therefore they make uſe of ſmall ploughs, ſays *Theophraſtus* (16).

(M) *Maundrell*'s words upon this occaſion being very remarkable and particular, we cannot help tranſcribing what he ſays (17).— "All along this "day's travel—— the country diſcovered a quite "different face from what it had before, preſenting nothing to the view, in moſt places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At ſight "of which pilgrims are apt to be much aſtoniſhed, baulked in their expectations finding, that "country in ſuch an inhoſpitable condition conceiving whoſe pleaſantneſs and plenty they had "before formed in their minds ſuch high Ideas, "from the deſcription given of it in the word of "God: inſomuch that it almoſt ſtartles their faith, "when they reflect how it could be poſſible for a "land like this to ſupply food for ſo prodigious a "number of inhabitants, as are ſaid to have been "maintain'd in the twelve tribes at one time; the ſum "given in by *Joab* (18) amounting to no leſs than "thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides "women and children. But it is certain, that any "man, who is not a little byaſſed to infidelity be"fore, may ſee, as he paſſes along, arguments "enough to ſupport his faith againſt ſuch ſcruples. "———For it is obvious for any one to obſerve, "that theſe rocks and hills muſt have been ancient"ly covered with earth, and cultivated, and made "to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabi"tants, no leſs than if the country had been all "plain: nay, perhaps much more; foraſmuch as "ſuch a mountainous and uneven ſurface affords "a larger ſpace of ground for cultivation, than this "country would amount to if it were all reduced "to a perfect level——— For the huſbanding "of theſe mountains, their manner was, to gather "up the ſtones, and place them in ſeveral lines "along the ſides of the hills, in form of a wall. "By ſuch borders they ſupported the mould from "tumbling, or being waſhed down; and formed "many beds of excellent ſoil, riſing gradually one "above another, from the bottom to the top of "the mountains——— Of this form of culture "you ſee evident footſteps, wherever you go in all "the mountains of *Paleſtine*. Thus the very rocks "were made fruitful: and perhaps there is no ſpot "of ground in this whole land, that was not im"proved to the production of ſomething or other, "miniſtring to the aſſiſtance of human life; for, "than the plain country nothing can be more fruit"ful, whether for the production of corn or cat"tle, and conſequently of milk."—He then proceeds to ſhew, how this whole country, ſo wild at preſent, may have been, as it doubtleſs was, a paradiſe both for pleaſure and production.

(14) *Dionyſ. Rom. lib. i. p. 2.* (15) *In Deut. Tom. Concil. c. 11.* (16) *De caus. plant. lib. iii. c. 25.* (17) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.* (18) 1 Sam. xxiv.

lay waſte a country? *Joſephus* [x] to our purpoſe writes, "The marching of "his army [*Simon*'s] was the ſame thing to the people, that a flight of locuſts "are to a wood: not a leaf, not a ſpire of graſs, was there left; not any "thing more than a deſart, that they left behind them——Then the malicious "rage of *Simon* and his keen animoſity againſt the *Idumæans* was ſtill a farther "aggravation——In fine, what with burning, demoliſhing, devouring the fruits "of the earth, or trampling them under foot, *Simon*'s troops did not leave ſo "much, even in a fruitful well-cultivated country, as the leaſt ſign or memorial "of what it had formerly been." This, and much more, is to be found in this and other authors; and if after this any one ſhould think fit to object to us, what is ſaid by *Strabo* relating to *Jeruſalem* (N), as if it included the whole country; we ſhall anſwer, that they deal expreſly againſt the plain ſenſe of *Strabo*, who confines himſelf to a ſpace only of ſixty furlongs, which the more rocky and inacceſſible it had been, ſo much the more apt and convenient to be the ſeat of the metropolis and great arſenal of the nation, as experience evinced.

The Cities. THE cities of this land we ſhall forbear to deſcribe, though few cities have been of greater ſplendor, or on all accounts more worthy of notice; but as, in our larger geographical ſections, we have avoided the taſk, as too tedious and exceeding the bounds we preſcribe to ourſelves, as well as to avoid repetition, and anticipating what may be more properly mentioned in the body of our hiſtory, we ſhall do by theſe now, as we formerly [y] did by thoſe of *Egypt*, refer them, till they come to be occaſionally mentioned or deſcribed, and proceed to what is more immediately to our preſent purpoſe.

Natural rarities. MEANING the more remarkable things and rarities of this country, which, as nicely as we can diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them, we will divide into the *natural* and *artificial*; though we might alſo, with great reaſon, divide them in general into the *falſe*, *doubtful*, and *certain*; but we ſhall leave that to the reader's own diſcretion or diſcernment. Upon mount *Carmel* they find melons, olives, and ſuch like fruits in ſtone, moſt exactly imitating thoſe vegetable productions, both within and without, and the melons even when opened emitting an agreeable ſmell; our author [z] adds, that here alſo are found a kind of oyſters of the ſame nature, and even, as reported, bunches of grapes of the ſame ſtony conſiſtence; but whether owing to petrifaction, or the wanton imitation of nature, is left undecided——Near *Rachel*'s tomb, not far from *Bethlehem*, is a ſmall ſpot of ground, whereon are picked up a little ſort of ſmall round ſtones, exactly reſembling peas; owing, as they pretend, to a miracle wrought by the bleſſed virgin, who, to puniſh a ſurly ruſtic who refuſed her a handful of that pulſe, converted them into ſtones [a] (O). The ſand of the river *Belus*, as ſuppoſed, not far from *Acra* or *Ptolemais*, is famous for being an excellent material for the making of glaſs, and not only ſo, but for having miniſtered the firſt occaſion and hint of that fine invention [b]——In the way from *Jeruſalem* to the *Jordan* deſcending a ſteep hill, they ſhew what they call the fountain of the apoſtles; ſo called from a tradition current, that here the apoſtles were wont to refreſh themſelves in their frequent journeyings between *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho* [c]—— Soon after, on the ſame road, they ſhew the mountainous deſart where our ſaviour was led by the ſpirit to be tempted of the Devil; a moſt miſerable and barren place, ſo ſeemingly torn and diſordered, that the beholder is ready to believe,

[x] De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 7. [y] See before p. [z] LE BRUYN, Voyage au Levant, &c. vol. iv. pag. 308, 4to. [a] MAUNDR. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 87. SANDYS, &c. [b] MAUNDR. ubi ſup. pag. 56. [c] Idem ibid. pag. 79.

(N) He miſtakenly ſays (19) that *Moſes* led them to the place where *Jeruſalem* ſtood, which he eaſily obtained, as it was a place not worth the contending for; for that it was rocky, though it abounded with water; and the country about for the ſpace of ſixty ſtades or furlongs dry, barren, and rocky. But what is this to the purpoſe? this was but a ſmall part of the country, and concludes nothing in prejudice to the reſt; for what country is there that wants its deſarts, wilds, and rocks?

(O) This ſtory is told another way. They ſay, the bleſſed virgin going one day from *Bethlehem* to *Jeruſalem*, ſaw a countryman ſowing of ſomething, and aſking him what it was he was ſowing, he anſwered, *ſtones*; that this rude anſwer of his coſt him dear; for that, by the will and power of God, this ſeed produced nothing but ſtones in the likeneſs of peas; and from that time, ſay they, this ſame field hath afforded nothing elſe (20).

(19) *Lib. xvi.* (20) LE BRUYN, *Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p. 231. in 4to.*

believe, the earth had ſuffered ſome extraordinary convulſion, in which its very
a bowels have been turned outwards [d].——Next to this, which is ſeemingly
a part of it, is a mountain called *Quadrantana*, or *Quarantania*, of ſteep and
moſt dangerous aſcent, where, as they ſay, the Devil took our bleſſed Saviour
to tempt him with the deluſive ſight of the earth and its glories [e]. And here
they ſhew alſo a number of ſtones, which they will have to have been the very
ſame the devil would have had converted into loaves [f] (P). On the top of
this ſame mount is a ſmall chapel, and on the prominence of it another, about
which are many caves and holes, where, as hideous as the place was, hermits
and anchorites took up their ſolitary abode [g].——At the diſtance of ſome
b leagues from the *Dead*-ſea there are ſuch ſaline effloreſcencies, as are obſerved in
the valley of *Salt* near *Aleppo* [h], after the winter's inundation; a demonſtrative
ſign, that the whole plain about muſt be, in an extraordinary manner, impreg-
nated with that mineral [i].——At about an hour's diſtance from the *Dead-*
ſea the ground is uneven, and varied into hillocks, and much reſembling the
places in *England* where there have been antiently lime kilns; which are ſug-
geſted to have been the pits where the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were
overthrown by the four kings [k].——In the plain of *Jericho* is a very remark-
able fruit, called by the *Arabs* Za-cho-ne, it grows on a thorny buſh, with ſmall
leaves; and both in ſhape and colour reſembles a ſmall unripe walnut. The
kernels of this fruit the *Arabs* bray in a mortar; and putting the pulp into
c ſcalding water, ſkim off an oil which riſes to the top; which oil taken in-
wardly for bruiſes, or applied outwardly for green wounds, is preferred to balm
of *Gilead* [l].——In the ſame plain alſo are found what they call roſes of
Jericho, of a very miraculous nature. They are ſaid to give eaſe to women at
the time of delivery [m]; and to blow only on *Chriſtmas-eve*, according to ſome [n],
or on all the feſtival days of our lady according to others [o] (Q); notions now
on all hands exploded (R). To theſe we may add the wood olive of the ſame
place. The outward coat of it is green, and like that of the common olive we
eat; but being taken off, you find a nut of woody conſiſtence. This has ribs
length-

[d] Idem ibid. pag. 79. [e] Idem ibid. p. 80. [f] Radziv. Peregrin Jeroſolym, pag. 99. [g] Vide eoſdem in loc. ſup. cit. [h] See before, p. [i] Maundr. ubi ſup. pag. 81. [k] Idem ibid. pag. 83. [l] Idem ibid. pag. 87. [m] Radziv. ubi ſup. p. 98. [n] Theven. Voy. au Levant, p. 1. lib. i. c. 41. Le Bruyn, Voy. au Levant, vol. 4. pag. 277. in 4to. [o] Theven. ubi ſup.

(P) The ſame author obſerves in the ſame place, that thoſe who who would have this deſart to have been what we commanly call a wilderneſs, or wood, are moſt egregiouſly miſtaken; for that nothing like a tree is here to be ſeen, but rocks only, and moſt rugged cliffs.

(Q) This property of theſe roſes, as they are called, ſeems to bear ſo conſiderable an affinity with Sir *John Maundeville*'s (21) origin of roſes, that we cannot help inſerting his moſt extraordinary tradition at length, as it ſtands in his own words. "And between the *Cytee* [*Bethlehem*] and the "church is the feld *floridus*; that is to ſeyne, *the "feld flouriſhed*: for als moche as a fayre may-"den was blamed with wrong, and ſlaundred, "that ſche had done fornycacioun; for whiche "cauſe ſche was demed to the dethe, and to be "brent in that place, to the whiche ſche was "ladd. And as the fyre begin to brenne aboute "hire, ſche made hire preyeres to oure lord, "that als wiſſely as ſche was not gylty of that "fynne, that he wold helpe hire, and make it "to be knowen to alle men, of his mercyfulle "grace. And whan ſche hadde thus ſeyd, ſche en-"tred into the fuyer; and anon was the fuyr "quenched and oute: and the brondes, that "weren brennyne, becomen rede roſeres; and the "brondes, that weren not kyndled, becomen white "roſers, fulle of roſes. And theiſe weren the "firſt roſeres and roſes, bothe white and rede, "that evere ony man ſaughe." &c. and ſo on: So groſs were the ſuperſtitions of the times, and ſo thickly benighted the underſtandings of the generation, that nothing was too hard to be believed by the univerſally credulous multitude. Which being perceived, and the ſweet gains of pious fraud once taſted, by the deſigning and avaritious prieſts, ſhrines, and ſanctuaries, and ſtrange ſtories, to derive reſpect on particular places, became innumerable. In ſhort, if ſo ſincere, ſo worthy, and ſo ſenſible and knowing a man, as Sir *John* moſt plainly appears to have been, by that part of his travels which is properly his own, and which is not commonly half ſo much valued as it ought to be, could be ſo monſtrouſly gulled of his ſenſes, in this and other reſpects; what muſt we conceive, think ye, of the common rate of his contemporaries? The impudence of the clergy was immenſe, their avarice without bounds; and their ambition infinite.

(R) It ſeems they will not blow except they are put into water; but in that caſe, they will blow in any ſeaſon, and at any hour (22). Beſides they are not peculiar to the plain of *Jericho*; they are to be found elſewhere, and particularly in the deſerts about mount *Sinai* (23); and yet people are ſtill ſo fond of this idle notion, that they are reſolved never to part with it; ſome of theſe we know; but their names muſt be a ſecret in this caſe, tho' well known in others.

(21) *Pag. 84. in the laſt edition 8vo.* (22) Theven. *Voy. au Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 41.* Le Bruyn, *Voy. au Lev. vol. 4. pag. 278. in 4to.* (23) Theven. *ubi ſup.*

length-ways, and is of the thickneſs of an almond-ſhell, and the kernel within is like a piſtachio, within ſide of a cheſtnut brown, and inſipid to all likelihood [p]. ———Between *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem* was the valley of *Rephaim*, ſo famous for the overthrow of the *Philiſtines* by *David* [q].———Between the ſame places is the turpentine-tree, in the ſhade of which the bleſſed virgin is ſaid to have repoſed (S), when ſhe was carrying Chriſt in her arms to preſent him to the Lord at *Jeruſalem* [r].———Between *Bethlehem* and the convent of St. *John the Baptiſt* is that famous valley, where the angel made ſuch prodigious havock of the great *Sennacherib*'s mighty army in the ſpace of one night [s]. ——— Either in or cloſe upon, the ſkirts of this ſame valley is a village, called *Booteſhellah*, which is reported to have this ſtrange property, that no *Turk* or *Mohammedan* can live in it above two years [t] (T).———In leſs than an hour from this ſame place is the fountain, where, they falſly (V) ſay, *Philip* baptized the *Ethiopian* eunuch.———Somewhat beyond this is the wilderneſs of St. *John*; a wilderneſs called becauſe very rocky and mountainous, though well cultivated and producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil [u] (X).———An hour within this wilderneſs is the cave and fountain, where, as they ſay, St. *John* exerciſed thoſe ſevere auſterities related of him by the evangeliſt *Matthew* [x].———Not far from this ſame cave are ſome old locuſt-trees, which our author [y] calls the monuments of the ignorance of the middle times (Y).———A little way from hence

[p] LE BRUYN, ubi ſup. pag. 278. [q] MAUNDR. ubi ſup. pag. 87. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. pag. 91. [t] MAUNDR. ubi ſup. pag. 92. [u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid.

(S) The tradition of the country goes, that this tree bent itſelf, to afford the virgin a more perfect ſhade than it could otherwiſe have done (24).

(T) Where ſtrength can be of no avail, art, they ſay, may be uſed. In this inſtance, the *Chriſtians* have, it ſeems, out-witted the *Turks*, who, weak enough to believe there may be truth in the ſtory leave the village to them, without moleſtation (25). *Sandys* (26) takes this ſame place to be called *Bezec*, and alſo tells us, that the *Chriſtians* have the good luck to keep it to themſelves; the place having, as the report went, actually proved mortal to ſuch *Mohammedans* as had attempted to make it the place of their abode: So that, if actual experience has given birth to this notion, it may be doubtful, whether the *Turks* took the fright of themſelves, or whether it was artfully injected by the *Chriſtians*. *Thevenot* (27) calls it, *Bettaalie*, and tells us, a report goes, that no *Turk* can live there above eight days. We had almoſt forgot, that prince *Radziville* calls this ſame place, *Bethagil*: that this is the ſame place meant by the three former travellers is evident, by the ſituation he gives it, agreeing therein with them, tho' at the ſame time he inquiries the miracle ſtill more than *Thevenot* (28). He ſays, no one circumciſed can ſurvive the third day here; but that on the third night they would ſurely die; which, he ſays, was moſt ſolemnly affirmed to him, even by two *Arabians*, who had almoſt experienced the whole of the thing. The ſame *Arabs* told him, that the firſt night they were taken with a violent pain in the head; that on the ſecond their whole body ſo ſwelled up, that for fear of immediate death, they were obliged to be removed; and that the one of them was four, the other ſix, months before they were reſtored to their former health. In fine, that when he arrived near the place, no *Mohammedan* that was with him would venture in, but, to avoid the danger, choſe rather to go round about. As it were to confirm this marvellous relation, he inſtances another place indued with the ſame deſtructive property to kill the circumciſed, which is a nunnery about three miles from *Damaſcus*, where none under the circumſtances of circumciſion can outlive the third day. This, he ſays, is ordered, as many affirm, by the ſpecial grace and favour of God, in order to protect the chaſtity of the virgins from the unſparing luſt of the *Pagans* or *Infidels*. Stories moſt religiouſly cultivated, and by the weak as greedily ſwallowed.

(V) Falſe it ſeemed to our traveller, and a thing impoſſible. His objection is the inacceſſibleneſs of the place for an horſeman, and much more for a chariot, ſuch as the eunuch rode in. However he grants, that the road to it may have been ſmoother formerly than now, and thinks, there are ſome indications which ſeemingly declare it to have been ſo (29). Prince *Radziville*, (30) not ſo free with his objections to the moſt palpable falſhoods impoſed on him in theſe parts, his ſuperſtition devouring his great good ſenſe, takes occaſion from the nature of this fountain to combat the doctrine of the *Anabaptiſts*. They, ſays he, cite this baptiſm of the eunuch as an example to juſtify their practice; but continues, that had they ſeen the place they would be of another mind; that the ſpring is ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to afford water enough to wet both feet together; and thence concludes, that *Philip* only took up the water, and poured it on the eunuch's head, and in that manner baptized him. *Le Bruyn* (31) ſeems to deſtroy this piece of criticiſm by ſaying, that the water of this ſame ſpring falls into a baſon made of very large ſtones, by which deſcription we might imagine it to be a very handſome and convenient dipping-place. It is ſtrange, that when travellers take upon them to deſcribe a place they cannot do it to purpoſe.

(X) We know of no traveller, but our author, that takes notice of this; the reſt ſpeak of it as compleatly a deſart or wilderneſs. *Radziville* (32) takes notice of nothing here in the vegetable way, except a few ſmall tufts of poor buſhes.

(Y) Theſe trees the fryars aver to be the very ſame that yielded ſuſtenance to the *Baptiſt*; and the popiſh pilgrims, who dare not be wiſer than their blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry off

(24) LE BRUYN *ubi ſup. pag.* 231. (25) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 91. (26) *In his Travels, pag.* 142. (27) *Voy. au Levant. part* 1. *lib. ii. c.* 47. (28) *In Peregrin. Jeroſolym. pag.* 88. (29) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 92. (30) *Ubi ſup.* (31) *Voy. au Levant. vol. iv. pag.* 207. *in* 4*to.* (32) *Peregr. Jeroſol. pag.* 89.

hence is the valley of *Elah*, where *David* ſlew the giant; as alſo *Modon*, on a
a high hill, the burying-place of the *Maccabees* [y].——Between the convent
of St. *John* and *Jeruſalem* in the convent of the holy croſs, as by the *Greeks* it
is called, they ſhew you the earth which nouriſhed the root that bare the tree, which
yielded the timber that made the croſs. The hole in the earth where ſtood this
tree is ſhewn under the high altar; and marvelouſly revered by the pilgrims, who
are ſuch very ſtocks as to fall down and worſhip it [z].——About a furlong from
the church of the holy ſepulchre they ſhew the place where ſtood the houſe
of *Zebedee*. The *Greeks*, who have poſſeſſion here, pretend, that *Zebedee* being
a fiſherman was wont to bring fiſh from *Joppa* hither, and vend it at this place.
——A little farther on is the place where antiently, as they ſay, ſtood
b the iron gate which opened to *Peter* of its own accord [a].——In *Jeruſalem*
alſo they point out the very place where, as they ſay, our Lord appeared to the
three *Maries*, as the friars there will have it, though the evangeliſt *Matthew* re-
cords but one [b].——In the *Armenian* church, in this ſame city, built upon
that part of mount *Sion* within the walls, they ſhew the place where ſaint
James the brother of ſaint *John*, was beheaded; and in a ſmall chapel on
the north ſide of it the very ſpot of his decollation [c].—— In the ſame
church they ſhew three large rough ſtones, held in great veneration, for that
one of them was the very ſtone on which *Moſes* caſt the two tables, when vio-
c lently moved with indignation at the idolatry of the *Iſraelites*; and the other
two, for that they were brought, the one from the place of *Chriſt*'s baptiſm,
the other from the place of his transfiguration [d].——A little farther they
ſhew the place where ſtood the houſe of *Annas* the high-prieſt [e].——A little
without *Sion-gate*, under the altar of a ſmall chapel belonging to the *Armenians*,
they boaſt of the very ſtone that was laid to ſecure the door of our ſaviour's
ſepulchre (Z) [f].——In the court of the chapel, built where *Annas*'s houſe is
ſaid to have ſtood, they have an olive tree, of which they have a tradition
(A), that *Chriſt* was for ſome time chained to it, by the order of *Annas*,
to prevent his eſcaping [g].—— Near a little cell belonging to a chapel, built
where ſtood the houſe of *Cajaphas*, which they will have to have been the
priſon where *Chriſt* was kept till the next morning, they point out the place
where *Peter* irreſolutely denied his maſter [h] (B). —— Not much farther,
without

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. pag. 94. Radziv. Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 90. Le Bruyn, &c.
[a] Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 98. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. Radziv. &c. [d] Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 99.
[e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. pag. 100.

off with great devotion (33). The thing being ſo, it is impoſſible we ſhould doubt our author of ſaying more than he ſaw or heard, we wonder there ſhould be ſuch a ſilence as there is with the other pilgrims of note, concerning theſe extraordinary trees. Prince *Radziville* (34) is at a loſs to know how he ſubſiſted here, ſo far was he, ſeemingly, from hearing of, or ſeeing theſe locuſt-trees. Poſſibly it may be a new device.

(Z) "It was a long time kept in the church of "the Sepulchre; but the *Armenians*, not many "years ſince, ſtole it from thence by ſtratagem, "and conveyed it to this place.—— It is two "yards and a quarter long, high one yard, and "broad as much,—plaſtered all over except in five "or ſix little places, where it is left bare to receive "the immediate kiſſes and other devotions of pil-"grims (35)".

(A) A tradition it ſeems, which varies a little. This tree, which by our traveller, ſtands in the court before what was the houſe of *Annas*, is, by prince *Radziville* (36), removed to the houſe of *Cajaphas*; and this he not only does, but alſo forgets the ſtory of *Chriſt*'s having been chained to it. But *Thevenot* and *Le Bruyn* continue the tree in its firſt place, the former (37) ſaying, that he was bound to it, till he received ſentence; the other (38), that here he was made faſt, when *Malchus* gave him the buffet; for *Malchus* they will certainly have this anonymous perſon to have been.

(B) Travellers all agree, that this happened at what they ſhew for the ſpot where *Cajaphas*'s houſe once ſtood; but they differ a little in the deſcription of the ſpot. Prince *Radziville* (39) tells us, there is an olive-tree on the ſuppoſed ſpot; *Thevenot* changes it for an orange-tree (40): *Le Bruyn* (41) mentions no tree at all. There is alſo ſome variation as to where the cock was perched when he crowed; prince *Radziville* (42) talks of both an olive and an orange-tree in this ſame court, and ſays, the cock crowed upon the latter: *Thevenot* (43) writes, that ſome ſeven or eight ſteps from the orange-tree, he mentions, is the place of the pillar where the cock crew: *Le Bruyn* (44) tells us, they ſhew a piece of the pedeſtal of the pillar, whereon the cock crew twice; and that in memory thereof the cock himſelf is repreſented in marble upon the wall.

(33) Maund. *ubi ſup.* (34) *Ubi ſup.* (35) Maund. *ubi ſup. pag.* 100. (36) *Pereg. Jeroſol. pag.* 59. (37) *Voy. au Lev. par.* 1. *lib.* ii. *c.* 49. (38) *Voy. au Lev. vol.* iv. *pag.* 177. *in* 4to. (39) *Ubi ſup.* (40) *Ubi ſup.* (41) *Ubi ſup.* (42) *Ubi ſup.* (43) *Ubi ſup.* (44) *Ubi ſup.*

without the city-gate, near the chuch of the *Cœnaculum*, is a well which is said to mark out the place where the apoſtles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his charge [i]. ——— On the weſt of the valley of *Hinnom*, is the place called antiently the *Potters-field*, but ſince the *field of blood*, and for the particular veneration it has obtained among *Chriſtians*, the *Campo Santto*: a ſmall ſpot of ground, not above thirty yards long and half as much in breadth [k], with earth of ſo extraordinary a nature, that if a dead body be but laid upon it only, and not at all covered, it will conſume it away to the bare bones, within leſs than twenty four hours, ſay ſome [l], or within eight and forty according to others [m] (C); but the ſuddenneſs of this effect is diſputed (D).———In the valley of *Jehoſaphat* is, 1. The well of *Nehemiah*, ſo called, becauſe it is reputed to be the ſame place whence that reſtorer of *Iſrael* ſo miraculouſly recovered the fire of the altar after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, as mentioned in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* [n]. 2 A little higher, on the left hand in this ſame valley, is a tree, ſuppoſed to mark out the place where the prophet *Iſaiah* was ſawn aſunder [o]. 3. About a hundred paces higher on the ſame ſide, is the pool of *Siloam* [p] (E). 4. About a furlong farther on the ſame ſide is a fountain called after the bleſſed virgin; becauſe, as reported, ſhe was wont to reſort to this water; but at what time, and upon what occaſions, is not agreed [q] (F). 5. Over-againſt this fountain, on the other ſide of the valley, is the place called *Siloe*, where *Solomon* is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange wives; and above it a hill, which they will have to have been the *Mountain of Offence*; becauſe *Solomon* there built his high-places [r]. 6. On the ſame ſide, and not far from *Siloe*, they ſhew another *Aceldama*, or *field of blood*; ſo called, becauſe here, as they pretend, *Judas*, by the juſt judgment of god, met with his compounded death [s]. ——— In the ſide of the aſcent from the valley of *Jehoſaphat* to the city of *Jeruſalem* they ſhew a broad ſtone, on which they will have it the protomartyr St. *Stephen* was ſtoned to death; and not far from thence a grott, where, they tell you, the outragious zealots threw his body, after they had ſated their cruel rage upon him [t] (G). ——— Between the foot of mount *Olivet* and the brook *Cedron* they

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. pag. 101. [l] Radziv. Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 64. [m] Sandys, pag. 145. [n] Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 102. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Maund. ubi ſup.

(C) Prince *Radziville* (45) profeſſes to have been an eye-witneſs, that this earth performs the effect within twenty four hours; and *Sandys* (46) verily believes, it will perform what is ſaid of it in eight and forty hours. A greedy grave he (47) calls it, and great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. It is now the great ſepulchre of the *Armenians*, who, for a ſmall gratuity, admit the dead bodies of other nations; ſo that it may be ſtill called a place of burial for ſtrangers. It is walled in, that the bones of the Chriſtians may not be abuſed by the *Turks* (48); and the one half of it is taken up by a building in the nature of a charnel-houſe, ſquare, and twelve yards high, with little open domes at top, convenient to let down the dead bodies. This charnel-houſe is the proper place of burial (49).

(D) *Maundrell* (50) tells us, the earth here is, as he expreſſes himſelf, of a chalky ſubſtance; and that, looking down through the holes formerly mentioned, he could ſee many bodies under ſeveral degrees of decay; and that thence he conjectured, and ſeemingly with reaſon good, that this grave does not make the very quick diſpatch commonly reported.

(E) From this pool all the gardens in the valley of *Jehoſaphat* are ſaid (51) to be abundantly watered. The *Turks*, it ſeems, hold this water to be ſacred, and a number of them, almoſt every day, waſh themſelves therein. For though by the ablution of any water they fancy themſelves to be cleanſed from ſin, they particularly expect it here. It has a deſcent to it by ſteps (52); and contains not above half an acre of ground. How much ſoever its water may be valued, it ſeems to be ſometimes wanted; for we have a witneſs (54), who ſaw it dry in the bottom.

(F) As there is nothing too ridiculous to be expected in the traditionary ſtories here, it need not be wondered, that they are ſilly enough to ſay, that here the virgin was wont to waſh her clouts (55). *Sandys* (56) is aſhamed to account for the name this ſpring is honoured with; but *Le Bruyn* (57) has a cleanlier reaſon than is aſſigned above, and only ſays, that the ſame holy perſon was here wont to draw water, as ſhe returned from mount *Sion*. It was alſo called the fountain of the dragon (58); and the deſcent to it is pleaſant and commodious by ſeveral ſteps (59). It is repleniſhed with pleaſant waters (60), which are ſaid to be an immediate cure for fevers, if either bathed in or drank of (61).

(G) The ſtones here-abouts have a red ruſt upon them, which, they ſay, gives teſtimony of the bloodſhed of this holy perſon (62).

(45) *Pereg. Jeroſol. pag.* 64. (46) *Travels, pag.* 145. (47) *Ibid.* (48) Radziv. *ubi ſup.* (49) Maund. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 101. *Videetiam* Sandys, *ubi ſup.* (50) *Ubi ſup.* (51) Radziv. *Pereg. Jeroſol. pag.* 63, 64. (52) *Vide idem ibid. pag.* 64. (53) Sandys, *pag.* 146. (54) *Idem ibid.* (55) Radziv. *ubi ſup. pag.* 63. Theven. *par.* 1. *lib.* ii. *c.* 49. (56) *In his Trav. pag.* 147. (57) *Voy. au Lev. vol.* iv. *pag.* 184. *in* 4*to.* (58) Radziv. *ubi ſup.* (59) Le Bruyn, *ubi ſup.* (60) Sandys *ubi ſup.* (61) Theven. *ubi ſup.* (62) *Vide* Sandys, *ubi ſup.* 145.

they ſhew you *Gethſamene*, an even plat of ground, not above fifty ſeven yards ſquare, of great fame for its olive-trees, which are ſaid to be the very ſame which ſtood here in the days of our Saviour [u] (H).——At the upper end of this garden is a flat naked ledge of rocks, reputed to be the place on which the apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell aſleep during the agony of our Lord; and a few paces thence a grotto, where, they ſay, *Chriſt* underwent that bitter part of his paſſion [x].——About eight paces from the place where the three apoſtles ſlept they ſhew a ſmall ſhred of ground, twelve yards long and one broad, ſuppoſed to be the very path on which the traitor *Judas* walked up to *Chriſt*, ſaying, *hail maſter, and kiſſed him* [y] (I).——Not far from the gate of St. *Stephen* they ſhew the palace of *Pilate*, or place rather where it ſtood [z] (K).——From this ſpot you have a fair proſpect of the place where the temple ſtood, on the top of mount *Moriah* [a].——Coming out from the houſe, pretended to have been *Pilate*'s, is a deſcent, where was antiently the *ſcala ſancta* [b].——From this ſame houſe they carry you along the *Dolorous Way*, as it is called; in which walk they *firſt* ſhew the place where *Pilate* brought forth our Lord to preſent him to the people, with that myſtic ſaying, *behold the Man!* *Secondly*, where *Chriſt* fainted thrice under the weight of the croſs. *Thirdly*, Where the bleſſed virgin ſwooned away at ſo tragical a ſpectacle. *Fourthly*, Where St. *Veronica* preſented to him the handkerchief to wipe his bleeding brows. And, *Fifthly*, where the ſoldiers compelled *Simon* the *Cyrenean* to bear his croſs [c].——At *Nazareth* they ſhew the place of the Annunciation [d]; to be reſumed hereafter.——Not far from mount *Hermon* appears the mount of *Beatitudes*, where our Saviour delivered his ſermon recorded in *Matthew* [e].——Laſtly, In this ſame neighbourhood they ſhew the *mount of Precipitation* as they call it, or the brow of the hill, from whence the *Nazarites* would have thrown down *Chriſt*, incenſed at the ſermon he preached to them recorded by *Luke* [f]. Theſe, with thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned before in the courſe of this ſection, are the more remarkable natural curioſities of this country; we now proceed to the artificial, as well as we can diſtinguiſh or ſeparate them.

WORTHY

[u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. pag. 106. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. pag. 107. [d] Idem ibid. pag. 112. [e] Idem ibid. pag. 115. [f] Idem ibid. pag. 116.

(H) In virtue of this tradition the olives, and olive-ſtones, and oil, here produced, became an excellent commodity in *Spain* (63). But that theſe trees cannot be ſo antient as pretended is evident, by the repeated teſtimony of *Joſephus* (64), that *Titus*, when he beſieged *Jeruſalem*, felled all the trees, within about an hundred furlongs of that city; and that, in conſequence of this, the ſoldiers were obliged to go to that diſtance for timber, to make their mounts when they aſſaulted the temple. But after all, they have ſeemingly more to ſay for themſelves, in ſupport of what they give out concerning theſe olive-trees, than of many other important matters they are very confident of; for the olives here being of an extraordinary ſize, they, according to the philoſophy of theſe parts, conclude the trees that produce them muſt be of an extraordinary age (65).

(I) Our author (66) obſerves, that this narrow path is ſeparated by a wall from the midſt of the garden, as a *terra damnata*; "a work the more "remarkable, ſays he, as being done by the "*Turks*, who, as well as Chriſtians, deteſt the very "ground on which was acted ſuch an infamous "treachery."

(K) Prince *Radziville* (67) talks of the palace of *Pilate* itſelf as ſtill ſtanding, or at leaſt in his days, and particularly takes notice of a court belonging to it, paved with marble, which he ſuppoſes to be the very ſame St. *John* (68) calls the *pavement*; and adds, that it had on each hand a portico ſupported by porphyry columns, where that *Roman* governor was wont to ſit in judgment, and obſerves, it was then the reſidence of the *Turkiſh* chief. *Sandys* (69) alſo makes mention of this ſame palace, which he will have to have been the ſame: but according to him the chief remains of it are, at the weſt corner, a pair of ſtairs, which led to *Pilate*'s place of judgment; an antient arch that ſupports a ruined gallery; and in the eaſt ſide a two arched window, where, as they ſay, *Pilate* preſented *Chriſt* to the people. *Thevenot* (70) adds, that under this two-arch'd window there is inſcribed, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum*. *Le Bruyn* (71) delivers himſelf exactly to the ſame purpoſe, and they all agree the place in their time to have been the reſidence of the *Turkiſh* baſha, and the place of judgment for the city. But it is poſſible they may have been miſled, and confounded the palace of *Herod* with that of *Pilate* juſt by it; for *Maundrell* (72) takes notice of little more than an ordinary *Turkiſh* houſe on the ſpot, when he was there. He adds (73), that, among other remarkables in this pretended houſe, they ſhew a room, where, they ſay, our Saviour was ſcourged; but that, when he was there, it was no better than a weaver's ſhop. All our travellers agree, that from this houſe you have the fulleſt and moſt commodious proſpect of the ground whereon ſtood antiently the temple.

(63) MAUND. *ubi ſup pag.* 105. (64) *De Bell. Judaic. lib.* vii. *c.* 15. (65) *Vide* LE BRUYN, *Voy. au Lev. vol.* iv. *p.* 191. *in 4to.* (66) MAUND. *ubi ſup. pag.* 106. (67) *Peregr. Jeroſol. pag.* 91. (68) *Cap.* xix. *v.* 13. (69) *In his Trav. pag.* 150. (70) *Voy. au Lev. par.* i. *lib.* ii. *c.* 37. (71) *Voy. au Lev. vol.* ii. *pag.* 180. *in 4to.* (72) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſal. pag.* 106. (73) *Ubi ſup. pag.* 107.

Artificial rarities.

WORTHY of notice are the ruins of *Ptolemais*, or St. *John d'Acre*, or *Acra*, from the *Hebrew* name *Accho*. These ruins look as if the city had consisted of castles only, without the intermixture of private dwellings; it had two walls well fortified with bulwarks and towers, and each wall had a ditch lined with stone, and many secret posterns beneath; but now the huge walls and arches, turned topsy turvy, lie like rocks upon the foundation [g]. In the fields without these once extraordinary works, are seen scattered up and down great balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, part of the ammunition used in battering the city, the use of guns being then unknown [h]. Of the ruins within these broken walls, which, by some tokens of more than ordinary magnificence and strength, appear above the rest, are, 1. The cathedral dedicated to St. *Andrew*, not far from the sea-side, and high and conspicuous above the rest. 2. The church of St. *John*, the titular saint of this city. 3. The convent of the knights hospitallers, whose remaining walls bear sufficient testimony of its former strength. 4. The palace of the grand master of the order, still exhibiting a large and noble stair-case, and part of a church, still remaining in it. 5. Some remains of a large church formerly belonging to a nunnery [i]. Some pretend to farther and more discoveries of particular places (L); but all we shall farther observe is, that there are here ruins of a palace which had our king *Richard* for founder, as is not only acknowledged and reported but confirmed also by the passant lion [k]. ——— *Sebasta*, or the antient *Samaria*, which, tho' now as it were wholly obliterated, and turned into garden-ground, yet retains some token of what it formerly has been; for on the north side of it is a large square piazza, incompassed with pillars, and on the east some poor remains of an old church, said to have been built by the empress *Helena* over the place where St. *John the Baptist* was both imprisoned and beheaded (M). ——— Just without the city of *Naplosa*, in the narrow valley between mount *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, is a small mosch, called by the name of *Joseph*'s sepulchre, it being a tradition current in these parts, that the bones of that patriarch were here interred, after their transportation out of *Egypt* [m]. ——— About the third part of an hour from the same town of *Naplosa*, they shew *Jacob*'s well, not so famous for its author, as memorable for the conference our Saviour here had with the woman of *Samaria* (N). This well is at present covered with an old stone-vault, into which being let down through a very strait hole, the mouth of the well itself is discovered. It is hollowed out of the firm rock, is about three yards in diameter, and thirty five in depth, five of which our traveller [n] found full of water, and thereby confutes a superstitious story that has taken root among *Christians* (O). ——— The next thing more remarkably observable is the stately and much frequented church of the holy sepulchre in *Jerusalem*. But as it may be needless to describe it in words, when we have so many exact plans and draughts of it, we shall hasten to what it contains. 1. Mount *Calvary*, with the very individual hole where the cross

[g] SANDYS, lib. iii. pag. 159. [h] MAUND. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruf. pag. 54. [i] Idem ibid.
[k] SANDYS, ubi sup. pag. 160. [l] MAUND. ubi sup. pag. 59. [m] Idem ibid. pag. 62. [n] Idem ibid. pag. 63.

(L) *Thevenot* (74) reckons, there are the remains of about thirty churches still to be seen, and particularly of one above the rest, where the knights had a treasure, which they distinguished with a piece of marble, and which, says he, not many years ago was brought away in a ship, which came for that end to *Acra*, tho' pretending only to buy goods. *Sandys* (75) relates, that this treasure was in a vault of the same church, which, being known to the successors of these knights, was, about forty years before his time, fetched away by the gallies of *Malta*, the inhabitants forsaking the town as soon as they landed. By *Maundrell* (76) it appears, that this same church was the cathedral itself of St. *Andrew*.

(M) "In the body of this church you go down a stair-case, into the very dungeon where "that holy blood was shed." The *Turks* have this place, and over it have erected a small mosch; to which they will admit a *Christian* for a little piece of money (77).

(N) This well seems at present to have been far from *Samaria* for women to come thither draw water; but it is pretty evident to the curious observer, that the city extended farther this way formerly, than it does now (78).

(O) It has been idly reported, and as idly believed, that this well is dry all the year round except on the anniversary of the day our Saviour sat on it; but then bubbles up with abundance of water (79).

(74) *Voy. au. Lev. part* 1. *lib.* ii. *c.* 53. *from Alep. to Jerus. pag.* 55. (77) *Ibid.*
(75) *In his Trav. lib.* iii. *p.* 160. (76) *Journ.* (78) *Ibid. pag.* 63. (79) *Ibid.*

a our Lord was planted, and the very cleft (P) ſaid to have been cauſed by the earthquake at his paſſion [o]. 2. The ſtone of unction, or the very place where his body was anointed and prepared for burial [p]. 3. The ſepulchre where he was depoſited to the hour of his reſurrection [q]. ——— A little without that gate of *Jeruſalem*, called the *Damaſcus-gate*, they carry you to a large grot, which they pretend to have been ſome time the abode of *Jeremiah*: On the left ſide of it they even point at the prophet's bed, which is no more than a ſhelve from the rock, about eight foot from the ground; and not far from hence is the place where they ſay he wrote his *Lamentations* [r] (Q). ——— Not far from hence are the famous grots, called the *ſepulchres of the kings*, but of what b kings is uncertain (R); but that they were uſed as repoſitories of the dead, appears ſufficiently by ſome coffins at preſent there, and which we ſhall take notice of in the ſequel of this deſcription. The whole is a work of ſuch vaſt labour and expence, that it may fairly be pronounced a royal work, being all hewn out of the natural rock, and conſiſting of an entrance made through the rock, a court of about forty paces ſquare, hollowed out of the ſame, on the ſouth ſide of which is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, wrought alſo out of the ſame. This portico has a kind of architrave in front, once adorned with ſculpture of fruits and flowers, but now defaced; and on the left of this portico you deſcend towards the ſepulchres. Firſt you come into a large room c about ſeven or eight yards ſquare, exactly and moſt exquiſitely formed, ſo that it may be called a fine chamber, hollowed out of one ſolid piece of marble. From this you may paſs into ſix rooms more, one within another, and all of the ſame fabric with the firſt; but the two innermoſt are deeper than the reſt, having a ſecond deſcent of about ſix or ſeven ſteps into them. In every one of theſe rooms, the firſt excepted, are ſtone coffins placed in niches in the ſides of the chambers; once covered with handſome lids and carved with garlands: but now moſt of them (S) are broken to pieces. But what moſt of all ſurprizes the obſerver is the artifice of the doors of theſe chambers, all cut out of the ſame rock, and turning upon hinges of the ſame ſtone with the reſt [s]; this, d which, at firſt, appears ſo very puzzling to underſtand (T), has been, ſeemingly, well

[o] Idem ibid. pag. 73. [p] Idem ibid. pag. 73. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. pag. 76. [s] Vide RADZIV. LE BRUYN, MAUND. &c.

perhaps, *Hezekiah*, and is not certain, that theſe may not be the ſepulchres of the ſons of *David*, mentioned in ſcripture (85).

(S) *Maundrell* (86), by this, ſeems to inſinuate, that ſeveral of theſe coffins were ſtill entire, and *Radziville* (87) obſerves, that he alſo ſaw bones remaining in ſeveral of them; ſo that, whether broken or entire, one would naturally imagine there was a number; while *Le Bruyn* (88) takes notice of no more than three, the one broken, and the other two entire. *Radziville* (89) computes, that about forty odd might have been here conveniently depoſited in the cells or niches in the ſides of theſe chambers, each containing two coffins. *Le Bruyn* (90) computes that about fifty might have been here received in the ſame manner; but as, in ſuch obſcure and damp places, people are a little uneaſy, and, however great their curioſity may be, ſomewhat in a hurry to get out, we are not to expect, but travellers will, in ſuch caſes, vary a little, if not a great deal, from each other.

(T) Travellers are quite loſt in admiration at it, and particularly *Le Bruyn* (90), who may have had ſome judgment in things of this nature, is aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be done out of one and the ſame piece of hard rock, and eſpecially by lamp-light, for no other was here to be had.

"p "This cleft, as it now appears, is about a "ſpan wide, at its upper part, and two deep, af"ter which it cloſes: but it opens again below, "(as you may ſee in another chapel contiguous "to the ſide of *Calvary*) and runs down to an "unknown depth in the earth. That this rent "was made by the earthquake, that happened "at our Lord's paſſion, there is only tradition "to prove: but that it is a natural and genu"ine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, "the ſenſe of every one that ſees it may con"vince him; for the ſides of it fit like two "tallies to each other; and yet it runs in ſuch "intricate windings as could not well be coun"terfeited by art, nor arrived at by any inſtru"ments (80)."

(Q) "This place is at preſent a college of "*Derviſes*, and is held in great veneration by the "*Turks* and *Jews*, as well as the *Chriſtians* (81)."

(R) Prince *Radziville* roundly pronounces the kings of *Judah* to have been interred here; imagining they were formerly within the wall of the city, tho' now without it (82). Other travellers (83) give into the ſame ſeeming miſtake; while *Maundrell* (84), conſidering more maturely of the thing, concludes it certain, that none of the kings of *Judah*, or *Iſrael*, were here intombed, unleſs,

(80) MAUND. *pag.* 73. (81) *Ibid. pag.* 76. (82) *Peregr. Jeroſ. pag.* 104. (83) *Vide* LE BRUYN, THEVEN. *&c.* (84) *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 76. (85) 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. (86) *Ubi ſup. pag.* 77. (87) *Ubi ſup.* (88) *Voy. au Lev. vol. ii. pag.* 195. *in* 4*to.* (89) *Ubi ſup.* (90) *Ubi ſup.*

well explained of late (U), and the thing appears no longer a myſtery, tho' otherwiſe very extraordinary in itſelf [t]. ——— Returning from hence to the city of *Jeruſalem*, not far from *Herod*'s gate, is ſhewn a grotto full of filthy mire and water, which paſſes for the dungeon in which *Jeremiah* was kept by *Zedekiah* [u]. ——— Going out of St. *Stephen*'s gate to *Bethany*, they, at the entrance into that village, point at an old ruin, which they call *Lazarus*'s caſtle, and ſuppoſe to have been the habitation of that favourite of *Chriſt*; and at the bottom of a ſmall deſcent, not far from the caſtle, is ſhewn the ſepulchre where he was raiſed from the dead [x] (X). ——— About a bow-ſhot from hence they point at *Mary Magdalen*'s habitation [y]. ——— Within about a furlong of the river *Jordan*, is an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. *John*, who is ſuppoſed here, or here-abouts, to have baptized our Lord [z]. ——— On the road between *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem*, they ſtill ſhew, 1. The houſe of *Simeon*. 2. The impreſs of *Elias*'s body. 3. The well where the ſtar appeared to the eaſtern magi. 4. *Rachel*'s tomb [a]. ———At *Bethlehem* they ſhew the very place of our Saviour's nativity (Y); the very manger in which he was laid (Z); the chapel of *Joſeph* his ſuppoſed father; the ſchool of St. *Jerome*, and other ſuch places [b]. ——— In the neighbourhood of this place are pools and gardens, ſaid to have been the contrivance and delight of king *Solomon* (A); the pools are three, in a row one above another, ſo diſpoſed, that the water may from the uppermoſt deſcend into the ſecond, and from the ſecond into the third. They are quadrangular, and all of the ſame breadth, being about ninety paces; but in length they differ, the firſt being about one hundred and ſixty paces long, the ſecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty; all lined with wall, and plaſtered, and containing a great depth of water. At the diſtance of about one hundred and ſixty paces is the ſpring whence they derive their waters, which the friars here will have to have been the *Sealed Fountain* † (B). The gardens may be ſaid to be now no more, and the ſpot at preſent ſeems to be but little adapted to ſuch a uſe [c] (C). ——— On the weſt, as the former on the ſouth ſide of *Bethlehem*, they ſhew you the well *David* ſo paſſionately thirſted after *; but it is rather a mere ciſtern ſupplied with rain, and, otherwiſe, of no particular

[t] MAUND. pag. 76. [u] Idem ibid. pag. 78. [x] MAUNDR. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 79. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. pag. 81. [a] Idem. ibid. pag. 87. [b] Idem ibid. † Cant. iv. 12. [c] Idem ibid. p. 88. * 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

(U) *Maundrell* (91) took notice, that the only door left hanging did not touch its lintel by at leaſt two inches, and believes it might have been eaſily lifted up and unhinged; and that the doors which had been thrown down had their hinges at the upper end twice as long as thoſe at the bottom, by which the whole artifice very plainly diſcovers itſelf.

(X) In this ſepulchre you deſcend by twenty five ſteep ſtairs, which letting you down into a ſmall ſquare room, you thence creep down into a leſſer room, about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is ſaid to have been laid. This place is in great veneration with the *Turks*, who uſe it as an oratory, and demand a ſmall caphar of ſuch *Chriſtians* as deſire to ſee it (92).

(Y) The church of the nativity, or manger, at *Bethlehem* is a moſt ſumptuous and elegant ſtructure, tho' unfortunately ſubject to the inſults of the infidels of thoſe parts (93). The ſpot where *Chriſt* is ſuppoſed to have been born, is marked out by a marble-ſlab; and over it, upon the altar, is another, with this inſcription, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NASCI DIGNATUS EST (94). But to enter into the particulars and coſtly decorations of this ſanctuary, and the church, and other parts it belongs to, would by far exceed our length.

(Z) It is cut out of the rock (95), about two foot from the floor; but now flagged with white marble, as well as the rock that roofs it (96).

(A) He is ſuppoſed to allude to thoſe works, where (97), among the other inſtances of his magnificence he reckons up his gardens, vineyards, and pools (98).

(B) "In confirmation of this opinion, they "pretend a tradition, that king *Solomon* ſhut up "theſe ſprings, and kept the door of them ſealed "with his ſignet; to the end that he might preſerve the waters for his own drinking, in their "natural freſhneſs and purity." Our author (99) adds, it was not difficult thus to ſecure them, they riſing under ground, and having no avenue to them, but by a little hole like the mouth of a narrow well. The whole as deſcribed by travellers, muſt have been a ſtupendous work.

(C) The ſoil is rocky, and ſo bad, that our author (100) thinks *Solomon* diſplayed his wealth more than his wiſdom, if he made choice of it for the purpoſe ſuppoſed; tho' after all, if it is ſo very plain, that here was his *ſealed fountain* (1), it is not unlikely, that here alſo was his *incloſed garden* (2). The ſituation ſeems to correſpond with this deſcription, the ſpot being a rocky valley, deſcending from the pools, and incloſed on each hand by high mountains (3).

(91) *Ubi ſup. pag.* 78. (92) MAUNDR. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 97. (93) *Vide* RADZIV. LE BRUYN, THEVEN. *&c.* (94) *Vide* RADZIV. (95) *Idem, pag.* 84. (96) SANDYS *Trav. pag.* 141. (97) Eccl. ii. 5, 6. (98) MAUNDR. *ubi ſup. p.* 88. (99) *Idem ibid. pag.* 89. (100) *Idem ibid.* (1) Cantic. *ubi ſup.* (2) *Ibidem.* (3) MAUND. *ubi ſupr.*

eſtimation. But, about two furlongs from thence, you behold the remains of an old aqueduct, which antiently conveyed water from *Solomon*'s pools to *Jeruſalem*, and which, very much to the honour of *Solomon*, is reckoned to be a work of his. It goes along the ſurface of the ground, and conſiſts of large ſtones (D) perforated and let into each other, after the manner of pipes; and, for the greater ſecurity, covered with a courſe of ſmaller ſtones, firmly cemented together with a very ſtrong mortar; a work which formerly extended five or ſix leagues, and, ſeemingly, deſigned for eternity; tho' now ſo deſtroyed by violent hands (E), that there is only a fragment of it here and there remaining [d]. ——— In *Bethlehem* they ſhew a grot, cut out of a chalky rock, b where they pretend the bleſſed virgin concealed herſelf and her child, to avoid the murderous fury of *Herod*, ſome time before ſhe fled into *Egypt*; but the whiteneſs of this place they will have to have been not natural, but miraculous [e] (F). ——— Between *Bethlehem* and *Jeruſalem*, in what is ſometimes called the *Deſart of St.* John, is a convent called after the name of that ſaint, ſuppoſed to ſtand on the ſpot where he was born. This convent has, of very late years, been re-built from the ground; and is, at preſent, a large ſquare building, uniform and neat all over, but chiefly remarkable for its church; conſiſting of three iſles, and, in the midſt, an handſome cupola, and under that a moſaic pavement, equal to, if not ſurpaſſing, the fineſt works of the antients, in that kind. At the upper end of the north iſle, by a deſcent of ſc even ſteps, you deſcend to a very ſplendid altar, erected, as they ſay, over the very place where the *Baptiſt* was born [f]. ——— About three furlongs diſtant from this convent, they point at what they call the houſe of *Elizabeth*, the *Baptiſt*'s mother (G); formerly a convent, though now an heap of ruins, and only remarkable for a grotto, in which, they tell you, the bleſſed virgin ſaluted *Elizabeth*, and pronounced her *Magnificat* [g]. ——— At the diſtance of about three quarters of an hour from the convent of St. *John*, in the way to *Jeruſalem*, is a convent belonging to the *Greeks*, and called the convent of the *Holy Croſs*, a neat ſtructure, and pleaſantly ſituated, but chiefly to be taken notice d of, as they pretend it to ſtand over the very ſpot where grew the tree that ſupplied the timber that made the croſs [h]. ——— In *Jeruſalem*, cloſe by the church of the holy ſepulchre, is what they ſhew for the priſon of St. *Peter*. It is a priſon ſtill [i]. ——— About a furlong from hence, is a ſmall church, as they ſay, built over the houſe of St. *Mark*. It is in the poſſeſſion of the *Syrians*, who venture to ſhew you the very windows at which *Rhoda* looked out, while *Peter* knocked at the door; and in this ſame church they let you ſee a folio manuſcript of the *New Teſtament* in *Syriac*, which, if they are to be believed, is now about nine hundred years old; and a ſtill greater curioſity, meaning a little ſtone font, uſed by the apoſtles themſelves in baptizing [k]. ——— Upon that part of mount *Sion*, which is within the walls of the city, ſtands a convent

[d] Maund. ibid. pag. 90. [e] Idem ibid. pag. 91. [f] Idem ibid. pag. 92. [g] Idem ibid. pag. 93. [h] Idem ibid. pag. 94. [i] Idem ibid. pag. 98. [k] Idem ibid.

(D) Our author (4) leaves blanks for the dimenſions of theſe ſtones, and we know of none that has been curious enough to ſupply the defect; but that they are very conſiderable appears by his manner of expreſſing himſelf.

(E) The blame is, in this caſe, thrown upon the *Arabs*, who, for the ſake of an immediate and ready ſupply of water (5), make no ſcruple to tear up all before them, and, by degrees, entirely to demoliſh this ſolid and magnificent work.

(F) They ſay, the ſtone of this grot is ſo white and chalky, becauſe of ſome milk which fell from the virgin, while ſhe was giving ſuck to the holy infant, which converted the colour of the native rock. And ſo poſſeſſed are they here with this chimerical notion, as to imagine, the chalk of this place has a miraculous virtue of increaſing the milk of women. And for this ſupernatural property is the ſame highly valued, as well by *Arabs* and *Turks*, as by *Chriſtians* (6). This notion having taken ſuch root with all ranks, and ſects, lumps of this chalk are carried to *Jeruſalem*, and there impreſſed with the ſeal of the city, to be thence ſent into *Europe* (7). Our author adds, that he met with a phyſician at *Venice* ſimple enough to aſk him for ſome of it for a lady, a patient of his, who was defective in her milk.

(G) " If you chance to aſk how it came to paſs " that *Elizabeth* lived in one houſe, when ſhe " was big with the *Baptiſt*, and in another, when " ſhe brought him forth? the anſwer you are " like to receive is, that the former was her " country, the latter her city habitation; and that " it is no wonder for the wife of one of the prieſts " of better rank [ſuch as ſhe was, *Luke i.* 6.] to " be provided with ſuch variety (8).

(4) *Idem ibid. pag.* 20. (5) Le Bruyn, *ubi ſup. pag.* 216. (6) Maund, *ubi ſup. pag.* 91. (7) Le Bruyn, *ubi ſup. pag.* 221. (8) Maund, *ubi ſup. pag.* 93.

vent of *Armenians*, whoſe church is built over the very place where St. *James*, the brother of *John*, was beheaded. In this church are two altars of extraordinary ſplendor, decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, croſſes both of ſilver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utenſils without number. In the midſt of this ſame church is a pulpit made of tortoiſe-ſhell, and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it of the ſame fabric; the tortoiſe-ſhell and mother of pearl being ſo very exquiſitely blended together, that the workmanſhip far exceeds the materials [l]. ——— A little without *Sion* gate is the church of *Cœnaculum*, where, they ſay, Chriſt inſtituted his laſt ſupper [m] (H). ——— At a little diſtance from hence are the ruins of an houſe, where the bleſſed virgin is ſaid to have breathed her laſt: and, a little farther down the hill, is a grot, where, they ſay, St. *Peter* ſo bitterly lamented his inconſtancy to his maſter [n]. ——— From a garden on the ſouth ſide of mount *Moriah*, they conduct you to ſeveral large vaults, annexed to the mountain on that ſide, and running, at leaſt, fifty yards under ground. They were built in two iſles, arched at top with huge firm ſtone, and ſuſtained by tall pillars, each of one ſingle ſtone, and two yards in diameter; conjectured to have been ſome ſubterraneous work made to enlarge the *area* of the temple [o] (I). ——— To theſe may be added the beautiful gate of the temple (K), which, ſays our author, can be only obſerved by a tranſient ſurvey, becauſe of the ſuperſtition of the *Turk* [p] (L). ——— At the bottom of mount *Sion* is what they call *Bathſheba*'s pool, ſuppoſed to be the ſame ſhe was in when *David* was ſo ſmitten with her beauty; but others ſuppoſe it to have been a ſmaller one in a garden juſt within *Bethlehem* gate, and both, perhaps, equally right [q]. ——— At a ſmall diſtance from the firſt of theſe pools, a little below the *Campo Santo*, or *Field of Blood*, as it was antiently called, is an intricate cave or ſepulchre, conſiſting of ſeveral rooms one within another, in which the apoſtles are reported to have hid themſelves, when they forſook their maſter and fled. Its entrance diſcovers ſigns of its having been antiently adorned with paintings [r]. ——— In the valley of *Jehoſaphat* are two noble antiquities, called the ſepulchre of *Zachary* (M), and the pillar of *Abſalom* (N), as alſo the ſepulchre of *Jehoſaphat* [s]. ——— Near the corner of the city wall, on the oppoſite ſide of this valley, is

[l] MAUND. ibid. pag. 99. [m] Idem ibid. pag. 100. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. pag. 101. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. pag. 102. [s] Idem ibid. pag. 103.

(H) "It is now a moſch, and not to be ſeen "by *Chriſtians* (9)."

(I) Our author (10) thinks, *Joſephus* (11) ſeems to deſcribe ſome ſuch work as this, erected over the valley, on this ſide of the temple.

(K) Travellers are ſomewhat ſhort in their deſcriptions of this gate. Prince *Radziville* (12) repreſents it as lofty, great, and aſcended to by ſteps, which he went up, but dared not go over the threſhold, for fear of polluting the *area* of the temple of *Solomon*.

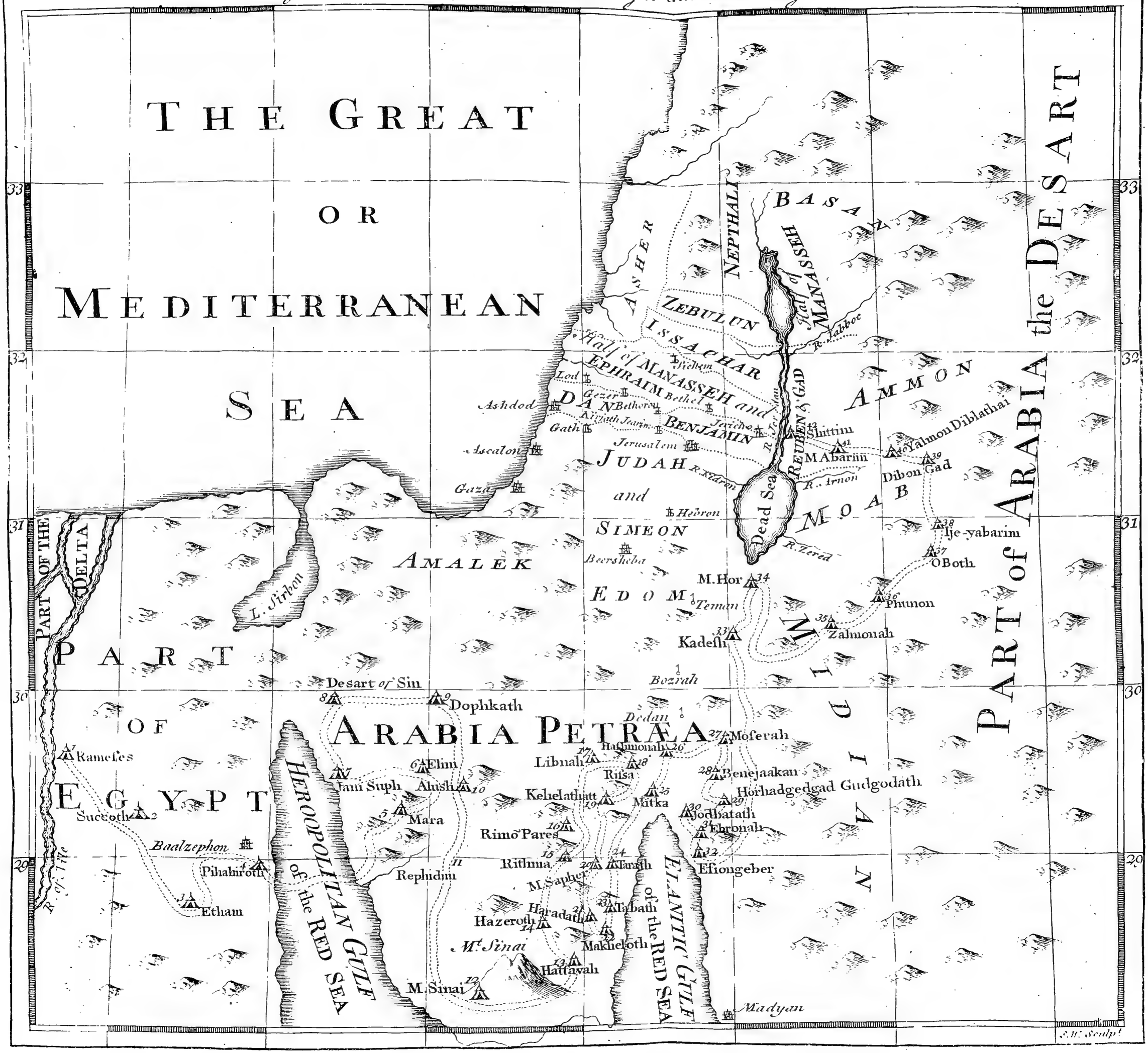
(L) Whatever may have been the milder temper of theſe people, when they permitted prince *Radziville* to aſcend the ſteps leading up to it, as in the note above, they are ſince, it ſeems, grown to that height of jealouſy, that they will ſcarce admit of a ſtranger's turning his eyes towards it, as he paſſes by. The reaſon is, the *Turks* have a ſtrange notion of the more than ordinary ſanctity of the *area* or place within it, where ſtands a beautiful moſch, which they have erected, as they pretend, on the very ſpot where ſtood the temple of *Solomon*. They have a notion, that if a *Chriſtian*, or any other, does but ſet foot in the *area* it ſtands upon, his prayers will have ſuch irreſiſtible prevalence with God, that nothing he could aſk of heaven could be refuſed him; and fondly imagine, that, as *Chriſtians* would not fail to pray, that the *Turks* might be driven out, and the *Chriſtians* enter again into poſſeſſion of the city, the prayer would be infallibly heard, and inevitably granted (13); ſo that they cannot bear to ſee a *Chriſtian* ſo much as offer to look that way.

(M) Suppoſed to be the ſame who was ſlain between the temple and the altar. "All of the natu- "ral rock eighteen foot high, four ſquare, and "beautified with doric columns of the ſame unſe- "parated ſtone, ſuſtaining the corniſh, and topped "like a pointed diamond (14)."

(N) It is ſometimes called the tomb or ſepulchre of *Abſalom* (15); and it hath, indeed, rather the looks of ſuch, than of, what it is otherwiſe commonly called, a pillar. He was not buried there, but it is imagined, he erected, or rather had it wrought out of the ſtone in his life time, "to re- "tain the memory of his name, in that his iſſue "male failed ——— yet entire, of a good fabric, "riſing in a lofty ſquare; below adorned with "half columns, wrought out of the ſide and cor- "ners, of the doric form; and then changing in- "to a round, a good height higher doth grow to "a point, in faſhion of a bell; all framed of the "growing ſtone (16)." Travellers for the moſt part obſerve, that there is always a great and daily encreaſing heap of ſtones lying near it, thrown thereat, both by *Jews* and *Turks*, in deteſtation of *Abſalom*'s rebellion againſt his father *David*.

(9) *Idem ibid. pag.* 100. (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Antiq. lib. xv. c. ult.* (12) *Peregr. Hieroſol. p.* 117. (13) *Ibid. pag.* 118. (14) SANDYS, *pag.* 147. (15) RADZIV, *Peregrin. Jeroſolym, pag.* 62. (16) SANDYS, *ubi ſup.*

A MAP *of the* Journey in the Wilderness, *and of the Conquest and Partition of the Land of* CANAAN, *by the* Children *of* Israel *according to this History.*



is a ſhort end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall; whereon, the *Turks* fable,
a *Mohammed* ſhall ſit in judgment, at the laſt day, the whole world being ga-
thered together in the valley below, to receive ſentence from his mouth [t] (O).
——A little further northward is the gate of the temple; at preſent walled up;
the *Turks* having a prophecy, that their deſtruction is to enter by that gate; the
completion of which they endeavour to obviate by this means [u] (P).——In the
bottom of this ſame valley is what they will have to have been the ſepulchre of the
bleſſed virgin; with a magnificent deſcent of forty-ſeven ſtairs: on the right hand,
as you go down, is the ſepulchre of St. *Anne*, the mother, and on the left hand
that of St. *Joſeph*, the huſband, of the bleſſed virgin [x].——In the pretended houſe
b of *Pilate*, they ſhew the room where ***Chriſt*** was mocked with the enſigns of royal-
ty, and buffeted by the ſoldiers [y].——They pretend likewiſe ſtill to ſhew the
pool of *Bethesda*, one hundred and twenty paces long, forty broad, and at leaſt
eight deep, but void of water. At its weſt end it diſcovers ſome old arches, now
dammed up [z] (Q).——As alſo the pool of *Gihon*, about a quarter of a mile with-
out *Bethlehem* gate, weſtward, a ſtately relique, one hundred and ſix paces long,
ſixty-ſeven broad, lined with wall and plaiſter, and, when our author was there,
well ſtored with water [a].—At *Nazareth*, beſides the church which ſtands in a cave,
ſuppoſed to be the place where the virgin *Mary* received the angelical ſalutation (R),
they ſhew the houſe of *Joſeph*, the very ſame, as they tell you, where the Son of
c God lived for near thirty years, in ſubjection to man [b]. Theſe and other particulars,
which we have occaſionally mentioned before, both in the text and the notes, are
the more noted remarkables of this promiſed and deſtined land; whereon we leave
the reader to make his own obſervations.

SECT.

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. pag. 107. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. pag. 108. [b] Idem ibid. p. 113.

(O) To this the *Mohammedans* add, it ſeems, a moſt ridiculous tradition, but firſt, we are told (17), they alſo report, that *Mohammed* is to ſit on the end of this pillar, to obſerve, whether our Lord judge the *Chriſtians* well or not; that, if he judge them righteouſly, *Mohammed* will give him his ſiſter in marriage, together with a great dowry; that, this done, *Mohammed* ſhall turn himſelf into a ſheep, and the *Turks* neſtle into his wool, like ſo many fleas; that, thus incumbered, he ſhall fly into the air, and ſhake himſelf very hard; that thoſe who ſtick faſt to him ſhall be happy, and thoſe that fall from him ſhall be damned (18); ſo very ridiculous a ſtory, that had we not met with it in ſo grave an author, we ſhould ne'er have taken notice of it; and, after all, we are afraid, this is a ſtory fathered upon them; but what can't men be brought to believe!

(P) All travellers this way take notice of this particular, and moſt add, that for the very ſame reaſon, and out of the ſame ſuperſtitious dread, they ſhut up all the other gates of the city, every *Friday*, 'till morning-ſervice is over, adding, that on that day the deſtined work of their expulſion is to be effected.

(Q) "Theſe ſome will have to be the five porches, in which ſat that multitude of halt, lame, and blind, [*John* v.] But the miſchief is, inſtead of five, there are but three of them (19).

(R) "Juſt at the ſection of the croſs [of this church] are erected two granate pillars, each two foot and one inch diameter, and about three foot diſtance from each other,——ſuppoſed to ſtand on the very places, the one where the angel, the other, where the bleſſed virgin ſtood at the time of the Annunciation. Of theſe pillars, the innermoſt being that of the bleſſed virgin, has been broke away by the *Turks*, in expectation of finding treaſure under it; ſo that eighteen inches length of it is clean gone, between the pillar and its pedeſtal. Nevertheleſs it remains erect; tho' by what art it is ſuſtained, I could not diſcern. It touches the roof above, and is, probably, hanged upon that: unleſs you had rather take the fryars account of it, *viz.* that it is ſupported by a miracle (20).

(17) THEVEN. *Voy. au Lev. lib. ii. par.* 1. *c.* 50. (18) *Idem ibid.* (19) MAUND. *ubi ſup. pag.* 107. (20) MAUND. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag.* 112.

SECT. IV.

The religion, government, laws, customs, learning, arts, and commerce of the JEWS.

The Jewish *government was a theocracy.*

THE institution of the *Jewish* religion and commonwealth is by *Moses* [a] attributed wholly to GOD; for which reason *Josephus* makes no scruple to distinguish the latter from all the other governments in the world by the name of *Theocracy* [a], or a government under the immediate command and direction of God: and indeed, tho' this theocracy has often varied under *Moses*, *Joshua*, the judges, kings, and high-priests, and the divine authority differently interposed during those revolutions, yet God was still looked upon as the supreme monarch of the *Israelites*. We have seen, in a former section, that he was the sole director of every momentous transaction under *Moses*, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. *Joshua*, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet always consulted [b] him by the *Urim* upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from those thraldoms which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when *Gideon* had delivered them from the *Midianites*, and the people offered the government to him and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he nor his sons [b], but the Lord God, should rule over them. When, in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that all *Samuel*'s expostulations could not divert them from it; tho' he told them, that by so doing they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleased to nominate *Saul*, and, after him, *David*, to the regal dignity, [c] and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of altering the succession from the eldest to a younger branch, whenever he saw fit, as he actually did in his immediate successor *Solomon*. Nay, we may say, that God himself, foreseeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reserve to himself the choice, and prescribed some wholesome laws for the conduct of those who should enjoy the regal power [c]; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refused to be directed by him, or disobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of some severe punishment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of *Israel* indeed, after their revolt from those of *Judah*, [d] did reign more arbitrarily, but their endeavours to shake off the yoke of God proved a source of endless evils to the rebellious tribes; till at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatenings, nor his severe judgments, could bring them to obedience, he entirely cast them off, and condemned them to an endless captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of *Judah*, but even that of *Israel*, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued still under a *Theocracy*, until its dissolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the sequel of this history.

Their laws.

As for their laws, the greatest part of them were given to *Moses* on mount *Sinai*, and the rest at different times, and as occasion required, as we have seen [e] in a former section †. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the first body of laws that ever was compiled, whilst other nations had not so much as a name for it, as *Josephus* [d] has endeavoured to prove against his learned antagonist, from the writings of *Homer*, the most antient writer, in which the word *Nomos* [law] is not so much as once mentioned; or whether we suppose, with others [e], that the *Egyptians* and other nations had already laws of their own, and that *Moses* was permitted by God, to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or disliked, concerning which we shall not repeat what has been already said upon that head [f]; it is plain, that the

[a] Cont. Apion, lib. ii. [b] Judg. viii. 22, 23. [c] Vide Deut. xvii. 14. & seq. † Vide sup. p. 519. b. & seq. [d] Cont. Apion, ibid. [e] SPENCER, de Leg. Ritual. Jud. pass. LE CLERC, & al. [f] Vide sup. pag. 198. d. e.

a the greateſt part of them were dictated by God himſelf, and that the reſt received, if not the finiſhing hand, yet at leaſt their ſanction and approbation from him. And indeed, if we conſider, that they extended to all duties, caſes, and exigencies, whether moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to endure as long as the *Jewiſh* polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and conſequently to laſt, at leaſt, till the coming of the *Meſſiah*; if we conſider further, that the prieſts and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death and of the divine curſe, to add, diminiſh, or alter the leaſt part of them; it will be ſcarce credible, that *Moſes* would have given them b ſuch a firm and durable ſanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but God been the author or confirmer of them.

However, our deſign is not to dwell here upon the diſplay of their excellency above thoſe of all other nations, much leſs to confute all the empty cavils that have been raiſed againſt them from different quarters. That has been already done by *Joſephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moſes Gerundenſis*, and a great many more among the *Jews*, and by a greater number of learned divines, both of this and other churches, to whoſe province it belongs more particularly [g]. We might indeed, conveniently enough, have followed their diſtinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and ſo have given the following body of c them under thoſe three heads; eſpecially becauſe ſuch a diſtinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which *Moſes* makes uſe of, *laws* or *precepts*, *judgments*, and *ſtatutes* [h]; but if we conſider, that *Moſes* makes uſe of ſome other terms likewiſe to expreſs them by, ſuch as ordinances, teſtimonies, and ſome others, in a very undeterminate ſenſe; that he calls the ſame laws ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another of theſe names; and laſtly, that this diſtinction will not hold with reſpect to very many of thoſe laws, which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and ſo *vice verſâ*, we ſhall have little ground to think, that the *Jewiſh* law-giver deſigned to intimate any ſuch diſtinction by thoſe terms. Thus the law concerning the ſeventh day, or d day of reſt, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was deſigned as well for the eaſe and reſt of the labourers, ſervants, and ſlaves, as for that of their maſters [i]. To this we may add here, that theſe laws did likewiſe differ with reſpect to their obſervance and obligation. Some of them, ſuch as the making of the tabernacle, altar, ſetting up of the bleſſings and curſes on mount *Ebal* and *Gerizzim*, were to be obſerved but once for all; others were to laſt no longer than the time of the *Meſſiah*, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to obſerve all the laws and ordinances of *Moſes*, ſome of which were of no force out of the land of *Paleſtine*, the *Jews*, in thoſe caſes, underſtand the precept, not of an actual obſere vance, but of a conſtant remembrance and readineſs to obey them, whenever they ſhall become in force again [k].

Besides, as we are writing the hiſtory of the *Jews*, it may perhaps be thought more proper, that we ſhould give the body of their laws in the ſame order and method in which they themſelves have collected and digeſted them out of the five books of *Moſes*, in which they lie ſcattered, and which they call, by way of excellency, *Ha-thorah*, *the law* (A); but the truth is, they have jumbled them ſo together, without order or method, and blended them ſo with thoſe which they pretend were delivered by God to *Moſes*, and conveyed by oral

g Vide inter al. Grot. Selden, Puff. Cumberl. Gastrel, L'abbad. Cun. Basnag. h Basnag. Republ. Hæb. lib. 1. cap. 18. i Confer Exod. xx. cum Deut. v. 19. k Vide Munst. præf. in lib. ſequent.

(A) This תורה *Therah*, or *law*, they divide, as we do, into five books, which they call by the firſt words of each: thus, they call *Geneſis* בראשית *Bereſhith*, that is, *in the beginning*; *Exodus* they call אלה שמות *Elle-ſhemoth*, *theſe are the names*; *Leviticus* ויקרא *Vajicra*, *and he called*; *Numbers* וידבר *Vajdabber*, *and he ſpake*; and *Deuteronomy* אלה הדברים *Elle-hadevarim*, *theſe are the words*. Theſe five books, or *pentateuch*, are again ſubdivided into fifty four פרשות *paraſhoth*, or *ſections*, of unequal lengths, according to the ſubject; ſo that by joining two of the ſhorteſt together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality of the *Jews* attribute theſe diviſions, and the conſtitution of reading them on the ſabbath, to *Moſes*, but the *Chriſtians*, with more probability, to *Eſdras* (1), from whom it was continued, even to the times of the apoſtles, if not longer (2). The firſt *paraſha* reaches from *Gen.* i. 1.

(1) *Vide* Packhurst *Mazorah, ſect. de Paraſhah.* (2) *Vide* Acts xiii. 15, & 27. xv. 21.

oral tradition (B), that our readers would be rather confounded, than instructed by them. Those that are willing to be further satisfied about it may see the abridgment which *Munster* has given us of them, and of the *Jewish* comments upon them, with his version of each, as he has collected them from their *Talmud* and other rabbinic works. All, therefore, that we shall say further of it is, that they divide these laws only into negative and affirmative (C), in imitation of the decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of three hundred sixty-five, and the affirmative to two hundred and forty-eight; in all, six hundred and thirteen: and as they have a wonderful skill in fetching some significant mysteries out of every text and subject, they have not failed to apply the first number to the days of the year, and the second to the number of parts in a human body; and to affirm, that God designed thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to pass without meditating upon this law of God, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not consecrated and employed in his service, according to that saying of *Ecclesiastes*, *fear God and keep his commandments, for that is the whole* [duty] *of man*. These, and all such like moralising reveries, is what they have drawn from their *Cabbala*, or oral tradition, of which

We

i. 1. to *Gen.* vi. 9. and is called *Bereshith*: the second reaches to *Gen.* xii. 1. and is called נוח *Noach*, from *Noah* being the chief person mentioned in it; the third, which reaches to *Gen.* xviii. is called לך לך *Lek Leka*, *go thy ways*, from the command of God to *Abraham* to go out of his native land; and so of the rest.

The *Jews* have always expressed a greater veneration for these five books, than for any of those which they received afterwards, tho' they look upon the latter as divinely inspired: the reason they give for it is, that *Moses*, being in many respects vastly superior to all the other prophets and inspired writers, a great preference ought to be given to his writings, upon that account; and they have been so superstitious in this respect, that they look upon it as a crime to lay any of the sacred books upon those of *Moses*; whereas they think, the latter may be laid upon any of the others.

(B) To the written law the *Jews* do likewise add the oral one, which, they pretend, was also given by God to *Moses*, during his abode on mount *Sinai*. For first they think it absurd to suppose, that he spent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written law, for which less than one quarter of that time was more than sufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the rest of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to *Aaron*, *Eleazar*, and to his servant *Joshua*, and these to the seventy elders, from whom it passed to all the prophets, the three last of whom, *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, delivered it to the grand *Sanhedrin*; from whom the wise men of *Jerusalem* and *Babylon* received it. Thus they affirm that this oral law, given to *Moses*, was transmitted, from one generation to another, entire and uncorrupted, under the name of קבלה *Cabbalah*, or *tradition*, which was afterwards committed to writing by several hands in that volume which they call the *Talmud*, consisting of two parts, the *Mishnah* and *Gemarrah*, to which they give, by far, the preference to the written books, whence comes that saying of theirs, the *Mikdash*, or *Old Testament*, is like water, the *Mishnah* like wine, and the *Gemarrah*, being more plain and perfect, like *Hipocras*, or the richest of wines. For they add, secondly, that the obscurity of the written law, its seeming inconsistency in several respects, and the ill use which God foresaw would be made of it by the wicked, rendered the oral one very necessary, since without it the other would have proved in many respects useless, if not dangerous. These learned gentlemen, who love to call themselves מרבצי התורה, *Merabtze-hathora*, *fixers of*, or *givers of rest to the law*, do tell us, that the obscurity of it is obvious to every reader: as for the inconsistencies, they are such as these; that in one place it is said, *thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven*, and in another *six days*: in one place it is said, *thou shalt offer the passover to the Lord thy God, sheep, oxen*, &c. and in another, *only a male lamb without blemish*: one text says, that *the Lord came down upon mount* Sinai *to speak to the people*; and another says, that he *spoke to them from heaven*. These are the mighty contradictions, which, they pretend, cannot be reconciled without the help of the oral law (3). Well might *Christ* say of them, that they *strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel* (4); since these are but trifles compared to those which we meet with among these learned compilers of the *Talmud*, and their commentators, tho' they all pretend to expound all these seeming difficulties, and pretended contradictions of the written, by the help of this oral law: for this reason we shall not spend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the absurd and fabulous comments with which it is stuffed, but shall content ourselves with giving now and then a sketch of them in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are superstitious or wrong, and deserving of the censure which our Saviour past upon them, *that they had made the word of God of none effect by their tradition* (5).

(C) These they call, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, מצות לא תעשה *Mitzvoth lo taghasseh*, and מצות עשה *Mitzvoth ghasseh*, that is, *commandments thou shalt, or shalt not do*, or, as we render it, *negative and affirmative*; concerning which they make this difference, that if a man sin against the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting or doing some penance for it; but he that sins against a negative precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a sin worthy of death cannot be sufficiently cleared on the expiation-day, or by any thing, but by God's severe chastisements; but as to those that prophane or blaspheme the name of God, nothing can expiate their sin, but their being put to death for it.

(3) *Vide* MAIMON. *præfat. in Mishn.* MUNST. *præfat. in Mitzvoth-hathora.* CUN. BASNAG. *& al.*

(4) Matt. xxiii. 24.

(5) Mark vii. 13. *& alib.*

a we have given an account in a late note: however, it muſt be owned, that their *Caraites*, a wiſe and antient ſect among them, did always reject it, and applied themſelves wholly to the plain meaning of the text; but theſe are but few, in compariſon of the reſt, and are mortally hated by them; the reader may be convinced of it, by one inſtance among a thouſand. The *Caraites* are all very rich, and are ſo often at a loſs for a wife among themſelves, that they would gladly purchaſe one at any rate, from their other brethren the *Talmudiſts*, but as well as theſe love money, they never could yet be perſuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, though never ſo rich, and themſelves never ſo indigent.

b But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' this *Jewiſh Cabbala*, or oral tradition, is juſtly rejected by all the *Chriſtians*, as being ſtuffed with the moſt carnal and ridiculous notions; yet there is another *Cabbala*, which has been received by ſome of the antient fathers, and is to this day ſtrenuouſly defended by many learned moderns. This they call, by way of diſtinction, *Kabbla*, or *reception*, and contains that myſtical ſenſe of the *Old Teſtament*, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the *New* underſtood and explained it, which ſenſe, they affirm, has been conveyed to them from *Moſes* by the prophets, not by a human tradition, but by divine inſpiration, as being very different, if not contrary, to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation, which ſome of the evangeliſts, particularly St. *Matthew* as well as c St. *Paul*, give of ſeveral prophecies quoted by them, particularly thoſe which the reader will find in the margin †*†, in a ſenſe ſo foreign from the literal one, that it cannot, in their opinion, be juſtified, without having recourſe to this chriſtian *Kabbla*, as they term it. We have no buſineſs to enter into the merits of this queſtion, which has been ſo lately and ſo learnedly debated by the writers for and againſt the accompliſhment of *literal prophecy*. All that we ſhall venture to ſay farther is, that if ſuch a myſtical and primary ſenſe be admitted, it muſt be confined to the writers of the *New Teſtament*, who, beſides their being inſpired, could prove their interpretations by miracles; for it is d plain, that ſome of the primitive fathers have gone ſuch great lengths in that way, that *Origen*, learned as he was, has made himſelf ridiculous by them, and ſaint *Jerom* and *Auſtin*, though more moderate than he, have in many caſes over-ſhot the mark †‡†; but to return to the written law, we ſhall endeavour to give the main body of them under ſuch diſtinct heads and claſſes, as ſhall give our readers a clear idea of them, and to avoid prolixity, we ſhall take the liberty to abridge ſome, and to omit thoſe that are either of ſmall conſequence, or whoſe deſign is not ſufficiently underſtood. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall ſubjoin to every law the ceremonies, cuſtoms, and uſages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as becauſe the latter are often explanatory of the former; that ſo the reader e may at one view have a compleat ſyſtem of the *Jewiſh* laws, religion, government, manners, and cuſtoms, as they all flowed from the ſame divine original. As for the laws, they generally run in the ſtile of the five or ſix following ones, which we give only as a ſpecimen of it, but which for that reaſon ſhall follow no further.

Laws againſt idolatry, and for the pure worſhip of the only true God.

Laws againſt idolatry.

THOU ſhalt have no other Gods before, or beſides, me [l].

Ye ſhall not profane or take in vain (D), but hallow, God's holy name [m].

Ye ſhall utterly deſtroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of *Canaaniti∫h* idolatry [n].

Ye ſhall not tempt the Lord your God (E), as ye did in the wilderneſs [o].

Ye ſhall make no image or repreſentation of God, from the likeneſs of any of the celeſtial, terreſtial, or aquatick bodies [p].

Ye

†*† Matt. ii. 15, 17, 23. Rom. x. 6, & ſeq. comp. with Deut. xxx. 12. and Eph. v. 31. with Gen. ii. 24. Hebr. ii. 6. with Pſ. lxxxiv. & al. †‡† Vide int. al. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 51. Vide Basnag. in Cunæ. in Rheinferd, Op. Philolog. & al. Vide Munst. מצודת דרוֹרת מושה. [l] Exod. xx. 3. [m] Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xxii. 32. & al. [n] Deut. xii. 2. & ſeq. [o] Deut. vi. 16. [p] Exod. xx. 4. Deut. 4. paſſ. & v. 8.

(D) That is, as the *Jews* underſtand it, rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as *Aaron* did, when he called the molten calf the Gods that brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This is one of thoſe ſins which, they think, cannot be expiated but by the death of the ſinner; and for which *Aaron* muſt have undergone that fate, had not *Moſes* interceded for him.

(E) This precept they underſtand of thoſe who ſerve God only in hopes of ſome temporal advantage, which they look upon as a leſſer kind of idolatry.

YE ſhall not bow down to, nor worſhip any kind of idol (F) [q].

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry ſhall be ſtoned as ſoon as he is convicted of it [r]. a

THE ſpoil of an idolatrous city ſhall not be ſaved upon any account, but be publickly burned. The inhabitants of it ſhall be put to the ſword, and the place ſhall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever [s].

THE ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols ſhall not be turned to advantage, but be deſtroyed with the utmoſt abhorrence [t].

WHOSOEVER ſacrificeth his ſeed to *Moloch* (G), whether he be an *Iſraelite*, or a ſojourner in the land, ſhall be ſtoned to death [u].

THERE are ſeveral more to the ſame purpoſe interſperſed, and often repeated in the four laſt books of *Moſes*, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the ſame nature are alſo thoſe which forbid all commerce, intercourſe, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and all kind of imitation of their ways, leſt they ſhould inſenſibly draw them into their idolatries; of the ſame kind were thoſe which condemned the uſe of familiar ſpirits, enchantments, obſerving of times and omens [x], divinations, reſorting to wizards and necromancers, and ſuch like, under pain of death [y]; as alſo the rounding of the corners, or temples, of the head and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their fleſh for the ſake of the dead, or making any marks upon it [z]; and laſtly the promiſcuous uſe of apparel in either ſex, in imitation of the *Canaanites* [a]. b

c

Poſitive laws concerning the worſhip of the one true God.

Laws concerning the true worſhip of God.

THAT the Lord, who delivered his law from mount *Sinai*, is the only God in heaven and earth (H) [b].

THAT he alone is to be loved with all ones heart, mind, and ſtrength [c]; that he only is to be feared above all things [d], and his name to be ſanctified.

[e] THAT they ſhall engrave his laws in their hearts, diligently teach them to their children and grandchildren; and wear them for a ſign upon their head, as frontlets between their eyes, and write them upon the gates, poſts, and other parts of their houſes [f].

THAT

[q] Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9. & alib. [r] Deut. xiii. 1. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [s] Ibid. ver. 15. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. vii. 25, 26. [u] Levit. xx. 2. [x] Ibid. xix. 26, 31, & alib. [y] Deut. xviii. 9. & ſeq. [z] Levit. xix. 27. & ſeq. [a] Deut. xxii. 5, &c. [b] Exod. xx. 1. Deut. vi. 4. [c] Ibid. ver. 5. [d] Ibid. ver. 13. [e] Levit. xx. ii. 32. [f] Ibid. ver. 6, & ſeq.

(F) A man is not, according to them, to ſtoop down before an idol, though it were to take a thorn out of his foot, or to take up any thing that he has dropped, or even to take up a little water to drink, tho' never ſo thirſty, leſt it ſhould be looked upon by any byſtander as an act of reſpect to it; in all ſuch caſes therefore they muſt ſit down upon the ground, with their backs to it, and then no ſuch ſcandal can be taken (6). However, no idolatry was deemed capital, unleſs accompanied with one of theſe four things, rearing an altar, offering ſacrifice, burning incenſe, and adoration (7).

(G) We have already given an account of this *Ammonitiſh* deity and its worſhip, in the hiſtory of *Ammon* †. All that needs be added here, with reſpect to the different opinions of authors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtians*, concerning the meaning of the phraſe of *making their ſons and daughters to paſs through the fire*, which we there took notice of, is, that there are ſeveral expreſs texts of ſcripture which prove, that it was neither a bare leaping over a fire, nor a being carried between two fires ſet cloſe by one another; but a real burning of them to death (8). In the ſecond book of *Kings* it is ſaid, that the *Sepharvaites* burnt their children in the fire to *Adrammelech* and *Anammelech* their gods (9); which we have ſhewn elſewhere were, in all probability, the ſame with *Moloch* ‡. 'Tis plain from the prophet *Amos* (10) and St. *Stephen* (11), that the *Iſraelites* had been much addicted to the worſhip of this idol, whoſe tabernacle they are ſaid to have carried about with them in the wilderneſs, but that they ſhould continue it in *Canaan* after *Moſes* had made it capital, and God had expreſly told them, that he would ſet his face againſt ſuch offenders, and exterminate them from the midſt of his people (12), is ſomewhat ſurprizing, and yet the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that ſeveral, even of the kings of *Judah*, were guilty of that abominable cruelty. How it came to be at the firſt introduced into the world, we have elſewhere endeavoured to account for*. As for what is commanded concerning the deſtroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the *Jews* underſtood it only of thoſe places which became theirs by conqueſt, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they affirm, that they were firſt of all to forewarn them, and if they forſook their idolatry, they were to be ſpared, but if they perſiſted, they were then to be deſtroyed. They likewiſe underſtood the prohibition of turning any of the ſpoil to their advantage in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that they thought it even unlawful to ſit under the ſhade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great averſion to idolatry and idolatrous things did not ſhew itſelf, till they had ſeverely ſmarted for their too great propenſity to it under the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

(H) This precept in one place † begins thus: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד, *Hear O Iſrael the Lord our God, the* LORD [*is*] *one*;--where is is obſerved, that the ע *Ain* in the firſt, and the ד *Daleth*

(6) *Vide Tractat. Abodah Zarah ſeu de Idololatria.* (7) *Vide* MUNST. *in præc.* 17 *neg.* † *Vide ſup. p.* 393, 394. (8) *Vide* Pſ. cvi. 37, 38. Iſai. 29, *& alib.* (9) 2 King. xvii. 31. ‡ *Ubi ſup.* (10) Amos v. 26. (11) Acts vii. 43. (12) Levit. xx. 3, *& ſeq.* * *Vide ſup. p.* 472. c, f. † Deut.

ד *Daleth* in the laſt words, are majuſcula, or letters of a larger ſize than the reſt. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing ſome important myſtery, as the *Jews* pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident, or with deſign, is not eaſy to determine: ſure it is, they not only urge it as an unanſwerable argument againſt the *Chriſtian* doctrine of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verſes following, they wore theſe words written on parchment about them, as bracelets and frontlets, and placed them at their beds, doors, *&c.* juſt at it is there preſcribed. Some antient fathers (13) were of opinion, that this had been conſtantly practiſed, from *Moſes* till after our Saviour's time, and that he wore them himſelf; tho' upon what foundation is hard to gueſs. *Lightfoot* and others believe, that they were univerſally uſed in our Saviour's time (14); and St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that they were ſo in his. and that thoſe who did not wear them upon their foreheads were eſteemed irreligious (15). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but their ſuperſtition in this reſpect has ſtill gained ground; this is plain from the many ſcrupulous niceties which they are bound to obſerve in the making, writing and caſting of theſe phylacteries (16).

This verſe which they call the SHEMAH, from the firſt word of it, they are likewiſe obliged, by an expreſs command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at ſun riſing, and in the evening juſt as it is ſet. There is likewiſe a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh preſcribed in the *Talmud*, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers, muſt be ſtill, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; ſome letters are to be pronounced ſwiftly, and others ſlowly; no ordure or dead carcaſs ought to be nearer the place where the perſon repeats it, than four cubits at leaſt, and then he is to turn his back to it; but if the place will not permit ſuch a diſtance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from it, and a great deal more to the ſame purport (17), which it were needleſs to dwell longer upon. However, ſince they urge this text ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt the *Chriſtians*, we ſhall beg leave, before we diſmiſs this note, to examine, whether the antient *Jews* underſtood it in the ſame ſenſe as the moderns do: ſome learned converts from *Judaiſm* to *Chriſtianity* ſeem to have proved the contrary from their moſt antient writings (18); but as proſelytes are always ſuſpected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting thoſe eminent *Chriſtians*, who, after a mature examination of their evidence, have confirmed it as we think, beyond all poſſibility of replying. We ſhall ſingle only one from among thoſe many, not only as he was very well verſed in this kind of learning, but becauſe, as he was not a prieſt, but a ſtateſman, he may be leſs ſuſpected of partiality, we mean the great *Philippe de Mornay* (19), who among other antient authors, quotes rabbi *Simeon ben Johai*, who in his *Zohar*, a book by the *Jews* acknowledged to have been written before the *Talmud*, if not before *Chriſt* (20), quotes the expoſition of rabbi *Ibba*, of this text, to this purport, that the firſt יהוה, *Jehovah*, which is the incommunicable name of God, is *the father*; by אלהים *Elohim* is meant *the ſon*, who is the fountain of all knowledge; and by the ſecond יהוה is meant *the holy ghoſt*, proceeding from them, and he is called אחד *Achad*, *one*, becauſe God is one. *Ibba* adds, that this myſtery was not to be revealed till the coming of the Meſſiah. The author of the *Zohar* goes on, and applieth the word *holy*, which is thrice repeated in the viſion of *Iſaiah* (21), to the three perſons in the deity, whom he elſewhere calls three ſuns, or lights, three ſovereigns— without beginning and without end.

It muſt be owned, that the genuineneſs of this paſſage is diſputed by the *Jews*, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itſelf by ſome *Chriſtians* (22); but as to the firſt, it is known, that they make no ſcruple of denying all that makes againſt them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the caſe of the ſacred writings, they will manifeſtly pervert the ſenſe, and appeal to the oral law: and as for the *Chriſtians*, 'tis to be feared, they are all but too apt to be partial to their favourite ſyſtems, and to over-ſhoot the mark on both ſides. However, tho' it is out of our province to enter any further into the controverſy, how far the doctrine of the trinity was, or might be, known to the antient *Jews*, from ſeveral places of the *Old Teſtament*, urged againſt them; yet we beg leave to make an obſervation or two out of their *Talmud*, which ſeem to make very much againſt them, becauſe they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one ſection in it (23), written dialogue-wiſe, in which are ſeveral queſtions, as firſt, why the names of God, *Elohim*, *Zabaoth*, &c. are in the plural number? and ſecondly, why they are joined to verbs in the ſingular? [thus, for inſtance, the firſt verſe of *Geneſis* ſays, *Elohim bara*, where *God* is in the plural, and *created* in the ſingular, which our divines have applied to the trinity in unity] and thirdly, why God ſpeaks in ſome places in the plural number? as *let us make man*, &c *in our image*, &c. (24)? Now it is plain, that to all theſe queſtions, or rather objections, the *Talmud* gives us no anſwers but what are plainly illuſory ‡; and ſuch as the compilers would moſt probably have ſuppreſſed, as well as the queſtions, had they not deſigned thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowledgment, that theſe irregular expreſſions contained ſome myſtery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reaſon why a learned rabbi (25), who was ſeverely charged with having betrayed the myſteries of his religion, becauſe the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances had forced him to accept of the generous offer, from a *Roman* cardinal, of a large ſalary for teaching the *Hebrew* tongue, proteſts, among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never ſo much as explained the firſt verſe of *Geneſis*.

But what will convince our readers that this was the caſe of the writers of the *Talmud*, is the anſwer that is given, in the chapter above quoted to the queſtion, why the throne of God is in the plural number in *Daniel*'s viſion (26). The words in the *Chaldee* are כרסון רמיו, *Carſevan remiú*, which our verſion renders *the thrones were caſt down*, contrary to the expreſs meaning of the verb רמם which ſignifies *to raiſe*, *to exalt*, and *ſet up*, in which ſenſe all the *Jews* do rightly underſtand it. The queſtion therefore that is aſked is, why

(13) ORIG. CHRYSOST. HIERON. EUPHYM. in Matt. xxiii. (14) LIGHTFOOT, SCALIGER, MALDON, *&* *al.* (15) HIERON. *in* Matt. xxiii. *vide* & THEOPHILACT. *in loc.* (16) *Vide* LEO *de* MODEN. *Ceremon. Jud. part i. c.* 12. (17) *Vide* WOTTON's *Verſ. of the Miſhnah. ſub voc.* Shemah. (18) *Vide inter al.* RAYMOND. MARTIN, *Pugio Fidei paſſ.* (19) *Adverteſſement aux Juifs. c.* 3. *Vide ſi lubet* MEYER *Theolog. de Myſter. SS. Trinit.* HAVEMAN, *Jooden Vegh Wyzer*, *&* *al.* (20) *Vide* BUXT. *ſen. Teberiad. in voc.* זהר *Zohar* BARTOLOC. & WOOLF. *Bibliot. Rabin.* (21) *Ch. vi.* 3. (22) *Vide* WOOLF. *Bibliot. Rabin. No.* 2175. *p.* 1134. *& ſeq.* (23) *Tract. Sanhedrin.* (24) Gen. i. 26. iii. 22, *&* *alib.* ‡ *Vide ſup. p.* 44. *note* (o). (25) *Elias Levit. vide præf. ejuſd. in Grammat. Hæbraic.* (26) Dan. vii. 9.

why

THAT they ſhall circumciſe their hearts, as well as their fleſh [g] (I); and be no more rebellious to him, but ſerve him ſincerely, cleave unto him, and ſwear by his name alone [h].

THAT the whole law ſhall be read by the prieſts to all the people, men, women, and children, every ſeventh year, at the feaſt of the tabernacles [i], and the ſubſtance of it ſhall be learned by heart by every *Iſraelite*; and that every king of *Iſrael* ſhall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moſes* committed to the cuſtody of the *Levites*, in order to be conſtantly read and obſerved by him [k] (K).

THAT all bleſſings ſhall be thankfully acknowledged to come from God (L), and his puniſhment ſubmiſſively received, as fatherly chaſtiſements, or tryals of their obedience [l].

THE law ſhall be engraven upon ſtones, and ſet up upon an altar, and the bleſſings of obedience and curſes for diſobedience ſhall be publickly ſet up upon the mounts *Gebal* and *Gerizim*, for a perpetual remembrance [m].

No forgiveneſs, or deliverance from puniſhment for any diſobedience ſhall be expected, without a deep ſenſe and acknowledgment of the fault [n].

BURNT offerings, ſacrifices, tithes, vows, firſtlings of the flock, and free-will-offerings, ſhall be brought and ſacrificed at no other place, but that which the Lord ſhall appoint [o].

Laws, poſitive and negative, concerning the ſabbath, paſſover, and other feſtivals, holy days, and faſts.

Laws concerning the ſabbath.

THE ſabbath, or ſeventh day, ſhall be kept holy [p] (M). No ſervile work ſhall be done in it, by maſter, ſervant, ſlave, ſtranger, or cattle [q]. There ſhall no fire be kindled on that day [r], nor any thing bought or ſold. No perſon

[g] Deut. x. 16. & alib. paſſ. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. xxxi. 9, & ſeq. ad 19. [k] Ibid. xvii. 18, & ſeq. [l] Ibid. viii. paſſ. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 1. ad fin. 28. paſſ. [n] Ibid. xxx. paſſ. [o] Ibid. xii. 5, & ſeq. [p] Exod. xxiii. 14. xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16, & alib. [q] Exod. xx. 8, & ſeq. Deut v. 12, & ſeq. [r] Exod. xxv. 3.

why the throne, on which the antient of days was to ſit, is put in the plural? after ſeveral trifling anſwers, which are given as the ſolutions of ſeveral learned rabbies, the laſt but one of whom pretends, that the plural implies the thrones of God and of *David*; the laſt and concluding one is to the following purpoſe, that it is blaſphemy to ſet the creature on the throne of the creator, bleſſed for ever, and cloſes the whole with theſe notable words, *if any one can ſolve this difficulty, let him do it, if not, let him go his way and not attempt it.* The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining we ſhall wholly ſubmit to the reader, and only add, that ſomething very like this ſeems to be intimated in that diſtinction in their creed, about the unity of God, namely, that he is one by an oneneſs or unity peculiar to himſelf *.

(I) What is meant by the circumciſion of the heart needs not be told, it being here and elſewhere put in oppoſition to ſtubbornneſs, rebellion, and ſtiff-neckedneſs. We have already ſpoken of that in the fleſh in another ſection (27); the manner in which it was performed ſhall be ſhewn, when we come to ſpeak of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies.

(K) What the abſtract or ſubſtance of the law was, we have elſewhere ſhewn †, but the *Jews* conclude, from the words of *Moſes* (28), *write ye therefore this ſong*, &c. that every private man was obliged to write likewiſe, a copy of it; but it ſeems rather, that he only enjoined them to learn it by heart *. They add, that if the king had not writ a copy of it before he came to the crown, he was obliged to write two after it, the one to be depoſited in his treaſure-houſe, and the other to be kept about him for his daily meditation and inſtruction (29).

(L) This command of praiſing the Lord for his bleſſings, they alſo extend to ſaying grace at leaſt before meat, in which their ſtrictneſs is ſuch, that if a man through inadvertency chance to neglect it, he is bound, if he is gone abroad, to return home, as ſoon as he recollects his omiſſion, and perform that duty. They likewiſe enforce from it the neceſſity of waſhing of hands before eating, and affirm, that he that eats with unclean hands is equally guilty with him that eateth unclean meat. They add many more of the like ſuperſtitious niceties, for which, however, they own, they have no poſitive command, either in the written or oral law; except that one which enjoyns them to ſubmit to the ordinances of their wiſe men (30). Well therefore might our Saviour ſo often reprove them, for being ſtricter obſervers of theſe human injunctions, than they were of the more weighty points of the law of God, juſtice, mercy, &c. (31).

(M) What that ſanctification of the ſabbath conſiſted in before *David*, or rather *Solomon*'s time, except repairing to the tabernacle, if they dwelt near it, rehearſing the wonders which God had done for them, and a total ceſſation from work, is not eaſy to gueſs. We have endeavoured in a former ſection (32) to account for this indolent obſervation, from which the day is called שַׁבָּת, *Sabbath*, or *reſt*. The *Jewiſh* doctors have ſtretched this abſtinence from work to the moſt ſuperſtitious degree. They extend it not only to every buſineſs that

* *Art.* 1. (27) *Sup. p.* 427. *ſub note* (R). † *Sup. p.* 540. *ſub note* (F). (28) Deut. xxxi. 19. * *Vide ſup. p.* 542, a, *and ſub note* (H). (29) *Vide præcept affirm.* 24, 25. (30) *Vide præc. affirm.* 27. (31) Matt. xv. 3 *& ſeq.* (32) *Sup. p.* 540. *ſub fin. note* (E).

that tends to the getting of food and raiment, ſuch as plowing, ſowing, reaping, threſhing, and the like, which they make to amount to thirty nine negative precepts, beſides many others which are as appendixes to them; ſuch as thoſe that follow: graſs muſt not be walked upon leſt it be bruiſed by it: a horſe muſt not be rid leſt it be galled; if wet of any kind fall upon one's cloaths it muſt not be wringed out, nor dirt be bruſhed off them; an apple muſt not be put to the fire to roaſt, or any liquid be mingled with muſtard, tho' never ſo dry; a flea muſt not be caught whilſt it hops about, but if it faſten upon the fleſh it may; vermin that is ingendered by the ſweat of the body, ſuch as lice, *&c.* reptiles and inſects that ſting, ſuch as vipers, ſcorpions, waſps, gnats, and the like, may be killed, and ſo may mad dogs and wild beaſts, if they aſſault one, but if quiet or running from one, they muſt be let alone.

Whatever ought not to be done in publick is likewiſe forbid to be done in private; tho' they do not all agree in this, ſome of them thinking it lawful to do ſome things in private, ſuch as wiping any dirt or filth off ones cloaths and the like in a corner, which it would be unlawful to do in ſight of others. If a houſe chance to be ſet on fire, nothing is to be ſaved from the flames but the victuals and cloaths deſigned for the ſabbath, unleſs it be a cheſt or bag in which there is a ſacred book, in which caſe it may be carried off, tho' there chance to be alſo money in it. It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart tho' a heathen drive it. No ſinging, dancing, playing upon inſtruments, or any kind of noiſe is allowed, tho' it were to quiet a croſs child. No cauſe is to be tryed, accounts made or caſt up, or marriages ſolemnized. No diſcourſe about buying and ſelling, or any other worldly matter, much leſs looſe and profane talk is to be ſuffered; a field, vineyard, orchard, and the like is not to be viſited on the ſabbath, with many more of the like nature. However, they allow it to be violated in caſes of dangerous ſickneſs, by adminiſtring any help to the ſick; a woman may be aſſiſted in her labour, or even be cut open, if ſhe die in it, and there be any hope of ſaving the child.

The poſitive precepts concerning the ſabbath run much in the ſame ſtrain, we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged, according to their circumſtances, to put on clean linnen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, and to drink wine, and to eat at leaſt once in ſix hours. Care alſo is to be taken, that a clean table-cloath be laid, and the victuals ſet upon it, the beds made and the lamps lighted before the entrance of the ſabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about ſun-ſet, according to the ſaying in *Geneſis*, *the evening and the morning were the firſt day* (33.)

A learned *Jewiſh* author tells us ‡, that they were obliged, in all diſtricts and towns throughout *Iſrael*, to blow the trumpet, on the evening of the ſixth day, ſix different times from ſome eminence, whence it might be eaſily heard at a due diſtance, ſo that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the ſabbath began. Accordingly at the ſound of the firſt trumpet, they left off work, and began to march homeward: at the ſecond ſounding, all ſhops, ſtalls, and places of trade were ſhut up: at the third the pots and kettles were taken off the fire, the tables cover'd, and the meat dreſſed for the ſabbath was ſet upon them, *&c.* —— The laſt trumpet was generally about ſun-ſet; and on the next night as ſoon as they could perceive two or three ſtars in the ſky, the trumpets blew from the ſame places to proclaim the end of the ſabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a ſhort prayer, wiſhed himſelf and the reſt a good week, as he did a good ſabbath at the entrance of it. From this blowing of theſe trumpets from ſome high places, a cabbaliſtical philologiſt (34) hath concluded, that the מוסך השבת, *Muſſak haſſabath*, *the vail*, or, as our verſion renders it, *the covering of the ſabbath*, which king *Ahaz* took away from the temple (35), was ſome kind of watch-tower on the top of it, from which the prieſts uſed to proclaim the entrance and exit of the ſabbath to thoſe that lived at *Jeruſalem*. But for ought we can ſee, it might as well have been any thing elſe.

The *Jews* are fallen into ſeveral extravagant notions about the ſabbath, ſome of which we ſhall but juſt hint; ſuch as that the obligation of ſanctifying it is of much greater force than any other command: that it is the ſoul and totum of all the reſt; ſo that he that violates it breaks all the reſt. That on that day the dæmons, ſatyrs, and other ſuch hurtful creatures ſhun the light of it, and do not return from deſarts and dark caverns to infeſt mankind till it is over, with many more of the like nature, which the reader may ſee at full length in *Leo de Modena* (36).

It muſt be owned however, that many of the wiſer *Jews* do make the ſanctification of the ſabbath to conſiſt in duties of a more noble nature, than theſe *talmudical* trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the ſtudy of his law, and inſtructing thoſe that are under them in it (37). Some of them do even maintain, that they uſed to aſſemble themſelves every ſabbath, even from the time of *Moſes*, to hear the law read and expounded (38). And this is likewiſe believed by ſeveral learned men among the *Chriſtians* (39), who infer it from the words of St. *James*, that *Moſes* ὁ γὰρ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων has in every city them that preach him, being read in the ſynagogues every ſabbath day (40). All that we dare ſay is, that the much greater number are of opinion, that this cuſtom was not ſet on foot till *Eſdra*'s time. All that the prieſts were commanded to do on the ſabbath was only to ſet the new ſhew-bread on the tables, to take away the old one (41), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt-offerings peculiar to that day (42); however, their ancient doctors did ſince clog it with ſuch a number and variety of precepts and ſubtilties; and thoſe that came after have been ſo divided about the right meaning of them, and their practice has ſo often varied, that it is impoſſible for them to know whether they kept it right or not. This made ſome of their rabbies ſay, that if they could but obſerve two ſabbaths as they ought, God would ſoon put an end to all their miſeries (43).

Whether the obſervation of the ſabbath or ſeventh day be as old as the creation, as ſome authors both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* contend for, from thoſe words of *Moſes*, *and the Lord bleſſed the ſeventh day and ſanctified it* (44), or whether that text means no more, than that God ſet apart that day to be afterwards obſerved by the *Iſraelites*, as the far greater

(33) Gen. i. 5. *vide* MUNST. *in loc.* & *præcep. negat.* & *affirm. de ſabbat.* ‡ MAIMON. *Tract.* שבת *cap. v. ſect.* 27. *vide* GOODWIN's *Moſes and Aaron*, *l. iii. c.* 3. §. 10. (34) RHEINFERD *Op. Philolog. diſſert.* 18. (35) 2 King. xvi. 18. (36) *Cerem. Jud. part iii. c.* 1. *vide* & MUNST. *in* Gen. ii. 1. & Exod. xx. & *præc. affir.* 29. (37) *Vidi* MUNST. *in* Exod. xx. MEYER. *de Temp. Sacr. cap. ix.* § 66. (38) PHIL. *in vit. Moſ.* JOSEPH. *cont. Apion, lib. ii.* *Talm. Hieroſ. Tract. Megill.* MAIMON. *Tephilah*, & *Bircath-hacohanim*, & *al. mult.* (39) *Vide* COCCEJ *Sum. Theol. c. xxi.* § 14. & *ſeq.* GROT. & MEYER. *ub. ſup.* (40) Act. xv. 21. *comp. with ver.* 36. (41) Levit. xxiv. 6, 8. (42) Num. xxviii. 9, & *ſeq.* (43) *Vide* BUXTORF. *Synag.* Jud. *c. xi.* (44.) Gen. ii. 3.

ſon ſhall be put to death for any crime whatſoever, no travelling ſhall be allowed on the ſabbath [s] (N).

The ſabbath-breaker ſhall be ſtoned [t]; with ſeveral others, either to the ſame purpoſe, or of leſs moment.

Laws relating to the three grand feſtivals, the paſſover, the feaſt of the weeks, and the feaſt of the tabernacle.

The three grand feſtivals.

THREE times a year ſhall all the male children appear before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, or paſſover, at the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt, and at the feaſt of tabernacles. They ſhall not come empty handed before him, but every b

[s] Ibid. xvi. 29. & alib. [t] Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15.

er part of the fathers and *Chriſtian* commentators underſtand it; is a queſtion which, tho' more curious than important, has been very ſtrenuouſly debated on all hands. The *Jews* are as divided about it as we are; for whilſt ſome affect to call the ſabbath their ſpouſe, as being granted to the *Jews* alone excluſive of all other nations (45), others affirm, that all the patriarchs and all good men did obſerve it up to *Adam*, whom they pretend to have been the author of the 92d pſalm, intitled, *a pſalm or ſong for the ſabbath day* (46). They likewiſe interpret the words in *Geneſis*, *becauſe* Abraham —— *has kept my charge*, of his keeping the ſabbath (47). The ſame they affirm of *Jacob*, and add, that the reaſon of his taking up his lodging in the open field in his way to *Meſopotamia*, was, that it happened to be the eve of the ſabbath, ſo that he was obliged to ſtop there as ſoon as he perceived that the ſun was about ſetting (48). *Job*'s offering ſacrifices, for his ſeven ſons every ſeventh day, is likewiſe underſtood of his keeping of the ſabbath, tho' another reaſon ſeems to be given in the text (49).

Joſephus and *Philo* go ſtill further, and affirm, that the obſervation of it had been preſerved among the *Gentiles*. The former ſays, that there was ſcarce any nation either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that did not in ſome meaſure conform to the obſervance of the ſabbath (50); and *Philo* aſſures us (51), that it was not a feſtival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds in another place, that the *Jews*, whilſt in *Egypt*, having quite forgot the ſeventh day, God was pleaſed to indicate it to them by ſending them manna ſix days, and ſtaying it on the ſeventh (52). We find likewiſe ſeveral ancient writers among the *Heathen*, ſuch as *Homer*, *Heſiod*, and others, quoted by the fathers, who ſpeak of the ſeventh day as ſacred to religion (53). Something like this may alſo be gathered from that abſurd account, which ſome others, particularly *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, give of the *Jews*, obſerving it in imitation of the *Heathens*, who conſecrated that day to *Saturn* according to the former (54), or to *Bacchus* according to the latter, who adds, that he was alſo named *Sabbos*, becauſe they uſed frequently to ſhout out the word *Sabboi* at his feſtival. (55). However, as theſe teſtimonies would at beſt amount to a bare probability, and ſeem contradicted by ſome expreſs texts both in the writings of *Moſes* and ſome of the prophets (56), which intimate, that the ſabbath was given to the *Iſraelites* for a memorial of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and to diſtinguiſh them from all other nations; the far greater part of *Chriſtians*, both ancient and modern, have declared for the other ſide (57); and it muſt be owned, that if that feſtival had been inſtituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot ſee why *Moſes* ſhould be ſo exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the inſtitution and obſervance of it, eſpecially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unleſs we ſuppoſe with *Philo*, that the *Iſraelites* has quite loſt the memory of it.

We muſt beg leave to cloſe this note with taking notice of that expreſſion in one of the goſpels (58), ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, in the ſecond prime ſabbath, or as our verſion more clearly renders it, on the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt, which has puzzled a world of Commentators, till *Joſ. Scaliger* did hit upon an explication (59), which has been univerſally approved and followed ever ſince (60). We need not to trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the reſt. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the *Jewiſh* manner of computing the ſabbaths from the feaſt of the paſſover to that of the weeks, or from *Eaſter* to *Whitſunday*. The firſt of theſe, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feaſts, or the firſt and laſt day of the paſſover, was by them called שבת שני ראשון, *Sabbath Sheni-reſhon, the ſecond prime ſabbath*; the next was called *the ſecond ſecond*, or *the ſecond after the ſecond prime*; the third *ſecond third*, and ſo unto the ſeventh, which laſt did immediately precede the feaſt of the weeks or pentecoſt (61). The fact for which this ſabbath is recorded by the evangeliſt, namely, *Chriſt*'s diſciples plucking and rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this expoſition, their harveſt happening always between *Eaſter* and *Whitſunday*, *ceteris paribus*.

(N) Tho' the text do expreſly ſay, that they ſhall not ſtir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna, for it is plain, they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of *Jeruſalem* (62); however, the *Jews* underſtand it of going out about worldly buſineſs, or for

(45) *Vide* Selden & *Rabbin. ab eo citator.* (46) *Vide Chald. Paraphr. Targum. in titul.* Pſ. xcii. *Middraſh Tehill Talm. Babyl. Tract Sanhedr.* & *al.* (47) R. Salom. *in* Gen. xxvi. 5. (48) *Bereſh. Rabb. Paraſh.* 79. *Talm. Tract.* שבת R. Bechai, & *al.* (49) *Vide* Abenez. *in* Job i. 25. (50) *Cont. Apion. lib. ii. ad fin.* (51) *De Opific. Mund.* (52) *In vit. Moſ. lib. i.* (53) *Vide* Euseb. *præp. lib. xiii. c.* 12. Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.* & *al.* (54) *Hiſtor. lib. v.* (55) *Symp. iac. lib. iv.* (56) *Vide* Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. v. 15. & *alib. paſſ. vide* & Jerem. xvii. 22. Ezek. xx. 12, 20. (57) Just. *Dial. cont. Tryph.* Tertul. *cont. Jud. lib. iv.* Iren. *cont. Hær. lib. iv.* & *al. vide* Seld. *de Jur. Natural. Hebr. juxt. diſcipl. Hæbr. lib. iii. c.* 13. & *ſeq.* Spenc. *de Leg. Rit. Hæbr.* Jun. Le Clerc, Calm. *Comm. in* Gen. ii. & *al. mult.* (58) Luk. vi. 1. (59) *De Emend. Temp. lib. vi.* (60) *Vide* Lightfoot, Causab. Baron. Jun. Grot. *in loc.* Goodwin's *Moſ.* & *Aar.* Sir Isaac Newt. & *al.* (61) *Vide ſi lib. Miſhnam Tract.* יומא *cap.* 5. (62) *Vide* Levit. xxiii. 3.

pleaſure

every man ſhall offer unto the Lord, according to the ability wherewith he hath bleſſed him *** (O).

Of the paſſover.

WE have already ſpoken of its inſtitution, and the occaſion and deſign of it in a former ſection †; the laws relating to it are to the following purpoſe. *Eaſter or paſſover.*

IT ſhall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Iſraelites* and to all circumciſed proſelytes [u].

No circumciſed perſon, whether of the ſeed of *Abraham*, or admitted into
b the commonwealth by circumciſion, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, journeying, or ſome

*** Deut. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxiv. 23, & alib. † Sup. p. 500. [u] Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib.

pleaſure, and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a ſabbath's day's journey, this diſtance is not indeed fixed by *Moſes* or any other prophet, but is determined at two twouſand cubits. And tho' they differ among themſelves about the length of that meaſure, ſome making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the leaſt way is not to exceed two thouſand moderate paces, (63), and this ſeems to be pretty near the diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the *Mount of Olives*, which St. *Luke* calls *a ſabbath day's journey* 64), of which we have already ſpoken †, however, he that exceeded that diſtance was not judged a violater of the ſabbath, but came off with a beating, whereas the breaker of it was to be ſtoned to death (65).

(O) The *Talmud*, however, exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unleſs their huſbands permitted them to go with them, as in the caſe of *Hannah* and *the virgin Mary*. 2. Boys under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בני התורה, *Bene-hathorah*, that is *the ſons or diſciples of the law*, till they were entered into the 13th, and this ſeems to be the reaſon why *Chriſt* did not make his firſt appearance among the doctors at the feaſt, till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above ſixty. 4. All the ſick, and impotent lunatics, *&c.* And laſtly, all that either lived at ſuch a diſtance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwiſe ſo weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be more wiſely calculated to preſerve the union of the *Jewiſh* nation, already ſo ſtrongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, meaſures, cuſtoms, *&c.* which were common to them all, than this frequent and univerſal concourſe to the chief place of worſhip. But here ariſe two very great difficulties: firſt, how *Jeruſalem* could contain ſuch prodigious multitudes, as did flock to thoſe ſolemnities from all parts of *Judea*; and ſecondly, how the *Iſraelites* could leave their towns and villages deſtitute of males, without the greateſt danger from thoſe nations which were ſtill left amongſt them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that thoſe who lived upon the borders of the land, ran ſtill a greater riſk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the firſt difficulty, beſides what has been hinted in the geography of the land, *concerning the catacombs of Jeruſalem*; it may be anſwered firſt, that they did not all appear together on the ſame day, but that they took it by turns, and ſtayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed and made way for others. This is plain from the inſtance of *Elkanah*; and ſecondly that there were tents and other conveniencies for their reception, not only in the empty ſpaces within, but likewiſe in all convenient places without the walls of the city. And if this be thought ſtill inſufficient for ſo vaſt a concourſe, what is anſwered to the ſecond difficulty of their leaving the country too much expoſed to their enemies, will eaſily remove all that is left of the firſt.

And here we need not have recourſe to improbable conjectures, as *Cunæus*, *Baſnage*, and others have done, who think, that this obligation laſted no longer than during their abode in the wilderneſs, when their nearneſs to the tabernacle did eaſily admit of it. For, beſides that, if this had been the caſe, there would have been no need for *Jeroboam* to ſet up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to *Jeruſalem*, their hiſtory furniſhes us from time to time with ſufficient teſtimonies, that theſe feſtivals were kept conſtantly till after our Saviour's time, as it plainly appears from the vaſt multitudes that were at *Jeruſalem*, from all parts of the world, at the feaſt of pentecoſt, when the holy ghoſt fell upon the apoſtles. Neither need we ſecondly ſuppoſe with others, that they only ſent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve to *Jeruſalem*, to be as it were the repreſentatives, and to offer the gifts of the reſt, whilſt theſe kept the ſolemnity in their own towns. For if any ſuch thing had been either allowed or practiſed, we ſhould certainly have met with ſomething of it in holy writ, whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the inſtances above-mentioned. But ſince there was a permiſſion from God, that they that were unable to celebrate the paſſover on the firſt month, ſhould do it in the ſecond, as we ſhall ſee in the next note; will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they might extend this indulgence alſo to the other feſtivals? ſo as that one half of the males ſhonld ſtay at home to guard their houſes, whilſt the others went up, and at their return, to go and partake of the ſolemnity of the ſecond month. It is indeed urged, that there was a promiſe from God, that none ſhould deſire their lands whilſt they went up to appear before him, but, beſides that their natural backwardneſs in believing him gives us little reaſon to think, that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them to

(63) *Vide* MAIM. *Tract.* שבת, *c. v. ſect.* 27. GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c.* 3. § 10. (64) Acts i, 12. † *Vide ſup. p.* 546. *note* (L). (65) *Vide* MAIM. *ubi ſup.*

his

ſome legal impurity, ſhall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people [x] (P).

NO ſervant or ſtranger ſhall eat of it, unleſs he become circumciſed [y].

THE feaſt (Q) ſhall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month *Abif*, or, as the original expreſſes it, between the two evenings [z], at which time the paſchal lamb ſhall be killed (R); and the feſtival be continued, till the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening.

THE

[x] Num. ix. 13, 14. [y] Exod. xii. 43, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. ver. 6. See the margin of our Bible.

his ſole care, whilſt they went ſo far from them to worſhip him, it is plain, that thoſe promiſes were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued ſtedfaſt in their obedience, which was ſo ſeldom their caſe, that had their faith in his promiſes been ſtronger than it was, yet their diſobedience gave them but ſmall encouragement to lay hold on them to ſuch a degree.

(P) We have already given the moſt probable meaning of this penalty *, and indeed, conſidering that the principal end of this inſtitution was not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which God did in *Egypt* and at the *Red-ſea*, but alſo to make it a ſtanding and irrefragable monument to all poſterity of the truth and certainty of thoſe amazing works ‡; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the obſervation of it under ſome ſevere penalties. However, it is evident by the ſequel, that they did not underſtand it of a capital puniſhment, ſuch as was to be inflicted on blaſphemers, idolaters, ſabbath-breakers, and the like, ſeeing they not only omitted to celebrate it during their abode in the wilderneſs, without any viſible excuſe *(66)*; but were afterwards guilty of a moſt ſhameful neglect of it, during ſeveral wicked reigns, till *Hezekiah*, and after him *Joſiah*, revived it *(67)*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

As for thoſe who by reaſon of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and thoſe who were hindered by any lawful impediment, from celebrating this feſtival, with the reſt of the people, on the month *Niſſan*, they were ordered to keep it with the uſual ceremony on the following month called *Jair*. This indulgence was granted by God himſelf in favour of ſome men, who had defiled themſelves by aſſiſting at the burial of ſome relation *(68)*; an w is afterwards made uſe of by the prieſts and *Levites*, who being under ſome legal impurities, when the king commanded them to revive this feſtival at its uſual time, were forced to poſtpone it to the next month *(69)*.

(Q) This feſtival is called in the original פסח, *peſach*, from the verb *paſſach*, which ſignifies *to paſs by* or *leap over*, and not from the *Greek*, πασχω, *to ſuffer*, as if it had been prophetical of *Chriſt*'s ſuffering at that feaſt, as ſome antient fathers have imagined for want of underſtanding *Hebrew (70)*. God himſelf explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the ſacrifice of the Lord's paſſover אשר פסח, *Aſher-paſſach*, who paſſed by or leaped over the houſes of the *Iſraelites (71)*. It was to begin הערבים, *Be-harvaim*, *between the two evenings* (72) of the 14th of the month called by *Moſes*, *Abif*, which properly ſignifies *the ſtalk that bears the ear of corn*, becauſe wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called *Niſan*, and anſwers to our *March* and *April*. The expreſſion *between the two evenings* is variouſly taken. Some reckon the firſt evening to be between noon and ſun-ſet (73), others between two and ſix (74), but the moſt rational opinion, and the moſt received, is, that the firſt evening is that which immediately follows ſun-ſet, and that the ſecond begins when that planet is ſo far ſunk below the horizon, that the ſtars do viſibly appear above it (75).

The computation of this new year began at the firſt new moon that happened neareſt, or upon the vernal equinox; with this rule, that the preceding full-moon, how near ſoever to it, belonged to the laſt month of the former year. Now as they had no aſtronomical tables to regulate thoſe conjunctions, but were forced to guide themſelves by the firſt appearance of the new moon, all their diligence in ſending out people to obſerve it from high places at ſun-ſet could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years, becauſe ſometimes it is not to be ſeen till the ſecond or third night, nor even then if clouds interpoſe. Add to this, that they were in all other reſpects ſo negligent of their chronology, that it is no wonder, if ſo many learned men have laboured ſo much to correct and adjuſt it (76), and with ſo little ſucceſs. However, as to the new-moons, and thoſe feſtivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the prieſts and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong *(77)*.

(R) This ordinance of the paſchal lamb our learned *Spencer* thinks to have been one of thoſe which God expreſly appointed in oppoſition to the *Zabian* and *Ægyptian* worſhip, in order to cure, as he expreſſes it, the *Iſraelites* of their itch of idolatry, becauſe the ram among them was ſacred to *Jupiter*. He adds alſo, that the ceremony of killing, dreſſing and eating of it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roaſted, with the head and all other the apurtenances, that a bone of it ſhould not be broken, &c. were in like manner oppoſite to thoſe that were uſed in ſacrifices by thoſe idolaters (78).

As to the *Ægyptian*, the reader may ſee by what we have often ſaid on that head, that this pretended contrariety is at beſt but very lame and imperfect.

* *Sup. p.* 500. d. ‡ *pag.* 505, *See before note* (P). (66) *Vide ſup. pag.* 555. a. (67) 2 Chron. xxx. & xxxv. *paſſ.* (68) *Vide* Num. ix. 6, & *ſeq.* (69) 2 Chron. xxx. 3. (70) TERTUL. *cont.* Judg. c. 10. AMBROS, *lib. de Myſter. Paſch. & al.* (71) Exod. xii. 27. (72) Ibid. ver. 6. (73) D. KIMCHI *ap. Munſt. in loc.* (74) CALM. *Dic. ſub.* ערב. *Pagn.* (75) MOS. GERUND. ABENEZR. SALOM. & *al. in loc.* (76) *Vide ſup.* VIDE & SCALIGER. *ſup.* VIGNIER. GENEBR. USSER. *Sir* I. NEWT. BEDFORD, & *al.* (77) *Vide præc. aſſerv.* 42. (78) *De Leg. Rit. Hæbr. lib. ii. c.* 24.

[a] THE firſt and laſt day ſhall be kept holy and free from all ſervile work, even as the ſabbath, except only that on the former victuals may be dreſſed, but not on the latter [a]; thoſe two days ſhall likewiſe be ſolemnized by an holy convocation [b] (S).

No leaven of any kind ſhall be uſed or even kept in the houſe during thoſe ſeven days, whoſoever uſeth any leaven on thoſe days ſhall be cut off from *Iſrael* [c] (T): all leaven therefore ſhall be removed out of the houſe before the paſchal lamb is killed [d].

ON the firſt day of the paſſover ſhall be offered a burnt-ſacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs of the firſt year; with ſome other offerings of [b] leſs value [e]; and on the ſecond day of the feaſt ſhall be offered, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a ſheaf of the firſt fruit of that year's harveſt; no new corn ſhall be eaten in any way before the firſt ſheaf has been preſented unto the Lord [f] (V). Some other ordinances of leſs moment about this and other feſtivals are interſperſed in the pentateuch, which we therefore omit.

The

[a] Compar. Exod. xii. 16. with xxxv. 3. [b] Ibid. ver. 16. [c] Ibid. ver. 15, 19. [d] Ibid. 34. 25, & alib. vide præc. aff. 347. [e] Num. xxviii. 19, & ſeq. [f] Levit. xxiii. 10, & ſeq.

imperfect. 1. Becauſe as they inſtead of ſheep ſacrificed goats to him, ſo here *Moſes* ordains the killing either a lamb or a kid; and 2. becauſe even they once a year killed a ram in honour of that God, and cloathed his golden ſtatue with the skin of it; ſo that there was nothing in this paſchal lamb ſo very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worſhip of *Jupiter*.

As for the ſect of the צבאים, *Tzeboim*, or כבאים, *Seboim*, we dare venture to ſay, that it is, at leaſt, a very bold aſſumption in our author, to make it more antient than *Moſes*, when he tells us himſelf in another place (79), that nothing is more obſcure and uncertain, than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions, about it. He quotes every where the teſtimony of *Ben Maimon*, who tells us among other things (80), that he came to underſtand the deſign and meaning of a great number of *Moſes*'s laws, by being converſant with the religion, worſhip, and ceremonies of the *Zabeans*; from which, he adds, that *Abraham*, who was brought up in them, had been converted. But of what weight the opinion of a *Jew*, and he far from a ſtrict one, can be, to account for the deſign of the *Moſaic* laws, or of what authority his teſtimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the *Zabeans* to have been ſo conſiderable a ſect in *Abraham*'s, or even in *Moſes*'s time, that God ſhould take ſuch care to preſerve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were quite oppoſite to theirs, we ſubmit to the reader. Dean *Prideaux* ſeems indeed very fond of *Maimon*'s notion, and wonders, that any one ſhould miſtake it (81), but brings neither proof nor teſtimony ſufficient to back it. However, as to the paſchal lamb we may more juſtly wonder, that any *Chriſtian* ſhould fetch its origin from ſo dark and muddy a ſource, when the writers of the *New Teſtament* have pointed to us one that is ſo much clearer and more divine, its being a type of *Chriſt*. We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak of the nation, or rather ſect, of the *Zabeans*, and to ſhew how little their boaſted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(S) We find no precept about the keeping of the five intermediate days, except the eating of unleavened bread and abſtaining from very laborious works. The rabbies have ſupplied that defect by their comments. They allow that time to be ſpent in mirth and all lawful recreations; they enjoin all, eſpecially the women, to wear the gayeſt apparel, to eat fleſh, fiſh, and foul, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this, and the other two grand feſtivals, leaſt the joy that attends the former ſhould make them forget the occaſion of the latter. Some allow labours of neceſſity to be done during thoſe five days, and others think it unlawful to take up a ſtraw to pick their teeth. However, they all agree, that women may ſhave and waſh themſelves, or even their cloaths upon ſome occaſions (82). There is one merry injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, tho' they be ſo poor that they live by alms, to drink at leaſt four bumpers of wine on the firſt night of the paſſover, whilſt they are rehearſing the wonders wrought by God in *Egypt* and at the *Red ſea* (83), with ſome more of the like nature not worth repeating (84).

(T) This curſe is underſtood to extend only to the perſon that eats any thing that has leaven, and not to him who only keeps it within his doors, and whoſe tranſgreſſion is only puniſhed with a certain number of ſtripes. But in the former caſe their doctors are ſo ſtrict, that they even forbid eating a foul in whoſe crop is found one ſingle grain of corn, becauſe it is apt to ferment where it meets with moiſture. They have likewiſe ſeveral wild diſtinctions with regard to liquors that are, or are not, apt to ferment, which are more nice than true, and conſequently not worth being dwelt upon (85).

(V) We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of all the different kinds of firſt-fruits which were to be offered to God, as a token of their ſubmiſſion, gratitude, and dependance, and the manner of offering them, when we come to ſpeak of offerings in general. As for this ſheave we are now ſpeaking of, it was to be of barley, becauſe that is the firſt corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of *Niſan*, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The *Jews* add, that as ſoon as the evening of the firſt day of the paſſover was come, at which time the ſecond began, and in which ſome kind of works might be done, the בית דין, *Beth-din*, or *great council* aſſembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the ſheave with

(79) *Ubi ſup. c.* i. *ſect.* 1. 2, & *ſeq.* (80) *More Nevoch, part* iii. *c.* 29, & 40. *Havodah Zarah, c.* 11, 12, & *alib. paſſ.* (81) *Connect. part* 1. *lib.* iii. (82) *Vide præc. neg.* 75. (83) *Pr. aff.* 40. (84) *Pr. neg.* 77, & *ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. pr.* 77, & *ſeq.*

The feast of the weeks, or pentecost.

The feast of weeks.

THIS feast was instituted in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*, a fifty days after the exod (W), and to oblige the people to appear before the Lord, to offer the first-fruits of their harvest (X), as an acknowledgment of his absolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependence upon him.

SEVEN weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the sixteenth day of the month *Nisan*, which was the second of the passover, and the fiftieth day was to be the first day of this festival (Y).

THE sacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, besides the two loaves, seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams, to be for a burnt-offering; together with their usual meat and drink-offering, and likewise a kid for a sin- b offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering (Z). No servile work was to be done on that day, save that victuals might be dressed, and a holy convocation was to be called, as on other solemn festivals g.

The feast of the tabernacles.

The feast of tabernacles.

THIS festival was ordained in memory of the forty years abode of the *Israelites* in the wilderness; for which reason it is called the feast of the tabernacles, or tents (A); not only because they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but because it was to be celebrated in such kinds of booths, made of the branches

g Levit. xxxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 27, & alib.

with a kind of solemnity, at which great crouds, from the neighbouring cities, flocked to *Jerusalem*, within whose territories it was to be gathered. These deputies asked three times whether the sun was set, and were as often answered by the bystanders in the affirmative. They then asked three times leave to reap the sheave, and it was no sooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, each with a sickle in his hand, and gathered each a distinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threshed, winnowed, and parched, and an *Homer*, which contains about three pints, was filled with it, and presented to the priest, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw some incense upon it, and having heaved it to the Lord towards the four points of the compass, he threw some part of it on the fire of the altar, and the rest he kept for himself. After this ceremony, it was lawful for every man to begin his harvest (86).

(W) The reader may remember, that the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt* on the 15th of the 1st month *Abib*, or *Nisan* (87), and came to *Sinai* on the 3d day of the 3d month, two days after which the law or decalogue was given in the presence of all the people (88).

(X) Some commentators are of opinion, that every family was bound to offer two loaves of the first-fruits of the new corn, but it is more reasonable, that there were but two in all, offered in the name of the whole nation, as the first barley-sheave was, which we mentioned in the last note but one. These loaves were made of wheat, because the wheat harvest was ended about the time of this festival.

(Y) It is therefore called in the original חג שבועות, *Chag Shebuoth*, or *the feast of weeks*, from the 7 weeks which were reckoned from that of the passover; as from the fifty days the *Greeks* gave it the name of pentecost. Neither the text, nor *Josephus*, nor any antient *Hebrew* writer, tells us, whether or no this feast lasted seven days, like these of the passover and of the tabernacles. However the modern *Jews* keep it but two days, during which all servile work, except dressing their meat, is wholly set aside. As for their other ceremonies on those two days, as they are foreign to our purpose, the curious reader may see them in *Leo de Modena* (89).

(Z) There is some difference between the sacrifices that are ordered on this festival, in *Leviticus* and in *Numbers* (90). *Josephus* joins them all together (91), but whoever compares them will rather think, that there is some error of the transcriber, either in one or the other of these places. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the *Jews* were so afraid lest they should be mistaken in their calculation of this festival, and that of the passover, that they kept it two days instead of one. He instances in one place in *Judith* (92), in which the *Greek* seems to confirm his assertion, and by that means removes the difficulty which has been started of our Saviour's eating the passover one day before the rest of the *Jews* (93).

(A) The original calls it חג הסוכות, *Chag Hassukoth*, *the feast of the tents* or *booths*, from which the *Greeks* gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγία, *Skenopegia* (94). Tho' the text says it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderness; yet the *Chaldee* paraphrast seems to have understood it, not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות, *Succoth. Tents*, by מטלא עננים, *the shade of the clouds*. It is likewise thought to have been instituted as a feast of thanksgiving for the conclusion of their harvest and vintage, which did generally end there about this time, which answers to the beginning of our *October*.

(86) *Vide* ס׳ מנהות MAIMON. ס׳ תמידים ומוספים. ABEN EZR. *in* Deut. xxvi. & *al.* (87) Exod. xii. 3, 6, 41, 51. (88) *Ibid.* xix. 1, 13, & *seq. vide Joseph. p.* 502. a, & *p.* 512. & *seq.* (89) *Ceremon. Jud. part* iii. *c.* 4. (90) *Comp.* Levit. xxiii. 18, 19. & Num. xxviii. 27. 91) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. (92) Judith viii. 6. (93) *Synag. Jud. vide* & CYRIL. *Alex. in* Joh. xiii. CHRYSOST. *Homil.* 82. EPIPHAN. EUTYM. PAUL BURG. *P. de Middlb.* SCALIG. JANSEN. MALDON. & *al. mult.* (94) LXX, & 1 Maccab. x. 21. 2 Maccab. i. 8, & *alib.*

branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as willows, palms, olives, and the like (B), and erected in the moſt decent and convenient manner [h].

THIS feaſt was the third grand one, and equal in ſolemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the paſſover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month called *Tiſri*, which was the firſt of the civil year, and anſwered to part of our *September*, by which time all the harveſt being finiſhed and brought in, they returned their ſolemn thanks to God for it [i]. It was to laſt ſeven days, the firſt and laſt of which were kept with the greateſt ſtrictneſs (C), by repairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and ſinging the praiſes of God; by ſacrifices peculiar to the ſolemnity, over and above the uſual ones, and by a ceſſation from all ſervile works, except cookery [k].

THEY were likewiſe obliged to dwell in thoſe booths all the ſeven days, and to eat and drink, and lay in them (D), unleſs lawfully hindered [l].

THE

[h] Levit. xxiii. 40, & ſeq. & alib. [i] Exod. xxiii. 16. [k] Numb. xxix. 13, & alib. [l] Ibid. ver. 14. ad fin.

(B) *Moſes* gives us a fuller deſcription of this feaſt (25) than of any other, probably becauſe it was not to be celebrated till after they were ſettled in the promiſed land; but as to the particular trees of which the booths were made, and the manner of their ſtructure, they are not ſo eaſily underſtood. The firſt word that is mentioned there is עץ הדר, *Ghetz-hadar*, *goodly tree*, or, as the original imports, *rich* or *magnificent wood*, which the *Jews* will have to be *the citron-tree* (96). The others are the תמר, *Thamar*, or *Palm*; the 3d עץ עבות, which ſignifies *any thick* or *buſhy wood*; and the laſt ערוי נחל, which certainly ſignifies *river* or *water willows*: But when *Nehemiah* (97) directs the people what branches to gather for the revival of this feaſt, he calls the firſt זית, *Zajith*, *the olive*, the ſecond עץ שמן, *Ghetz-ſhemen*, *fat* or *oily wood*, which is applicable to any wood that abounds with turpentine, as *the pine*, *fir*, &c. the third is called הדס, *Hadas*, concerning which we know little but the name; and to theſe three he adds *the palm* and *thick wood*, concerning which we are alſo in the dark, tho' the *Jews* think it was *the myrtle*, which they have uſed ever ſince; and ſeveral interpreters have tranſlated it ſo accordingly; in particular *Joſephus* (98), the *Syriac*, the generality of rabbies, and *Chriſtians*. However, the two firſt are differently named from thoſe in *Leviticus*, but whether they are the ſame trees or not is neither certain nor of great importance. It is rather more likely by this difference of names in thoſe two places, that they were not ſo ſcrupulous about the exact choice of them, as about getting ſuch as were the moſt beautiful, fragrant, and convenient, that the land could afford, and eſpecially ſuch as would beſt keep their verdure during thoſe ſeven days. This, at leaſt, was the caſe of the wiſe *Caraites*, who, deſpiſing the niceties of the *Cabbaliſts*, thought they ſufficiently anſwered the deſign of the law-giver, if they lived in ſuch tents or booths as their forefathers had done in the wilderneſs; whilſt the *Talmudiſts* and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberleſs additions to it †.

(C) The firſt day of this feſtival was uſhered in by a general proceſſion, in which the men carried branches of thoſe trees mentioned in the laſt note, ſome in one hand, and ſome in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and ſinging ſome pſalms or hymns proper for the ſolemnity, and crying *hoſannah!* which word doth properly ſignify, *ſave we beſeech thee*; from this word the laſt day of the feaſt, on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed ſeven times, and with greater ſolemnity, in memory as is pretended (99) of the taking of *Jericho* ***, was called *Hoſannah Rabbah*, or *the day of the great Hoſannah*.

The *Jews* add, that every *Iſraelite* who neglected to carry theſe branches any morning of the ſolemnity, and to go with them round the altar of burnt-offering, was not to eat during all that day. The hundred and eighteenth pſalm is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been ſung on, if not compoſed for, that feſtival, becauſe there are not only ſeveral expreſſions in it that have an affinity to it, ſuch as theſe: אנא יהוה הושעה נא אנא יהוה הצליחה נא *ana adonai hoſhibah-na*, *ana adonai hatzlichah na* (100); but alſo from the very analogy of the whole compoſure with the ceremonies of that feaſt; ſuch as the praying more particularly for the coming of the Meſſiah, for the proſperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloah*, and the like; but whether theſe and ſeveral other particulars, which they obſerved in it, were uſed during the ſtanding of the firſt temple, or were afterwards introduced by *Eſdras* and others of their great ſynagogue in proceſs of time, is too uncertain to be dwelt longer upon. As for the ceremony of fetching water from *Siloah*'s pool, it ſeems to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time, tho' ſome of the *Jews* attribute the inſtitution of it to the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (1). Our Saviour is thought to have had alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the laſt day of this feaſt, *If any man thirſt let him come unto me*, &c. (2).

(D) The *Jews* except out of this number, the ſick and their nurſes, and thoſe who could not bear either the dampneſs of the earth, or the fragrancy of the boughs. They add, that as theſe booths

(95) Levit. xxiii. 40. (96) *Vide* MUNST. *in loc.* (97) Nehem. viii. 16. (98) *Antiq. lib. iii. c.* 10. *Rabbin.* LEO JUD. JUN. *in loc.* BASNAG. *Rep. Hæb. tom.* 1. *lib. ii. c.* 24. & *al. mult.* †*Vide Miſhn. Trac.* סוכה. *Arbab. Thurim.* MAIMON. *Trac.* שופר, & *alib.* (99) BASNAG. *ibid.* *** HOSPEN. *Orig. Feſt. c.* 7. MUNST. *in calend.* & *al.* (100) Pſ. cxviii. 25. (1) *Vide* CUN. *ub. ſup.* CALM. *ſub. voc. penteceſt*, MEYER. *Feſt. Heb.* GOODWIN's *Moſ.* & *Ar.* & *al. vide* & *Miſhn. ſub. tit.* סוכה & WOCT. & *al. Comment. in eud.* (2) John vii. 37, 38.

THE ſacrifices peculiar to this feaſt were, on the firſt day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of a year old; all without blemiſh, which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, conſiſting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and ſome wine. To theſe was added likewiſe a kid, for a ſin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of *Iſrael*; beſides the uſual morning and evening ſacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and thoſe which any one might offer out of devotion. On the ſecond day they offered twelve bullocks, fourteen lambs, with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the firſt day; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, they offered the ſame ſacrifices, with this difference only, that they leſſened every day one bullock, ſo that on the laſt day they ſacrificed but ſeven (E); as for the other offerings, they continued

booths were not to be covered with any thing but branches, and theſe not to be ſet up ſo thick but that they might ſee the ſtars through them; they were allowed to retire into their own houſes whenever it rained through them (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from theſe ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. *Plutarch* might take it into his head to affirm, that the *Jews* celebrated this feaſt to *Bacchus*, and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thirſe in their hands, tho' he knew not what was done in the inſide of them (4). It is true, that *Joſephus*, ſpeaking of this feaſt, and of the noſegay or bunch of greens which the *Jews* wore in it (5), calls it σιμεσιων, which among the *Greeks* ſignified *a bunch of olive tyed up with wool*, on which did hang great variety of fruit. This noſegay uſed to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of *Apollo* (6). But our author here tells us, that the *Jewiſh* one was made up of myrtle, willow and palm, on which hung little ſprouts of peach, or as others render it, young citrons. However that be, *Spencer* has from thence fancied, that it was inſtituted by *Moſes* in imitation of the *Heathen*, who about that time uſed to celebrate ſome feaſts to their gods, with the ſame mirth and ſolemnity (7); but *Moſes* gives us a quite different reaſon, namely, that their poſterity might know, that God had made the *Iſraelites* to dwell in booths at their coming out of *Egypt* (8), and elſewhere, that they departed from *Rameſes* and encamped at *Succoth* (9), ſo called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

Walton adds another reaſon to this of *Moſes*, namely, that it was on the 10th day of the month *Tizri* that *Moſes* came down the ſecond time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news that God was appeaſed for the ſin of the golden Calf, and that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up (which that idolatrous defection had obſtructed for a time), in token, that he did now no longer diſdain to be among them, ſeeing he vouchſafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10); and as he obſerves there, that this happened ſix months after the exod, it doth account for that feaſt being inſtituted in that month, rather than in the firſt, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. *Maimon* gives indeed another reaſon for it, namely, that that ſeaſon was fitter to dwell in booths, than the other (11); but he forgets, that if there be any difference between the months *Niſan* and *Tizri*, that is, between *March* and *April*, and *September* and *October*, the former ſeems to have the preference. And therefore the learned *R. Jacob Levita* doth judiciouſly enough obſerve, that God did chuſe the latter for the celebration of that feaſt, becauſe that was the time in which the cold mornings, winds, and rains, obliged people to quit theſe kind of dwellings, who had lived in them all the ſummer, for the ſake of coolneſs; whereas, had he appointed it in *Niſan*, the 15th of which anſwers to about the beginning of our *April*, there would have been nothing ſingular enough to have put them in mind of the occaſion of it, ſeeing that was the ſeaſon in which people left their houſes for ſuch airy booths (12). However, as this feſtival was likewiſe inſtituted as a thankſgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage; upon which account it was alſo called חג לולב, *Chagg lulabh, the feaſt of branches*, and חג האסף, *the feaſt of gathering* †; this is reaſon ſufficient for its being appointed in that month, in which the whole was generally finiſhed. Several interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, have thought that the pſalms which are intitled על הגתית, *Ghal-Hagittith*, which are the 8th, 81ſt, and 84th, were compoſed for this ſolemnity, becauſe the word *Gittith* ſignifies *a wine preſs* (13). But *Leo de Modena* (14) tells us, that the pſalms which begin with הללויה, *Halleluja*, that is, the 111, 112, 113, &c. to the 118, were the proper ones to be ſung on that day. Thoſe who are curious to know how the *Jews* do obſerve this feaſt ſince their diſperſion may find a full account of it in the ſame author and place.

(E) The reaſon which the *Jews* give for leſſening one bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in thoſe ſeven days amounted to 70, which they ſay is the number of the nations for whom theſe ſacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the ſcepter of the Meſſiah, who is emphatically called *the deſire of all nations* (15). Thoſe who have called this 8th day the *Hoſanna-rabba* (16), are certainly contradicted by all the *Jews*, who affirm that it was the ſeventh day (17); as for this eighth day, on which there was to be what moſt interpreters render as we do, a ſolemn aſſembly; the *Hebrew* word עצרת, *Gbetzareth*, ſignifies

(3) *Vide* MUNST. *in* Levit. xxiii. *Præc. aff. & neg. & auct. ſup. citat.* (4) *Sympoſiac. probl. v.* (5) *Ant. lib. iii c.* 10. (6) *Vide Gloſſ. in voc.* (7) *De Leg. Rit. Jud. lib. i. c.* 6, *& lib. iii. c.* 8. (8) Levit. xxiii. 42. (9) Exod. xii. 37. *vide ſup. pag.* 446. c. 502. a. (10) *Harmon. Evang. ad Luc. iii.* 21. *ap.* MEYER *de Temp. Sacr. cap.* 16. § 3. (11) *More Nevoch. lib. iii. c.* 43. מהריל, *de Rit. Jud. ſer tot. an. Vide* MEY. *ubi ſup.* § 4. (12) מהריל, *de Feſt.* Jud. *p. tot. ann.* † *Vide* ABARB. *in* Levit. 23. MEYER, *& al.* (13) *Vide* THEOPH. *in* John vii. (14) *Cerem.* Jud. *part* ii. *c.* 7. (15) Haggai ii. 7. *Vide* HOSPIN. *Orig. Feſt. in loc.* GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. § 8. (16) GOODWIN, *ubi ſup.* CALM. *in voc. Tabernacl.* (17) *Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. Shulchan, Haruch, Abarb. Thurim, & al.*

tinued the ſame throughout. On the eighth or laſt day, which was the moſt ſolemn
a of all, and on which they were to hold a ſolemn aſſembly, and to abſtain from all ſervile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and ſeven lambs, beſides the goat for a ſin-offering, and the uſual and voluntary ſacrifices [l]; which laſt did riſe and fall, according as their harveſt had been more or leſs plentiful. Laſtly, on this day the firſt fruits of thoſe things, which were of latter growth, were brought up and offered to God, and theſe came ſometimes in ſuch numbers, that they were forced to continue the feaſt one day longer [m].

The Feaſt of the trumpets and new moons.

The feaſt of the trumpets.

WE have already taken notice, that the month *Tiſri* was the firſt of the civil, as that of *Abib* or *Niſan* was of the ſacred year; this feaſt was appointed to be kept on the firſt and ſecond day of that month. It was to
b be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all ſervile work, and to be diſtinguiſhed from other new-moons by particular ſacrifices [n].

As the ſcripture doth no where give the reaſon of this feſtival, authors are much divided about it, the *Jews* in general believe, it was inſtituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F) †, tho' ſome rabbies think, that it was alſo in memory of *Iſaac*'s deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and ſubſtituted for him [o]. Some of the fathers think, it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai* [p], at which time the trumpet and thunder was heard: others laſtly, from ſome of the ceremo-
c nies obſerved by the *Jews* by way of preparation for, and from ſome of their notions about this feſtival (G), have fancied, that it was to put mankind in mind of the general reſurrection, which is to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpet [q]; but the moſt probable reaſon for this feaſt, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the ſound of the trumpets, ſeems to be in order to render it more obſervable, ſeeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and ſuch like, as well as their ſabbatic years and jubilees, were to be regulated by it [r]; for which reaſon the trumpets ceaſed not to ſound every where from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting *.

THE

[l] Ibid. ver. 14, ad fin. [m] Vide SIGONIUS, BERTRAND, CUNÆUS, MEYER, GOODW. & al. [n] Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 12, & ſeq. † Vide ſup. p. 48. c. [o] Vide R. SAL. FAG. MUNST. & al. in Levit. xxiii. [p] BASIL. in Pſ. lxxxi. THEODORET, Qu. 32 in Levit. [q] Vide GOODW. ubi ſup. § 6. [r] Idem ibid. § 5. * Vide SHINDLER, ſub voc. שופר.

ſignifies *a retention*, or as our margin hath it (18), *reſtraint*, for which reaſon they affirm, that, after the ſeventh day was over, and ſo conſequently the feſtival, the people uſed to ſtay, or to be detained one day longer (19). On this day it is, that the *Jews* end the laſt paraſha or ſection of the pentateuch, and, immediately after, begin the firſt, that they may not ſeem to be better pleaſed with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20), and for this reaſon it is called חג שמחת תורה, *the feaſt of joy of the law* (21).

(F) The *Gemarrah* doth poſitively affirm, that בתשרי ברא העולם, *the world was created in the month of Tiſri*, for which reaſon it is thought, that this feaſt was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the ſacred, and obſerves that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, *at the revolution* or *return*, or, as our verſion renders it, tho' not ſo properly, *at the end of the year* †. And the miſhnah adds, that the firſt day of this month is the head of the year, from which the ſeventh year, the jubilee, &c. are to be computed (22).

(G) The antient *Jews* had a notion, that God paſſed a kind of judgment upon men at this time, for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year, according to which he ordered his bleſſings and puniſhments for the next (23). The miſhnah expreſly ſays——that at the beginning of the year they paſs before him like ſheep, according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt (24), *from the place of his habitation he looketh upon the inhabitants of the earth, he formed their hearts alike, and conſiders* [or takes notice of] *all their works.* For this reaſon they thought that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their ſleep of ſin than the ſound of the trumpets according to that of the prophet *Joel* (25), *blow the trumpet in* Sion, *ſanctify a faſt*, &c. Accordingly MAIMON obſerves from the *Megillah-tahanith*, that the trumpets, which were more ſolemnly blown on faſt-days, were proper to excite men to prepare themſelves during the ten days, that were between this feaſt and the next faſting day, or day of expiation, for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the ſpeech which a learned *Jewiſh* rabbi has tranſmitted to us (27), which then uſed to accompany the ſound of the trumpets. *Awake, awake from your ſleep, awake, ye that deal in vanity, for deadly is the ſleep that holdeth you. Conſider ſeriouſly in your hearts who it*

(18) Levit. xxiii. 36 (19) *Vide* MUNST. *ibid.* MEYER. *de Feſt. c.* xvi. § 15. (20) BUXTORF *in Abbreviat. & Synag. Jud.* c. 28. *vide & ABARB. in* Deut. 31. (21) ר אלעזר, Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. † *Vide* MAIM. *Kiduſh hakodeſh c.* 9. (22) *Tract.* ראש שנה, *cap.* 1. *vide* & Levit. xxv. 3, 5, 6. (23) *Ubi ſup.* (24) Pſ. xxxiii. 14, 15. *Vide* HOTTING. & WOOTTON, *in Miſhn.* (25) Ch. ii. *paſſ.* (26) *More Nevoch. part.* iii. *ch.* 43. (27) ר שם טוב, *Comm. in Maim. in loc.*

THE proper ſacrifices for this ſolemnity were a bullock, two rams, and ſeven lambs, offered up in a ſolemn burnt-offering, with the uſual addition of flower and wine, in the name of the whole nation, beſides the kid for a ſin-offering, and the daily and monthly ſacrifices [s].

The New Moons.

New moons. THE *Iſraelites* were commanded to obſerve the firſt day of every month or moon, and to offer, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one lamb, and ſeven rams, with the uſual quantity of flower, wine, and oil [t]. The moſt ſolemn of all the twelve was that of the month *Tiſri*, which we ſpoke of laſt, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The reſt had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from common days, except the ſacrifices above mentioned, which were accompanied with the ſound of the trumpets (H); making better cheer, and perhaps uſing ſome kind of devotion or aſſemblies peculiar to thoſe days. We find nothing like it indeed enjoined by *Moſes*, but one may gather the former from *David*'s excuſe for abſenting himſelf from *Saul*'s table on the firſt day of the month, and *Saul*'s reſenting it [u], and the latter from what the *Shunamite*'s huſband ſaid to diſſuade her from going to the prophet *Eliſha*, that it was *neither new moon or ſabbath* [w].

HOWEVER, though in all other reſpects this day was like a common day, they were very ſcrupulous in the obſerving of it, and as the ſpace of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the ſun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new month, and they had no ſure way of computing it with any exactneſs or certainty, they obſerved two days, namely, the laſt day of the old, and the firſt day of the new, for greater ſecurity. That this cuſtom began very early, ſeems plainly intimated in the inſtance we have given of *Saul*, wherein it is ſaid, that he excuſed *David* for his abſence on the firſt day, but reſented it on the ſecond.

THIS

[s] Num xxix. 3, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. xxviii. 11, 12, &c. [u] 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 27. [w] 2 King. iv. 23.

it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account, &c. The apoſtle ſeems to allude to this in his epiſtle to the *Epheſians (28)*.

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or abſurd; but that is more than we can ſay of the additions which have been ſince made to the *Talmud*; we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them: they believe, that God keeps three books, one of the good, a ſecond of the bad, and a third of thoſe that are neither one nor the other. The firſt is the book of life, the ſecond that of death, and thoſe that are in the third are to be transferred either to the firſt or ſecond on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worſe. Thoſe two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next, and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the reſt of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the ſynagogue in white, others in their ſhrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themſelves gradually into the water, confeſſing their ſins and ſmiting their breaſts as they ſink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and laſtly, others will give themſelves 49 laſhes on their bare backs, or procure ſomebody to do it for them, and after theſe mortifications and ſuitable prayers, *&c.* they wiſh one another the happineſs of being written down for a good year (29).

(H) The fixing the time of the new-moon, for want of aſtronomical tables, was done in this manner. The firſt men that obſerved, or thought they did obſerve, the new-moon, were to repair with all ſpeed to the grand council, and to give notice of it. An enquiry was then made, 1ſt, whether the perſons were credible witneſſes, and ſecondly, whether their report agreed with ſuch computations as they were then able to make; in which caſe the preſident proclaimed the new-moon by ſaying מקדש, *Mekudaſh, it is conſecrated*, which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every where by the ſound of the trumpet, or by other ways according to the time and places (30).

Some authors have denied that theſe new moons were proclaimed by the trumpet (31), and think, that only the firſt in their civil year was ſo; whereas the contrary is plain from the expreſs command of *Moſes* (32), to blow the trumpet in the beginning of their months; but whether the diſtinction which the *Jews* make between the trumpets which the text calls חצוצרות *Chatzotzroth*, and thoſe that are called שופר, *Shoper*, and between the ſound that is called תרועה *Terughah*; and that which is called קול, *Col, voice*, and תקע, *Tekah*, be ſo well founded as they pretend, is hardly worth enquiring. They affirm however, that theſe two inſtruments differed in length, ſhape, and ſound, and that the one, which was the nobleſt of the two, was ſounded on the firſt day of the new year, and the other on the firſt day of the month (33).

(28) Ch. v. 14. *Vide* GOODW. *ubi ſup.* § 6. (29) *Vide* BUXTORF, *Synag. Jud.* HOSPIN, GOODWIN, LEO *de Modin. & al.* (30) *Vide* HOTTINGER, *in* GOODW. *ubi ſup.* § 7. *ſub. note* 5. (31) GOODW. *ubi ſup.* § 4. (32) Num. x. 10. (33) *Vide* HOTTING. *ubi ſup. ſub. note* 3.

a THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewiſe to make ſome tranſpoſitions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tiſri*; and of the reſt of the months according to that (I). But how early theſe tranſpoſitions began is what cannot eaſily be conjectured. All that we know is, that *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out and rectify them, and that they have ſince been of great uſe in many caſes, as may be ſeen by the book itſelf, and by the authors quoted in the margin [x].

THESE are all the feaſt-days that were appointed by the *Moſaic* law, the *Jews*, added in proceſs of time ſeveral others in memory of ſome great mercies, ſuch as that of *Purim* or *Lots*, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman*'s
b cruelty [y], the dedication of the temple, and many more, which we ſhall not need mention here, becauſe they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconſumed of the ſacrifices offered on thoſe ſolemnities, after the firſt and ſecond day, or even before, if the fleſh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill ſmell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to aſhes [z].

Laws concerning the ſabbatic and jubilee years.

THE ſabbatic, or ſeventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in ſeven times ſeven years, are alſo to be looked upon as ſolemn times.
c They were appointed by God, and deſigned for reſt and rejoicing; and as they did bear a kind of analogy, or rather were a kind of conſequence of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, they may upon that account be alſo reckoned among their ſolemn feſtivals.

THE *Moſaic* law diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, conſiſting of twelve ſolar, and afterwards of lunar, months (K), beginning at the month of *Tiſri*, or *September*, as we ſaid above. 2. The ſacred, which began at the month *Niſan*, or *March*, which was the ſeventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their
d religious ceremonies; ſo that the paſſover, which happened in the middle of that month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other feſtivals. 3. The ſabbatic, or ſeventh year; and 4. The jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of ſeven weeks of years. We have already ſaid as much as is neceſſary concerning the two firſt.

THE

[x] De Emendat. Temp. HOSPIN. Orig. Feſt. BUXT. GOODW. MEY. USSER. & MUNSTER, & al. mult.
[y] Eſther c. ult. ver. 20. & ſeq. [z] Levit. vii. 15, & ſeq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

(I) The reaſon of this tranſpoſition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt (34); the monthly was, leſt they ſhould celebrate the new-moon before the old one was expired: The political was leſt two ſabbaths or days of reſt ſhould follow one another, becauſe, as it was forbid to dreſs victuals, bury their dead, &c. on ſuch days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies ſo long above ground. The mixed tranſpoſition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menſtrual and partly political. Theſe diſtinctions are in many reſpects very judicious and neceſſary, but they have branched them out at ſuch a rate, and with ſub-diſtinctions, and nice rules for the right uſe of them, that we chuſe to refer the readers that are curious about ſuch things, to thoſe authors mentioned above.

We ſhall only add with reſpect to theſe *Neomeniæ*, that our *Spencer* has a long diſſertation to prove, that the *Heathen* did likewiſe obſerve them in honour of the moon (35); but what he would inſinuate from it, that the *Jewiſh* ones were appointed in imitation of the others, is what we think a wild conjecture; neither do we ſee any reaſon for ſuppoſing, that either ſide did borrow this rite from the other: the worſhip of the moon being common to almoſt all the *Heathen*, it was natural enough for them to pay her ſome particular honour at her firſt appearance, without knowing any thing of the *Jewiſh* laws; and as for the other ſide of the ſuppoſition, it is what we have already oppoſed upon other heads, and ſhall avoid repeating here †.

(K) It is plain by the calculation which *Moſes* gives us of the days of the flood (36), and elſewhere, that the year conſiſted of 365 days, and conſequently of 12 ſolar months, the laſt of which conſiſted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in *Egypt*, he had learned that way of reckoning from them, becauſe they are generally allowed to be the firſt inventors of it, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory *. Beſides that it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy method to the *Iſraelites*, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long abode there. *Scaliger* (37) and others after him have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalar month once in ſixſcore years, but it is plain, that the ſcripture hints nothing like ſuch an intercalation, or year of 13 months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs what they did with the

(34) SCALIG. *ubi ſup. lib.* ii. (35) *De leg. Rit. lib.* iii. c. 1. *diſſert.* 4. † *Vide ſup. p.* 427, *note* (R) 516, *note* (Y) & (Z) (36) Gen. vii. & viii. *paſſ.* * *Vide ſup. p.* 218. c. (37) *De Emend. Temp. lib.* iii.

Laws concerning the seventh years.

THE ſabbatic year was to be kept every ſeventh year; the obſervation of it conſiſted chiefly in the five following articles.

1. A total ceſſation from all manner of agricultue [a].
2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the ſtranger [b].
3. In the releaſe of all *Hebrew* ſlaves, unleſs they voluntarily renounced their proferred liberty, and choſe to abide by their old maſters; in which caſe they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their preſence, in token, that they freely embraced a perpetual ſervitude, or at leaſt till the year of jubilee [c].
4. In the remiſſion of all debts from one *Iſraelite* to another; but this did not extend to ſtrangers, who were excluded that benefit [d].
5. It was to begin and end on the month *Tiſri*, or *September*, that ſo there might be ſufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for ſowing it againſt the next year, that ſo the land might not lie fallow two years together [e] (L). Some other laws we find relating to this year, ſuch as

[a] Levit. xxv. 4. [b] Ibid. ver. 6. [c] Exod. xxi. 2, & ſeq. & alib. [d] Deut. xv. 1, & ſeq. [e] Levit. xxv. 9.

the ſix additional hours of the *Egyptians* to the 365 days, without ſome ſuch ſuppoſition. However, *Moſes*, by the expreſs command of God (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons, for that is the meaning of the word חדש, *Chodeſh*, from חדש, *to renew*, tho' our *Engliſh* verſion renders it *month*; and theſe anſwered partly to each of our months, and partly to the next.

The ſame authors have imagined, that the *Iſraelites* had no names for their months before the captivity (39), becauſe they are often diſtinguiſhed only by their numbers, as firſt, ſecond, &c. yet it is certain, we find ſome of them called by particular names long before; thus we have ſeen, that the firſt month of the ſacred year was originally called אביב, *Abib*. We find likewiſe that of זו, *Zif* (40), איתנים, *Ethanim* (41), and בול, *Bull* (42); from which it is not improbable, that the others might likewiſe have their names, tho' they are not recorded, and are oftner mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of thoſe names, as well as of thoſe which they uſed after the captivity, about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing deſerves, we think them too uncertain to trouble our readers with it, and ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining a liſt of the names themſelves, which is as follows:

		Days.	Anſwers to our	
1	*Tiſri*	30		*September*
2	*Marcheſhvan*	29		*October*
3	*Chaſleu*	30		*November*
4	*Thebet*	29		*December*
5	*Sebat*	30		*January*
6	*Adar*	29		*February*
7	*Niſan*	30		*March*
8	*Yiar*	29		*April*
9	*Siwan*	30		*May*
10	*Thammuz*	29		*June*
11	*Abb*	30		*July*
12	*Elul*	29		*Auguſt.*

To this liſt they added, in proceſs of time, the intercalar month, which they called ואדר, *Veadar*, that is, *and*, or, *the ſecond, Adar*, as that was the laſt of the ſacred year.

(L) This year is by *Moſes* called by ſeveral names, as שנה השבעית, *Shanah haſhbighith, the ſeventh year*, שבת הארץ, *Sabbath haaretz, the ſabbath*, or *reſt of the earth*; שמטה ליהוה, *Shemitah Ladonai, the releaſe of the Lord*, and the like. The time of year in which it was to begin is no where fixed by *Moſes*, but is eaſily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reaſon of the thing given under that article, as well as from the generality of *Jewiſh* authors. Neither is it agreed, how ſoon this ſabbatic year was obſerved after their entrance into *Canaan*, concerning which it would be endleſs to mention all the different conjectures of the learned, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. The reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin (44); all that we dare advance on the ſubject is, that if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, who fixes it on the ſeventh year after the manna ceaſed, at which time they began to ſow and till the ground ‡. *Cunæus* ſpeaks ſtill more particularly to the ſame effect; his words run thus (45): *there is no neceſſity for beginning the epoch of the ſeven years at the diviſion of the land of* Canaan, *but rather at the death of* Moſes, *which was the 41ſt year after the exod, and then the firſt ſabbatic year will be in the 7th after the paſſage of* Jordan; *ſo that after having been taken up ſix years in the conqueſt and dividing the land, the ſeventh proved in all reſpects a year of reſt, ſeeing they reſted from their conqueſts, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land.*

There is likewiſe no ſmall diſpute, whether the releaſe of debts, and of ſlaves, was to take place at the beginning or end of the ſabbatic year. The original orders it to be done מקץ שבע שנים, *at*, or *from, the end of ſeven years*; from which *Maimon* would infer, that it was not to take place till the ſeventh year was expired; but tho' there is ſome difference between ſaying at the end of ſeven years, and at the end of the ſeventh year, yet is it generally believed to have taken place at the beginning of it, becauſe the week of years was then compleat.

(38) Exod. xii. 2. (39) *Vide* HOTTING. *in* GOODW. *lib.* iii. c. 1. § 13. *note* 3. (40) 1 Kings vi. 1. (41) *Ibid.* c. viii. 2. (42) *Ibid.* vi. 38. (43) Levit. xv. 9. (44) *Gemar. Kidduſh. Gemar. Hieroſ. in loc. Sedar. Holam.* MAIMON. *de Shemitah & Yobel, paſſ.* ABARBAN. *in* Joſh. xiv. 12, & *alib.* R. DAV. GANTZ. *in Zemach.* & *al.* SCALIGER. *Annot. in* Chronic. EUSEB. & *alib.* GOODW. *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* iii. c. 9. MUNST. *Calend.* MEYER *de Temp. Sacr. cap.* 17. CUN. CALM. & *al.* ‡ *Sub. A. M.* 2554. (45) *Vide* BASNAG. *Rep. Heb. tom.* ii. *c.* 8.

as that thoſe ſervants, who were releaſed in it, ſhould not go away empty, but that a compenſation ſhould be made to them for their ſervice [f]; that they ſhould not withdraw any needful aſſiſtance from their poor brethren, by reaſon of the nearneſs of the ſeventh year [g]; with ſome others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards to all comers, and the like (M). Among theſe, was that remarkable one, which we have taken notice of in another place, of reading the law before all the people on the day of pentecoſt. For as they were to abſtain from all works of huſbandry, there is no doubt but there was a greater concourſe to hear it, than could have been at any other intermediate year.

THE reaſons and excellence of theſe laws, as well as thoſe that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithleſs and ſtubborn nation in a conſtant dependance upon, and ſubjection to, the divine providence, and to inſpire them with ſentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, by reminding them of their *Egyptian* ſlavery, which is aſſigned as one of the reaſons of this inſtitution [h]; to which we may add another, namely, the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every ſeventh year. However, the generality of the *Jews*, and a great number of *Chriſtians*, both antient and modern, have looked upon the the main deſign of theſe inſtitutions to be typical of the millenium, or thouſand years reſt; for as the petateuch conſecrates the ſeventh day, the ſeventh year, and the ſeven times ſeventh year to reſt, they conclude, that the world will laſt ſix thouſand years in the ſtate we ſee it in; or as *R. Elias* in the *Talmud* expreſſes it, two thouſand years without the law, two thouſand under the law, and two thouſand under the Meſſiah [i]; after which comes the grand ſabbath of one thouſand years; but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to obſerve, from a modeſt hint of the learned Mr. *Mede* [k], that as long as we perſiſt in denying the ſecond appearance of *Chriſt* upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his firſt was obſcure, we ſhall hardly be able to convince *Jews* that he is the true promiſed Meſſiah; becauſe we can give no tolerable reaſon, why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and ſufferings ſhould be underſtood in a literal, and thoſe of his exaltation and glorious reign in a ſpiritual

[f] Deut. xv. 13, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. ver. 7, & ſeq. [h] Ibid. ver. 15. [i] Tract. Sanhedr. § Helec. Vide Hospin. Goodw. Mey. Munst. & al. [k] Clav. Apocalypt. ad fin.

(M) It may be perhaps aſked, what they lived upon during that year, if they muſt relinquiſh the product of all their lands to the poor? But it muſt be remembered, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was ſufficient for themſelves and their families (46). However, as ſome of them made a ſcruple to touch even any of theſe, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they made what proviſion they could againſt that time of ſuch things as could be eaſily preſerved, ſuch as corn, wine, oyl, olives, raſins, figs, dates, pulſe, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of סְפִיחַ, or *things of a ſpontaneous growth*, they might gather them in their own or any other ground. Tho' even this, ſome of their rigid ſcribes pronounce unlawful, not ſo much becauſe the law expreſly forbids it, as for fear of tranſgreſſing by too great a liberty (47). But the misfortune is, that before the *Babyloniſh* captivity they were ſo far from being ſuch ſcrupulous obſervers of theſe laws, that their prophets were continually upbraiding them with the univerſal breach of them, and in particular, for defrauding and oppreſſing the poor in this point; but after they had been chaſtiſed for their incorrigible diſobedience, they ran into the contrary extreme, and this produced that vaſt number of gloſſes and ordinances, which we find in their *Talmud* and rabbinical writings, and which grew up to ſuch a height of ſuperſtition, that it almoſt obliterated the main end and deſign of the law. Tho' it muſt alſo be owned, that they were not alike ſtrict, and that ſome of their head doctors and lawyers took as much pains to find out pretences for eluding the law, as others did to have it ſcrupulouſly obſerved. We ſhall give but one inſtance, which relates to the expreſs command of remitting all debts on this and the jubilee year, where, beſides their excepting ſeveral articles, ſuch as what we may properly call a tavern ſcore, or what a man owes to a victualler; debts for which either pledge or bond has been given, and the like, the famous *Hillel*, a man in the higheſt repute amongſt them, next to the inſpired writers, obſerving that the rich forbore to lend to the poor, by reaſon of the approaching year of releaſe, made an ordinance, that upon a man's putting a caveat in the judges court to this effect: *This I deliver to you the judges of this place*, ſuch a one and ſuch a one, *to the end, that whatever money I lend, I may challenge it whenever I pleaſe*, he ſhould be free from this law or remiſſion (48). This plainly ſhows, that the command was deſigned to extend to all debts, elſe there would have been no occaſion for their refuſing their aſſiſtance to the poor upon that account, much leſs for God's forbidding it ſo expreſly as he did (49).

(46) Levit. xxv. 6. (47) *Vide* Ben Maim. *ubi ſup. Trad.* שביעית, *cap.* vi. (48) *Ibid. c.* x. & ſeq. *Vide* Hotting. *in* Goodw. *ubi ſup. note* 6. Munst. Jun. Mey. & *al.* (49) Deut. xv. 9.

ritual ſenſe. Whereas were the doctrine of the *Millenium*, which is far from being anti-evangelical, in any but a *Jewiſh* and carnal ſenſe, generally received, it would effectually anſwer one of their ſtrongeſt objections, without caſting the leaſt reflection on the *Chriſtian* religion, whilſt the *Jews* were left at their liberty to take it in as groſs, and we in as ſpiritual and refined a ſenſe, as we ſaw fit (N).

Laws relating to the Jubilee.

Jubilee year. THIS ſolemnity is the laſt, and moſt conſiderable, that God enjoyned to the *Iſraelites*. It was to be celebrated every fiftieth year [l], and had this advantage over that of the ſeventh, that it releaſed all ſlaves that had refuſed their liberty; annihilated all debts, and reſtored to every man all his lands, houſes, wife, children, and poſſeſſions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* ſervant or ſlave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how, and upon what account, ſoever he had been deprived of them [m], during thoſe fifty years: for this reaſon it is, that we think after many commentators, that it was called *Jubilee*, or *Yobel*, becauſe it reſtored every thing to its priſtine ſtate (O). However it muſt be obſerved, that this privilege extended no further than to the original *Iſraelites*, or to thoſe who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumciſion; theſe indeed might claim the benefit of it, tho' they had been ſold for ſlaves for any crimes, even by the ſentence of the grand ſanhedrim [n]; but as for the *Gentiles*, they were wholly excluded from it [o].

SOME think, that the *Iſraelites* were wont to reckon by *Jubilees*, as the *Greeks* did by *Olympiads*, the *Romans* by *Luſtra*, and the *Chriſtians* by *Indictions* [p]; and probably enough they did ſo, becauſe they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houſes, and the like, which generally ſold for more or leſs, according to their nearneſs to, or diſtance from it [q]. The caſe was ſomewhat different with reſpect to the ſale of houſes that were within walled towns, tho' not of thoſe that were in the country, for thoſe might be redeemed at any time within the ſpace of twelve months, by paying the whole ſum of the purchaſe, but if they were not redeemed within that time, they were

[l] Levit. xxv. 8, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 28, 41, & alib. [n] Ibid. ver. 40. [o] Ibid. ver. 46. Vide MAIMON. Tract. עבדים, c. 9. [p] HOSPIN. Orig. Feſt. c. 9. GOODW. HOTTING. [q] Levit. xxv. 27, & ſeq.

(N) We do not pretend to take upon us to ſhew how far this doctrine can be proved from the ſcriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſt.* eſpecially from the prophecies of *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and of the *Revelations*. The reader may ſee that ſubject copiouſly treated by Mr. *Mede* above-mentioned, among many others. But with reſpect to the *Jews* expectation of a glorious Meſſiah, it is ſo ſtrongly rivetted in them, that they have even gone ſo far as to acknowledge two Meſſiah's; namely, one ſuffering and obſcure, deſpiſed and perſecuted, whom they believed to have appeared at the time foretold by the prophets; and the other a glorious one, of the ſeed of *David*, whoſe kingdom is to reach unto the end of the world, and is ſtill expected by them; tho' they own themſelves altogether in the dark concerning the time of his coming. But this notion of a twofold Meſſiah is plainly oppoſite to that prophecy of *Iſaiah*, which appropriates both thoſe characters to one and the ſame perſon (50). However, as to this firſt character, it is plain, the antient *Jews* were not fond of publiſhing it, whatever notion they might have of it. This is plain from the *Septuagint*'s paraphraſe of that verſe of the pſalmiſt (51), in which the Meſſiah is repreſented as voluntarily taking upon him the form of a ſervant, by an expreſſion alluding to the law of boring thoſe ſervants ears that refuſed to be releaſed, ſpoken of under this article. The words in the original are אזנים כרית לי, *Oznaim carita li, mine ears haſt thou bored*; theſe interpreters fearing, in all probability, leſt ſuch a ſervile mark ſhould be thought too derogatory to his character, have rendered it σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, *a body haſt thou prepared me*, or *adapted for me*, which in the main comes near to the ſame *purpoſe*, and only ſoftens very much in the expreſſion, the firſt implying by the boring of the ears, that *Chriſt* freely ſubmitted himſelf to become God's perpetual ſervant, and the other that God had given him a body fit for the ſervice he had voluntarily undertaken at his coming into the world. This is therefore the reaſon of the difference between the words in the original, and in the quotation from it by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (52), and is a further confirmation of the writers of the *New Teſtament* making uſe of the *Septuagint* verſion; and this will, we hope, apologize for this digreſſion, if it may be deem'd ſuch.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, ſome thinking that it

(50) Eſai. liii 1. *tot. & alib. Vid.* R. MUNST. *Pug. Fid.* DUPLESS. *Adverſ. au. Juifs*, GROT. *de Verit.* BARTOLOC. *Bibliot. Rabbinic.* MUNST. CALM. *& al. mult.* (51) Pſ. xl. 6. *comp. with ver.* 8, *& ſeq.* (52) Hebr. x. 5.

a were not to return to their original owner at the year of *Jubilee* [r] (P). As for the poſſeſſions of the prieſts and *Levites*, they had certain privileges, and immunities, which ſhall be ſpoken of in a more proper place [s].

DURING the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expreſly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harveſt and vintage, and of all the product of that year, and all other things of that nature went on after the ſame manner as they did in the ſabbatic year. The beginning of it was by God's own appointment fixed to the ſeventh month *Tiſri* [t], which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year after they entred into the land of *Canaan* they celebrated the firſt *Jubilee*, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth
b or fiftieth year is not eaſy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* begin to reckon the firſt of the fifty years, from the fourteenth after *Joſhua*'s paſſing the *Jordan*. Their computation ran thus, according to the learned *Maimon* [u]:
" From their entrance into *Canaan* to their being carried out of it
" are ſeventeen *Jubilees*, and the year in which they went into captivity and
" the temple was deſtroyed was the ſeventh or ſabbatic year, and the thirty
" ſixth of the 18th *Jubilee*, which they prove thus: the firſt temple ſtood
" 110 years, after which there was an end of that epocha; the land then did
" lie waſte ſeventy years, and then the ſecond temple was built, which ſtood
" likewiſe 120 years. In the ſeventh year after its reſtoration, *Ezra* went up
c " to *Jeruſalem*; and from this time began a ſecond epocha. On the thirteenth
" after the rebuilding of the temple, they celebrated the ſecond ſabbatic year,
" and ſeven weeks of years, or forty nine years, being elapſed, they conſe-
" crated the fiftieth; for tho' they did not celebrate the *Jubilee* after their re-
" turn from the captivity, nevertheleſs they continued to compute the years of
" it in order to celebrate the ſabbatic ones (Q)." Thus far *Maimon*, but here it muſt be obſerved, that he has followed the reckoning of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and all the *Jews*, who not only place the firſt ſabbatic year, and conſequently the *Jubilee*, ſeven years later than *Uſher* and *Cunæus*, namely, from the fourteenth year after their entrance into *Canaan*, but allow fifty compleat
d years to every *Jubilee*; whereas that primate, and with him a great number of learned *Chriſtians* [x], think, that it was celebrated every forty-ninth year, as we ſhall ſee preſently. However, as he has here rectified the *Jewiſh* chronology in ſome other reſpects, ſo he reckons but the ſame number of *Jubilees* that *Maimon* doth before the deſtruction of the temple; as the reader may ſee in the table at the end of his annals under the word *Jubilee*.

THE firſt of them he fixes on the 3318th year of the *Julian* period, which is the 2609th of the world, or 1396 years before *Chriſt*, and the ſeventeenth or laſt before the captivity in 4102 of the *Julian* period, 3393 of the world, and

6 I 2

[r] Ibid. ver. 29, 30. [s] Ibid. ver. 32. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ver. 8, 9. [u] Ubi ſup. c. x. ex Verſ. BECKII. [x] HUGO CARDINAL. GERARD, MERCAT. *in Chronol.* JOS. SCALIGER, PETAV. CALVIS. LANSBERG, CAPELL. CUNÆUS, SPANHEIM, JUN. LE CLERC. & al. mult.

it is ſo called from the *Hebrew* יובל, *Yobel*, which ſignifies *a trumpet made of rams horns*, from the *Arabic*, *Johelah*, a *ram*; becauſe the *Jubilee* was proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (53). Others, that it is a fictitious word in imitation of the ſound of that inſtrument (54); others again think, that it comes from *Jubal*, the firſt inventor of muſical inſtruments (55): But we prefer that which derives it from the obſolete root יבל, *Yabal*, in hiphil, הוביל, *hobil*, which ſignifies to *to recall*, *reſtore*, *bring back*, &c. which is what the *Jubilee* did. The reader may ſee that word occur in many places of ſcripture, and particularly in the *Pſalms*, where among others he will find this expreſſion: יובילו שי למורה, *Yobilù ſai lammorah*, *bring preſents to him that is to be feared.* (56).

(P) The *Jewiſh* lawyers add another exception, from what authority we cannot find, that theſe who ſold their houſes, lands, *&c.* in order to trafick and make a gain of the purchaſe-money, or indeed upon any other account than to ſupply the neceſſities of life, were excluded the benefit of the *Jubilee* (57).

(Q) There is ſome difficulty in apprehending what that author means by keeping up the computation of the *Jubilee*, in order to obſerve the ſabbatic years, for the latter uſed to regulate the former, while it continued, but after it ceaſed, the ſabbatic years could eaſily be kept in their courſe without it; and ſo they did accordingly; for *Joſephus* tells us, that *Alexander the Great* remitted to the *Jews* the ſeventh year's tribute, upon that very account (58).

(53) *Rabbin. ſer. Omn. Vide* KIMCH. *in Rad. ſub voc.* יבל, GOODW. MEY. MUNST. *&c.* (54) BOCHART. *Hieroſ.* BECKIUS *Annot. in* MAIMON. *Shemitah veyobel*, *note* 5. (55) GOODWIN, HOTTING. *&c.* (56) Pſ. lxxvi. *ver. penult. vide &* Job x. 19. xxi. 30, 32. Jerem. xxxi. 9. *& alib.* (57) MAIMON. *Shemit. veyobel. c.* xiii. (58) *Joſ. Ant. lib.* xi. *c. ult.*

612 before *Christ*. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the a
thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added in order to
make a compleat calculation of them to the thirtieth year of *Christ*, or to the
beginning of the gospel. For it is plain, as *Maimon* observes in the place above
quoted, that the *Jews* observed no *Jubilee* after their return from the *Babylonish*
captivity, either with respect to the cessation of agriculture, the restitution of lands,
manumission of slaves, or any of those ends for which it had been instituted. Neither
indeed was it practicable; for the seventy years captivity having quite obliterated
the memory and pretension to their forefathers land, every one, at their return,
settled himself as well as he could, in the confusion that then reigned, after which
their affairs did take a quite new face in *Judæa*; whilst a very considerable number b
of their brethren chose to continue in the place of their captivity.

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated on the forty-ninth
or on the fiftieth year? We have already given a list of the principal authors
who are for the former; those who declare for the latter, (without reckoning
Philo, *Josephus*, the *Targums*, and all the *Jews* in general, *Karaites* as well as
Talmudists) are still more considerable.———Among these we may reckon
some of the fathers [y], and a great number of moderns [z]. The truth is, that
either hypothesis may be defended from the different expressions which *Moses*
makes use of in the institution of it; and, on the other hand, there are certain
difficulties in each of them which cannot be easily solved. We shall content
ourselves with a bare hinting of them. In one place he expresly commands
them to number seven sabbaths of years, or forty and nine years, and on this
last to proclaim the *Jubilee* by the sound of the trumpet [a]; and in the very
two following verses he says, that the fiftieth year shall be that of the *Jubilee*.
The grand objection against the first of these is, that if *Moses* had meant that
the forty-ninth should be the *Jubilee* year, there would have been no necessity
for his forbidding all kind of agriculture and the like on that year, since that
was forbid of course, by its being likewise the sabbatic year, for seven times
seven make forty nine. On the other hand it is objected, that if the fiftieth
year was to be the *Jubilee*, it will follow that the land must have had two
sabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreasonable supposition,
since without a miracle it must, in all likelihood, have caused a dearth in the
land. This *Cuneus* insists very much upon in favour of the forty-ninth year,
tho' he passes by the great difficulty above mentioned as of no weight; but
we think this objection of the two concurring sabbaths may be more easily an-
swered. For in the first place, those who are for the 50th year do rightly enough
observe, that there is no necessity for supposing, that the land rested two years,
seeing the lawgiver's intention seems fully answered by the repose of one, and
that upon the account of its being sabbatical; and that therefore, when *Moses*
says that the 50th shall be a year of rest, he uses only that round number to express
the uneven one of 49. There is indeed hardly any other way of reconciling the
difference of *Moses*'s expressions; and one may add, that as the solemnity began
on the first month of the civil, which was the seventh of the sacred year, it
might be called indifferently the 49th or 50th year, without any contradiction or
difficulty. What convinces us further that this is more than a bare conjecture is,
that *Moses* makes use of the same calculation for the feast of pentecost. The
analogy which seven weeks of days bears to seven weeks of years is obvious to every
eye; now as it is plain, that the pentecost did not begin on the 49th, but on the
50th day; so we see no reason why the same may not be allowed with respect to
the *Jubilee*.

HOWEVER, as to those who will not easily forego the notion of the land
resting two years in this case, we beg leave to observe, secondly, that even
such a supposition may be well enough granted, without the pretended incon-
veniency of causing a dearth in the land. For to say nothing of the extraor-
dinary blessing which was promised to them upon such occasions, as long as
they did religiously observe these ordinances, it is certain, that the natural
fertility of the land, and the provision which every one might lay up during
the

[y] EUSEB. S. JEROM. AUGUST. GREG. Mag. ISIDOR, & al. [z] TOSTAT. BONFRER. FAGIUS, JUNIUS, DRUSIUS, VILLET. HOTTINGER, SCHINDLER, PREIF. HEIDEKKER, LEWSDEN, CALMET, & al. [a] Levit xxv. 8, 9.

a the foregoing years, might eaſily prevent any ſuch danger. We meet with a more ſignal inſtance of it in the time of *Hezekiah*, when the prophet *Iſaiah* ſent him word, that he ſhould be delivered from the threatning power of the king of *Aſſyria*, and as a token of it, commands the people to live on that year upon ſuch things as grew of themſelves, and on the next upon ſuch as ſprung from the ſame, and on the third year to ſow and plant [b]. Here indeed the *Jews* pretend that the middle year was a ſabbatic one, but whether it were ſo or otherwiſe, it is plain that there were to be at leaſt three years without any harveſt; for on the firſt year it is ſaid they ſhould eat, not the fruit of the foregoing harveſt; but that which grew of itſelf, and that which was ſown on b the third could not be gathered 'till the fourth; and yet we do not find that there was any dearth upon that account. Upon the whole therefore we are more inclined to the latter opinion of the *Jubilee* being kept every fiftieth year.

THIS year was to be celebrated with the greateſt tokens of joy, becauſe it was deſigned to put them in mind of their *Egyptian* ſervitude, and to prevent their impoſing the like on their brethren. But whatever joy the maſters and land-holders might outwardly expreſs, we need not doubt, but that of the ſlaves and poor was ſincere, at the ſight of their approaching reſtoration. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwiſe c called the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a ſolemn faſt; but during the nine preceding days the ſlaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their maſters, and ſpent that time in eating, drinking, and other diverſions, and wore garlands about their heads, not unlike the *Roman ſaturnalia*; and as ſoon as the tenth day was come, the ſanhedrin cauſed the trumpet to ſound all over the land, upon which they were reſtored to their liberty at that very inſtant, and the reſt of their poſſeſſions [c].

IT is plain, the deſign of this ordinance was to prevent the two great oppreſſion of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual ſlavery. By this means alſo their law-giver prevented the rich accumulating lands upon lands, d and preſerved, as much as poſſible, the freedom and order of *Iſraelitiſh* families, and a kind of equality of their poſſeſſions, than which nothing could more effectually inſpire them with a particular fondneſs for their country and patrimony, whilſt they knew, that this laſt could never be alienated from their poſterity, above the ſpace of half a century at the moſt. And that it wrought ſuch an effect upon them is plain, among many others, from the inſtance of *Naboth*, who choſe to incur the king of *Iſrael*'s diſpleaſure, rather than to part with a ſmall portion of his inheritance to him; for which tenaciouſneſs he fell a ſacrifice to *Jezebel*'s reſentment, and loſt both that and his life †.

Expiation-day, or day of Attonement.

e THIS is the laſt ſolemn day that was of divine inſtitution. It differed from all the reſt, in that they were days of joy and thankſgiving, but this a day of faſting, humiliation, and confeſſion of ſins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment [d], if we except that occaſional one which God enjoined the *Iſraelites*, after their ſetting up of the golden calf [e] (R), but which we do not find to have been made annual by *Moſes*, or obſerved by the people till after the captivity, when they became ſo religious, that they appointed *Expiation-day.*

[b] 2 King. xix. 29. [c] Vide MAIM. Halak. Shemita, Veyobel. † 1 Kings xxi. paſſ. [d] Levit. xxiii. 26, & ſeq. [e] Exod. xxxiii. 5, & ſeq.

(R) And yet we do not find one word of faſting, on that ſolemn occaſion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to be implied in the words, *afflicting your ſouls*. However, it would be abſurd to deny, that faſting had been in uſe long before *Moſes*'s time, becauſe he has not taken notice of its being practiſed by any of the old patriarchs; or that it was not intended as part of ſolemn humiliation, becauſe it is not expreſſed in ſo many words. The contrary ſeems rather to follow from his ſilence, not only becauſe the early cuſtom of faſting among the *Heathens* upon all particular occaſions, as in the caſe of the *Ninivites* (59), and many others, ſhows it to have been diſcovered by the light of reaſon; but becauſe the very courſe of nature ſeems to give it a ſanction, for when men are viſited with any ſenſible affliction, or threatned with any immediate danger, it never fails of palling the appetite, and inclining them to faſt, And

(49) Jonah iii. 5, 6.

appointed as many fasts for every miscarriage and misfortune that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar [f]; but this is not the proper place to speak of them. Those who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, do limit the design of it too much, seeing it appears rather instituted to expiate for the sins of the whole nation, both publick and private, but more particularly for those of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly inferred from the name which *Moses* gives to it (S), as well as from the confession of sins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he enjoined to be used on that day, of which we are now going to speak. We shall say nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the gospel, it being out of our province.

IT was to begin as other solemn days, on the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, and to last till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abstain from all labour and pleasure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewise to hold a solemn convocation, confess their sins, and to offer a peculiar sacrifice for them by fire [g].

THE high-priest's office on this day was still more solemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which he was permitted to enter into the most holy place, under pain of sudden death from the Lord [h]; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himself for that grand ceremony in that extraordinary manner which was prescribed by God himself as follows: he was first of all to wash himself, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The *Talmud* adds, that he was to abstain during seven whole days from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cause an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty [i]; secondly, his mitre, breast-plate, and other priestly ornaments, were to be set aside that day, and he only to appear cloathed in linen; this garb did consist only in a linen mitre, or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place to offer as soon as he came to the holy place a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt offering for himself, and his whole house, confessing his and their sins over them. After this he received from some of the heads of the congregation a couple of kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats set before the tabernacle, and the high-priests cast lots for them, which of the two should be sacrificed on that day, and which should be sent away; and this latter was called *Hazazel* (T), or *scape-goat*. He then entered into the holy of holies, with

[f] Vide Mishn. Megillath, Tahanith, per tot. LAMY, CALMET, & al.
[g] Levit. xxiii. 27, & seq.
[h] Ibid. xiv. 2.
[i] Vide præc. affirm. 209.

And what evinces that this practice, was well known among the *Israelites*, is the many instances which we meet with from *Moses*'s time. Thus after their unexpected defeat before *Hai*, *Joshua* and all the elders of *Israel* continued prostrate before the ark from morning till night without eating or drinking (60); the same was practised by the eleven tribes upon another occasion (61); by all the people at *Mizpeh*, in token of their repentance for having served *Baalim* and other strange gods (62); and more particularly by *David*, in hopes of saving the life of the child he had got by *Bathsheba* (63). And, by these and many more instances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abstained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refresh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the *Mishna* forbids these six things on these days, eating, drinking, bathing or washing, annointing, putting on of shoes or sandals, and matrimonial intercourse (64), for every one of which they quote one or more precedents out of the sacred books.

(S) The original calls it יום הכפורים, *Yom hakkipurim*, *the day of expiations* or *attonements*; because on that day there was an attonement made for the sins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reason the *Talmud* calls it by way of excellence יומא, *Yoma*, *the day*; and perhaps likewise from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that *Adam* began to repent of his transgression, and God was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and consequently our first parents, according to them, were created on the first day of this month, as we have seen before, their transgression and punishment followed immediately after, and so consequently their repentance; for which reason some of them think that this day was appointed in memory of the fall †.

(T) We have here followed our version, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word

(60) Josh. vii. 6. (61) *Ibid.* xx. 26. (62) 1 Sam. vii. 6. (63) 2 Sam. xii. 16. (64) *Tr. Yoma.* (65) *Rab.* ELEAZER, *in Talmude. Vide* ABARB. *Comm. in* Levit. xxiii. † *Vid. sup.* p. 59. b.

with his cenſer in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incenſe beaten ſmall in the other, that the ſmoak of it might fill the place, ſo as to cover the mercy-ſeat from ſight: and as ſoon as he had ſet the cenſer upon the altar, he came out and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himſelf, and went and ſprinkled it towards the mercy-ſeat eaſtward ſeven times. This done he killed the goat for the people's ſin-offering, and went and ſprinkled the mercy-ſeat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock, and by theſe aſperſions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution, it had contracted by ſtanding in the midſt of that ſinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till this ſolemn attonement had been made for the ſins of the prieſts and people, neither prieſts nor any perſon were permitted to come either within the tabernacle or even into the courts of it.

As ſoon as theſe ablutions were ended, and the prieſts and people purified, the goat, whoſe lot it had been to eſcape (V), was brought to the high-prieſt, who laid his hands upon its head, and confeſſed his own ſins, and thoſe of the whole nation, in words to this effect: O LORD, *thy people, the houſe of* Iſrael, *have ſinned, have rebelled againſt thee*; ——— *and now, O Lord, I beſeech thee, forgive*

word עזאזל *Ghazazel*, from עז, *a goat*, and אזל, *to go*, or *to eſcape*; in which they have followed the *Septuagint*, who have rendered it ἀποπομπαῖος, and the *Latin* after them *emiſſarius* (67): and it is certain that the verb אזל, *abiit*, is often uſed in that ſenſe in the *Old Teſtament* (68). However from *Moſes*'s words (69), it ſhould rather ſeem, that *Azazel* is the name of the place whither the goat was led; for he ſays, that the man who lets the goat go לעזאזל, *lehazazel* ——— which laſt cannot properly be rendered any other way than to *Hazazel*; and in this ſenſe moſt of the *Jews*, and ſome *Chriſtians*, have taken it (70); and ſome of the former do tell us, that it is a mountain diſtant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thouſand paces from *Jeruſalem* (71).

And here we cannot but take notice of a ſtrange notion which *Spencer* has taken into his head, that this *Hazazel* was neither the name of the place, nor of the ſcape-goat, but of a devil, unto which the goat was ſent by the meſſenger (72). He mentions one *Mark*, an *arch-heretick*, who pretended to have a demon of that name, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed wonders (73), and from this and ſome expreſſions, which he found in ſome cabbaliſtical writings, and in thoſe of *Julian* the apoſtate, he pretends, that this ſcape-goat was ſent with its load of ſins to the devil, in which notion he is followed by ſome others *†*, who believe, that both the ſacrificed goat and the ſcape one were typical of *Chriſt*, and think the firſt to be ſignificative of his death, and the other of his being expoſed to, and overcoming the power of ſatan. But as for us, we ſhould rather prefer Mr. *Le Clerc*'s opinion, that *Hazazel* was a ſteep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown: and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we obſerved above, and to the *Jewiſh* notion of its being a rocky mountain, but the ſame author has further proved it from the words of *Moſes*, that it ſhould bear all their iniquities אל ארץ גזרה, *el eretz Gezarah* (74), which doth properly ſignify, not only *an uninhabited land*, or *a land of ſeparation*, as our verſion renders it, but *a land that is cut off or broken off from another*, ſuch as precipices are. It might alſo be probably enough called *Hazazel*, from its being inhabited only by goats, as *Hottinger* obſerved in his notes upon *Goodwin*. *Le Clerc* doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word *Azazel*, which we ſhall not dwell upon. Neither is it eaſy to gueſs either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The *Talmudiſts*, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-prieſthood of *Simon*, ſir-named *the juſt*, which was ſignalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat uſed to fall in pieces before it had reached half way to the place, but that after his days, it uſed to be caught and eaten by the *Saracens* (75).

(V) How theſe lots were caſt doth not appear from ſcripture. What the antient *Jews* tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-prieſt, into which he threw two wooden lots, upon one of which were written the words, FOR THE LORD, and on the other, FOR AZAZEL, and after he had ſhaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right, and the other in his left, and as the goats ſtood on each ſide of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They alſo uſed to draw a good omen of God's being pacified with them, if the right-hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the Lord, as they ſay it happened all the time of the high-prieſt mentioned in the laſt note. As for the reſt of their cuſtoms obſerved on that day, ſuch as their mutual aſking and granting forgiveneſs for paſt offences, making reſtitution, and the like, tho' they are probably as old, or very near, as the inſtitution of this feaſt, yet we rather chuſe to refer our readers for them to the two laſt quoted books; or if he pleaſes to *Leo de Modena* and *Buxtorf* (76).

One thing, however, is worth obſerving, that on the eve of this ſolemnity the *Jews* of old uſed to take a white cock, if it was to be had, if

(67) LXX. AQUIL. SIMMACH. THEODORET. BOCHART. *de Animal. Sacr.* MARSH. *Seculi* ix. PAGN. JUN. & *al.* (68) *Vide* KIMCH. *in rad.* BUXTORF. *Theſ. in voc.* (69) Levit. xvi. 26. (70) MUNST. AR. MONT. & *al.* (71) *Trag.* JONATH. *R. R.* SAAD. GAON. KIMCH. SALOM. ABENEZ. & *al.* (72) *Diſſert. in hirc. emiſſar.* (73) *Vide* EPIPHAN. *Hæres* 34. COCCEI, ALTING. MEYER, & *al.* (74) Levit. xvi. 22. *Vide* LE CLERC. *in loc.* (75) *Miſhn. Tract.* יומא *vide* & MAIM. *in* יום הכפורים (76) *Cerem. Jud. part.* iii. c. 6. *Synagog. Jud.* c. 20. *Vide* & BUXTORF. *Synagog. Jud.* c. 20. *†* TURRETIN.

give their ſins, rebellions, and backſlidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy ſervant Moſes : *in that day he ſhall make attonemen for you, he ſhall cleanſe you, and you ſhall be clean from all your ſins before the Lord* (W) †. The confeſſion being ended, he delivered the ſcape-goat to a man appointed for the purpoſe, who conducted it into a deſart place, and there left it to ſhift for itſelf according to ſome, or threw it down a ſteep precipice according to others, as we have ſeen in the laſt note. After this ceremony the high-prieſt waſhed himſelf all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as ſeems moſt likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breaſt-plate, and his other prieſtly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himſelf and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the ſcape-goat, he was deemed unclean, 'till he had bathed himſelf and waſhed his cloaths, as were alſo thoſe who carried away the fleſh, blood, and entrails of the bullock, and goat of the ſin-offering, to be burnt without the camp [k].

IT was likewiſe on this day, that the high-prieſt did give the people the ſolemn bleſſing preſcribed by *Moſes* [l], in which he pronounced the unutterable name of God, of which we have ſpoken in another place ‡ ; for according to the *Jews* [m], the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occaſion by a particular law, ever ſince the ſtoning of a notorious blaſphemer [n]; but whether true or not the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the ſacred awfulneſs of the place, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have filled him with uncommon dread whilſt he ſtayed in it, which is the reaſon, why he uſually made what haſte he could decently out of it, leſt he ſhould be ſtruck dead for ſome accidental miſcarriage or inadvertency during his ſhort ſtay there ; and when he came out he went backwards, keeping his face ſtill towards the mercy-ſeat, and bending towards the ground. All theſe things no doubt took up a conſiderable time ; the reſidue of the day was ſpent in prayers and other works of mortification, and they were ſo afraid of ſhortning it, that they begun it in half an hour ſooner and ended it half an hour later than other feaſt-days ; after which the trumpet gave notice that the ſolemnity was expired, and then they dreſſed themſelves in white, or at leaſt put on clean linen, and after a bleſſing, fell down to break their faſt. They ſeldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their ſins were now expiated ; but above all, the high-prieſt expreſſed a more

† Levit. xvi. 30. [k] Ibid. xvi. paſſ. ibid. vi. 30. Vide FAG. in loc. HOTTING. & al. [l] Numb. vi. 24, & ſeq. ‡ Vide ſup. p. 485. note (T). [m] PHILO. in vit. Moſ. lib. iii. JOSEPH. Talmud. & al. [n] Levit xxiv. 10. & ſeq.

if not, of any other colour but red, and after a prayer they ſtruck their heads with that of the cock three times, ſaying, *bear thou my ſins, ſuffer thou the death I have deſerved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a bleſſed life, with all the people of* Iſrael. After which they killed the cock, confeſſing, that they deſerved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on the top of the houſe, in hopes that the crows would bear them and their ſins into the wilderneſs. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the *Dutch Jews* as ſinful, and that *Leo de Modena*, who owns that it was practiſed heretofore in the *Levant* and *Italy*, adds, that it was afterwards left off, becauſe it was found to be a meer piece of ſuperſtition, for which no tolerable reaſon could be aſſigned. But he ſeems to have forgot, that they gave one, which, however ridiculed by our learned *Goodwin*, is not without a ſingular meaning. It is this : the word גבר, *Geber*, in the ſcripture, ſignifying a man, and in the *Talmud* and *Chaldee* a cock, the divine juſtice, required, that as *Geber* in the firſt ſenſe had ſinned, *Geber* in the other ſenſe ſhould bear his ſin. Now what other foundation can this cuſtom have than the prophecies that the Meſſiah, as *Geber*, in his human nature ſhould expiate for the ſins of man ; unto whom therefore they ſubſtituted this typical *Geber*, or cock, till the antitypical one ſhould accompliſh that expiation by his death. And might not the chriſtians urging this againſt them be the motive of their aboliſhing it ? Might not moreover, the Περίψηματα of the *Gentiles*, thoſe human victims, which they choſe out of the dregs of the people, to ſacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their Καθαρματα, which they offered in times of plague, famine, and other publick calamities, and on whom they ſo liberally beſtowed all the curſes, which they thought due to themſelves, have their original from hence (78) ; this is what the apoſtle juſtly complains was practiſed againſt the firſt chriſtians (79), ſince there hardly happened any publick calamity in the empire, but they were immediately perſecuted with the utmoſt cruelty, as the cauſe of them ; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewiſe to make ſuch another confeſſion when he offered the bullock for himſelf and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy

(77) *Vide* SUID. *in voc.* περίψημα. (78) *Vide Vet. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph.* (79) 1 Cor. iv. 13. *Vide* BUDOE. *Annot. in Pandect. de pœnis.* GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. § 7. *& ſeq.*

a a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the ſolemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come out alive of the moſt holy place ° (X).

Laws concerning other expiations or attonements.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject of expiations, it will not be amiſs to give an account of ſome others, which were enjoined by *Moſes* upon their contracting of any legal impurities, ſuch as thoſe of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body, or carcaſe, or an unclean perſon, as a leper, and the like, and ſecondly by the breach of any one branch of b the law, whether knowingly or through ignorance. By theſe and ſuch like the perſons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleanſed, but by offering ſuch ſacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The perſon who had committed any treſpaſs, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or ſin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a prieſt, and if for a layman, a goat, ſheep, kid, or lamb, and if the perſon was too poor to afford one of theſe, then two pigeons or turtle doves, or even a ſmall quantity of flower was accepted of. One or more then of theſe, according to the nature of the treſpaſs, or the c circumſtance of the perſon, were brought to the prieſt, and the perſon to be purified brought his victim, and having confeſſed his ſin, laying his hands upon the head of it, killed and offered it up. The prieſt then took up ſome of the blood of it with his fingers, and applied it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, and poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and having prayed for the perſon, pronounced him pardoned and abſolved from his treſpaſs; the fleſh of ſuch victim thus offered, belonged to the prieſt alone; none other was to eat it [p]. This ceremony was performed ſomewhat more ſolemnly when the king, high-prieſt, or the whole nation had committed a treſpaſs, but in the main it came d much to the purpoſe.

As for legal pollutions, ſuch as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleanſing; namely, the aſhes of the red heifer reſerved for that purpoſe. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as it was preſcribed by *Moſes* [q], was after this manner. The high-prieſt was to take care that it was without ſpot or blemiſh, and that it had never been yoked. It was

° Vide Miſhna, Tract. Yoma. MAIMON. Tract. Yom hakephur. MEYER, c. xv. § 9. [p] Vide Levit. iv, v, vi, paſſ. [q] Numb. xix. per tot.

holy of holies, only inſtead of the houſe of *Iſrael*, he only mentioned that of *Aaron*. The reader may find it in the *Miſhna*, in the place above-quoted. It is plain, however, from the ceremonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To ſet the incenſe a burning; for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing elſe with him (80). 2. When he carried ſome of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himſelf (81). 3. When he carried ſome of that which he offered for the people (82). And 4. when he went to fetch out the cenſer and fire. The *Talmud* adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apoſtle ſays, that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the verſion of the *Septuagint*, which render the words אחת בשנה, *echad, baſhanah*, by ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, but it it certain it might have been more properly rendered *one day in the year*.

(X) The *Jews* add ſeveral other particularities relating to this day, which we dare not affirm to have been in uſe during the firſt temple, ſuch as theſe, that the ſcape-goat was eſcorted all the way by prieſts and laymen, to the place appointed; that between the temple and it, there was a cauſey made on purpoſe, with ten different ſtages on it; that as ſoon as the goat was thrown down the precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall, notice was immediately given to the people, who waited impatiently for the news in the temple, by proper ſignals ſet up at convenient diſtances, with many more of the like nature.

(Y) We believe, it is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve here, that, in the language of the *Old Teſtament*, all tranſgreſſions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by the tranſgreſſor; and the pardon, that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this alluſion, that the *Septuagint* have rendered the words כופר and כפר, *Kopher* and *Kaphar*, as likewiſe thoſe of טהר and חטה, *Tahar* and *Chatah*, when this laſt ſignifies a forgiveneſs, by καθαρισμος and καθαριζειν; and it is in the ſame ſenſe that the writers of the *New* affirm *Chriſt* to cleanſe and purify us from our ſins by his blood.

(80) Levit. xvi. 12, 13. (81) *Ibid. ver.* 14. (82) *Ver.* 15. (83) Heb. ix. 7.

was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a a
ſevenfold aſperſion of the blood with his fingers towards the ſanctuary; after which, a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its ſkin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyſſop, and ſcarlet, and burnt to aſhes before his face, himſelf helping to caſt her into the fire; and this was to be done in the preſence of all the people. The aſhes were then gathered and laid up for uſe, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. When ever afterwards any perſon had contracted a pollution, ſuch as made him unclean ſeven days, he was to be ſprinkled with water, in which ſome of theſe aſhes had been thrown, on the third and ſeventh day, on which laſt he was to be clean; but if he neb
gleeted being ſprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was ſo ſevere againſt thoſe who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the ſanctuary. The very veſſels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itſelf where the corps lay, were likewiſe defiled, till ſprinkled with this water of ſeparation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from *Moſes* to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm, that the heifer which was burnt by *Eleazar*, *Aaron*'s ſon, did laſt them all that time; others, that there c
was one burnt every year, and that ſome of the aſhes of it were ſent to every city and town in *Iſrael* [r] (Z). Whether or no this ſacrifice was to be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation, is a diſpute amongſt the learned, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, which we ſhall not enter into; ſure it is, that the author of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* looked upon it as a figure of *Chriſt*, who therefore ſuffered without the gates of the city even as the heifer was burned without the camp ***; and whoſe blood is of much greater efficacy

[r] Vide HIERON. Epiſt. 27. *** Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

(Z) It is juſtly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the aſhes of the red heifer, ſhould purify the unclean, and at the ſame time pollute not only thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſlaying, burning, and gathering of the aſhes of it, but even thoſe who ſprinkled the unclean perſon with it (84). The *Jews* have a very antient tradition, that *Solomon*, who was maſter of all other myſteries and knowledge, and could account for every precept in the law, even thoſe which forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, or wearing of mixtures of linen and wool, yet own'd himſelf ignorant of the meaning of this *red heifer* (85). However, our *Spencer* has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of relation either of conformity or oppoſition to the *Egyptian* rites, he ranks therefore the red heifer under this laſt claſs, becauſe that nation ſacrificed nothing but male animals, and that they had an averſion to all red-hair'd creatures, and even to the colour itſelf, whereas the *Moſaic* law makes no diſtinction of colours in any caſe but this (86). But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the *Jews* were as little fond of the red as the *Egyptians*, and that *Moſes* commanded the uſe of ſcarlet in ſacrifices for ſin, only to expreſs the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inſpired writers compared ſins of the deepeſt guilt to crimſon and ſcarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this, we think, doth ſufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to ſubjoin a remark to the ſame effect, which is, that in the 22d pſalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to *Chriſt*'s paſſion, there is one expreſſion, not hitherto obſerved, nor rightly rendered by any tranſlation that we know of. It is where he is called *a worm* and *no man* (88), for it is plain the word תּוֹלַעַת, *Tholahath*, is no where uſed in ſcripture, but to expreſs either the crimſon or ſcarlet colour itſelf (in which caſe it is commonly joined to the word שָׁנִי, *Shani*, and ſignifies *double died*); or at moſt *the inſect from which that die is made*, unleſs it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of *Iſaiah*. The moſt literally therefore that the pſalmiſt's words can be rendered would be; *as for me, I am a ſcarlet inſect or worm, and not a man*; but the figurative ſenſe will be plainly this; *I bear the ſcandal and reproach of the deepeſt guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a ſinner, and yet am free from ſin.* But this by the by. We ſhall only add, that the *Jews*, *Maimon* excepted, whom *Spencer* affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper myſtery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole ſcripture, and highly condemn the preſumption of thoſe who pretend to dive into that deep abyſs (89). However, what was a myſtery to the *Jews* is ſufficiently explained to the *Chriſtians* by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the place quoted above, and to which, we think *Spencer* has given but a jejune and trifling anſwer (90).

(84) Num. xix. 7, 8, 10, 21. (85) *Miſhn. Tract. de.* פרה אדמה MAIMON. *More Nevoch, p.* 3. *c.* 26. *vide & lib. Jalcut & al.* (86) *De Leg. Rit. lib. ii. c.* 15. (87) *Vide int. al.* Iſai. i. 18. (88) *Ver.* 6. (89) *Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. R.* ABR. SEBA. *in Zeror Hamor. fol.* 118. *& ſeq. R. R.* SALOM. ABENEZ. ABARBAN. *& al.* (90) *Ubi ſup. ſect.* 6. *obj.* 3.

efficacy towards the purging and ſanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the aſhes of an heifer, or any other legal ſacrifices [s].

Laws concerning ſome other ſacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.

AS we had occaſion to mention the ſacrifices that were enjoyned to be offered upon every ſolemn feſtival, under the head of each, and of thoſe which were offered by way of expiation for ſin; we ſhall now mention thoſe few others that remain unſpoken of. Theſe may be reduced under the ſeven following heads. 1. The daily ſacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleanſing. 5. Firſt-fruits. 6. Firſt-born, and 7. Tythes. Beſides theſe there were other occaſional ſacrifices, ſome of them directed by ſome prophets, as in the caſe of *Samuel* [t], and *Elijah* [u], and others obſerved by particular families, which were rather feaſts than ſacrifices, as appears by the pretence which *David* made for abſenting from *Saul*'s table [w], and the like, of which we ſhall take no further notice, they being entirely arbitrary; as for thoſe that were to be offered at the conſecration of the high-prieſt, and of other inferior prieſts, they will be better ſeen in another place.

1. The daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual ſacrifice, conſiſted firſt and before all things in burning a certain quantity of incenſe upon the golden altar, after which they were to offer two lambs of the firſt year, and without blemiſh, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation; theſe were burned every morning and every evening, and with a ſlower fire than ordinary, that it might laſt the longer. They offered likewiſe a certain quantity of wine and of flower, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering. This was ordained by God upon mount *Sinai* [x], and is therefore called continual, becauſe it was not to be interrupted by any other ſacrifices or ſolemnity, as we have ſeen under the article of each feſtival.

2. Peace-offerings; this ſacrifice was either euchariſtical, in acknowledgment of ſome mercies received from God, or ſupplicatory, in order to obtain ſome bleſſings from him, or out of meer devotion in honour to God, or laſtly upon account of ſome vow. Theſe were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the *Iſraelites* to them, except where it is ſaid, that *they ſhould not appear empty before the Lord, but be liberal in theſe kind of ſacrifices according as God had bleſſed them.* It was likewiſe left to them to offer what beaſts they would, without regard to ſex or age, ſo they were of the clean ſort, and free from any pollution or defect. The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it. The prieſt then took ſome of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon, and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground, at the foot of it. All the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it were a ſheep or lamb, the rump were burnt upon the altar, after the prieſts had laid them upon the hands of the perſon, and directed him to wave them to the four points. The breaſt and ſhoulder of the victim was the perquiſite of the prieſt in waiting, and the reſt belonged to the owner, who might then dreſs and eat it, how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates [y].

3. The meat and drink-offerings; theſe we have already ſpoken of occaſionally, becauſe they uſed to accompany the burnt-offerings of every feſtival, the daily and all other ſacrifices made with fire. They conſiſted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flower, to every beaſt that was ſacrificed. Thus, for inſtance, with a bullock they offered half an hin, that is about a wine gallon, of wine and oil, and three tenth deals, or wine pints of flower; to a ram, was allowed the third part, and to a lamb the fourth part of an hin, and ſo proportionably of the flower [z]. Beſides theſe there were ſome others of the ſame nature, which were to be offered by the poor, who could not reach a higher offering, of which we have ſaid enough already.

4. Offerings for cleanſing. We have ſpoken of ſome of them above, under the head of expiation. There remains two more, namely, that of two pigeons, which

[s] Ibid. ix. 13. [t] 1 Sam. ix. 12. xii. 9. xvi. 2, & ſeq. [u] 1 King. xviii. 30, & ſeq. [w] 1 Sam. xx. 29. [x] Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6; & ſeq. [y] Levit. iii. paſſ. [z] Numb. xxviii. paſſ.

which a woman was to offer for her purification after child-bed, in caſe ſhe could not afford a lamb; or even a ſmall quantity of flower and oil, if the pigeons were alſo above her circumſtances [a]; and that of two ſparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleanſing of himſelf [b] and his houſe [c]. In both theſe caſes one of the birds was inſtead of a lamb for a burnt-offering, and the other for a ſin-offering. The firſt bird was to be killed in a clean earthen veſſel over a running water; after which the prieſt took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, ſcarlet, and hyſſop, and dipped them in the blood, and ſprinkled the perſon or houſe ſeven times with it, and then pronounced them clean, and the living bird was let looſe. The perſon was likewiſe to add three tenths of flower mingled with oil, and a *log* of oil. Theſe quantities of flower and oil were made into cakes, and offered up to God. Some were of barley, others of wheat flower, ſome had leaven, and conſequently came not near the altar [d]; others had none. All of them were to have ſome ſalt. Some were voluntary, others not, ſome dreſſed one way, and ſome another, as the reader may ſee more fully at the end of the next note (A).

THE next under this head is the ſhew-bread, called in the original *the bread of faces* (B), becauſe it was always to ſtand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the pureſt wheat, into twelve loaves or cakes, anſwering to the twelve tribes. The prieſts were to take care to bring freſh ones warm every ſabbath-day in the morning, at which time they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but prieſts. Each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine pints, of flower, and to be ſet up in two rows, ſix to each row, one loaf upon another. The *Jews* tell us, that there were ſome double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incenſe, with which the loaves were to be perfumed, but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators ſay, that there was a quantity of wine offered with them,

[a] Levit. xii. per tot. [b] Ibid. xiv. 4, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. ver. 49, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. ii. 11.

(A) It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that all the offerings which had life were called קורבן, *Corban*, and thoſe which had not מנחה, *Minchah*; the firſt is derived from קרב, *Karab to approach*, becauſe the victims were brought to the door of the tabernacle, the other ſignifies *a preſent*; but both of theſe conſiſted of ſuch things as were commonly eaten, if we except the incenſe and the wood, which were likewiſe called offerings. The *Corban* was always looked upon as the moſt ſacred, and was therefore called קדשי קדשים, or *moſt holy*, the others קדשים קלים, or *holy things of a lighter*, or *inferior nature*. Theſe *Minchahs* were of five ſorts, 1. Of bare flower. 2. Made into cakes, and baked in an oven. 3. Fryed in a pan. 4. Upon a gridiron. And 5. The firſt-fruits, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head. Again, theſe cakes were either kneaded with, or fryed in, or only rubbed over with oil, which was always that of olives, and as none of theſe three were to have any leaven, ſo neither were they to have any honey (91). If this laſt was at all offered, it was by itſelf, and under the notion of firſt fruits.

There is one of *Moſes*'s laws which expreſly forbids the prieſts to offer any thing to God, that is in any way marred or ſpoiled, and particularly any bread from the hands of a ſtranger, as being polluted and corrupt (92); by which ſome underſtand any kind of ſacrifices, and others only that of theſe cakes, or meat-offerings, but in either caſe there is no doubt, but if a ſtranger was ſo well diſpoſed as to offer any ſacrifice to the God of *Iſrael*, the prieſts could furniſh him with either victims or bread ready baked, provided he payed the price of them †. But be that as it will, it ſeems from two or three texts, that they had a conſtant reſerve of loaves or cakes, kept in baſkets, for thoſe who came to offer up theſe meat-offerings, or any other ſacrifices that required them (93). And here we might add likewiſe under this head the meat-offerings of the *Nazarites*, and the cake of jealouſy, but they will be better ſeen in their proper places, when we come to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

(B) The words are לחם פנים, *Lechem-phanim*, which name ſome, eſpecially of the *Jews*, affirm to be given, becauſe the loaves had four *phanim* or *faces*, that is, were four-ſquare (94); but it is more likely, that they were ſo called from their ſtanding continually, לפני אלהים *Liphne-elohim*, *before the Lord*. Some have thought it improper to place this ſhew-bread among the meat-offerings, becauſe they were not offered upon the altar as theſe were. For our part we think with ſome others, that the ſacred table on which they were ſet, (which may not improperly be deemed an altar) their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and as ſuch allowed only to be eaten by the prieſts, may eaſily excuſe our ranking them under this claſs, rather than any other, eſpecially they being accompanied with incenſe, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The *Jews* add, that they were covered with leaf gold, but do nowhere tell us where they are commanded to do ſo.

(91) Levit. ii. 11, 12. (92) Levit. xxii. 24, 25. † *Vide* Num. xv. 14, & *ſeq.* (93) *Conf'ar.* Exod. xxix. 32. & Num. vi. 15, & *alib.* (94) *Vide* MAIM. *Tract.* חמידין, ABR. HAROPH. שלטי גבורים, & *al.*

them, but the text mentions nothing but incenſe and ſalt [e]. Theſe loaves were a called the hallowed bread, in oppoſition to the common ſort which every body might eat [f].

5. Firſt fruits. We have already ſpoken of thoſe that were offered at *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and at the feaſt of *Tabernacles*; and theſe were offered in the name of the whole nation; but beſides them, every private man was likewiſe obliged to bring the firſt-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgment that God was the giver of them. Neither the time, nor the quantity being preſcribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter b was determined in ſome ſort by their wiſe men, yet ſo as to leave room for generoſity to exert itſelf, more or leſs according to the diſpoſition of each perſon. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer at leaſt the ſixtieth part of the product; but ſome did offer the fiftieth, and ſome even the fortieth part [g]. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows.

As ſoon as the perſon who came to offer them had reached the court of the prieſts, the *Levites* began to ſing the 30th pſalm, after which the perſon made this confeſſion: *I do this day make a publick acknowledgment before the* LORD *your* GOD, *that I am entered into the good land which he ſware unto our fa-* c *thers that he would give us* (C). Whilſt he was ſpeaking theſe words, he took his basket off his ſhoulder, the prieſt lending him a hand, and whilſt theſe two held it up, he made an end of his confeſſion in theſe remarkable words preſcribed by *Moſes* [h], *A* Syrian *ready to periſh was my father, and he went down into* Egypt, *and ſojourned there with a few, and became there a nation great, mighty, and populous; and the* Egyptians *did evil intreat us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour, and oppreſſion. And the Lord brought us out of* Egypt *with a mighty hand and ſtretched out arm, and with great terribleneſs, with ſigns and with wonders; and brought* d *us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now behold I have brought the firſt-fruits of the land, which thou O Lord haſt given me.* After this the basket was ſet before the Lord by the ſide of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering which were always to accompany the firſt-fruits, and having paid his devotions to God, he went to make merry with his acquaintance with his ſhare of the peace and meat-offerings. And here he was likewiſe obliged to impart ſome portion of his good cheer to the fatherleſs, widows, and to the *Levites*, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who ſacrificed a bullock, might

[e] Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & ſeq. [f] Vide 2 Sam. xxi. 3, 4. [g] Vide Miſhn. Tract. Terumoth & Bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vide & MAIM. in loc. [h] Deut. xxvi. 4, & ſeq. Vide MUNST. JUN. & al. in Levit. xxii. & xxiii. & Deut. xxvi.

(C) The *Talmud* adds ſeveral other remarkable particulars concerning the bringing of the firſt fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant nor diſprove to have been uſed during the firſt temple. They are as follows. As ſoon as a man was got to the foot of the mount on which the temple ſtood, he was to take up his basket (in which the firſt-fruits, or rather a ſample of them, were laid, not confuſedly, but every ſort by itſelf) and put it on his ſhoulders, and carry it up to the prieſt's apartment. They tell us, that the kings themſelves were not diſpenſed from it. Theſe baſkets were more and leſs magnificent, that is, from thoſe made of gold wire to the common ozier ones, according to the circumſtances of the perſons. To prevent confuſion as much as poſſible, they uſed to join themſelves by troops of four and twenty to a troop, which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns tipped with gold or ſilver, which was to be offered with their firſt-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute or ſome ſuch inſtrument, and in that order they marched to *Jeruſalem* ſinging ſome pſalm or hymn proper for the occaſion. As ſoon as they came near the gates of *Jeruſalem*, the inhabitants uſed to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome. Theſe firſt fruits did not conſiſt of all the different products of the earth, but only of ſix kinds; namely, barley, wheat, grapes, figs, dates, and olives; to which ſome add apricocks, or peaches, and pomgranates. Theſe firſt-fruits are not indeed called in the text מנחת, *Menacheth*, or offerings, from *Mincha* mentioned in a former note, nevertheleſs we have ventured to rank them under that claſs, becauſe they were offered up at the altar (95). They add, that after each band had performed their duty in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(95) *Vide* Deut. xxvi. 10, & *alib.* (96) *Vide* BASNAG. *tom.* 3. *lib. iii. c.* 2.

might be the more ready to do, becauſe they were forbid to leave any fragments till the next day [i].

UNDER this head we may add the firſt cake of every lump of dough that exceeded the bulk of forty eggs, of which the woman was obliged to ſet aſide one part to be given to the next prieſts or *Levites* [k], in order to ſanctify the reſt. But as *Moſes* did not determine the quantity, it was left to the diſcretion either of the maſter or miſtreſs of the houſe, till the rabbies aſſigned the twenty-fourth part of that which was baked for ones own family, and the forty-eighth part of that which was deſigned for ſale [l] (D).

6. FIRST-BORN. The *Moſaic* law makes a threefold diſtinction of theſe; namely, the firſt-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). We have already ſpoken in a former ſection of the firſt of theſe, of the reaſon of their being conſecrated to God, and of their redemption by their parents †. And here we muſt obſerve, that the word firſt-born of the males muſt not be reſtrained to the eldeſt ſon; for he may be eldeſt, and yet not firſt-born. And therefore *Moſes* adds, that firſt opened the womb: ſo that it was poſſible among the *Jews*, where polygamy and polyguny was allowed, for a man to have ſeveral firſt-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, as ſoon as they were thirty days old, at which time they were preſented to the prieſt, and the mother offered the ſacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article, and the price being payed for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then [m] (F). How they redeemed them ſince the deſtruction of the ſecond temple is out of our purpoſe. The reader may ſee it in *Leo de Modena* and other *Hebrew* rabbies; only we may obſerve, that the children of the prieſts needed not to be redeemed at any time.

THE firſt-born of clean beaſts, ſuch as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were alſo conſecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle or temple, and there be killed, the blood was poured at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt upon it, and the reſt of the fleſh was the prieſt's perquiſite, with this precaution, however, that if the beaſt had any natural or legal defects, ſuch as blindneſs, lameneſs, the want of a limb and the like, it was not to be ſacrificed: the prieſt took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would to

[i] Levit. vii. 15, & alib. [k] Num. xv. 19, & ſeq. [l] Vide Miſhn. Tract. חלה, c. 1.
† Vide ſup. p. 502. c. d. [m] Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

(D) The *Jews*, we are told, were ſo ſcrupulous in this, that if they could come at neither prieſt nor *Levite*, they threw the cake into the oven and burnt it to aſhes, before they put the bread into it (97). This is one of the three things that are committed to the care of the women, who were to ſay a bleſſing at the ſame time that they ſeparated the paſte; and this extended, according to them, to the bread that was made of wheat, rie, barley, wild barley, and oats.

(E) We muſt remind our *Engliſh* readers, that this expreſſion has no ſuch harſhneſs in the original, as it has in ours, and other languages, becauſe the word which in theſe is rendered firſt-born, in the original is בכור, *Becor*, which properly implies *the principal* or *moſt excellent of every thing*, or *creature in its kind*, whether in a good or bad ſenſe. Thus God expreſſes himſelf concerning *David*, *I will make him my firſt-born, higher than the kings of the earth* (98); where the word means nothing like firſt-born in a ſtrict ſenſe. On the other hand, a moſt cruel death is in *Job* called בכור מות, *Becor-maveth*, *the firſt-born of death* (99); and *Iſaiah* calleth the pooreſt, or rather the weakeſt of all בכורי דלים, *Becore dallim*, *the firſt-born of the weak* (100). It is therefore probable, that this word which figuratively applied to the firſt-born, to imply their excellency in ſtrength and dignity, according to *Jacob*'s expreſſion to *Reuben* his eldeſt ſon (1).

(F) According to this law we find the virgin *Mary* redeeming her child *Jeſus* (2); nevertheleſs it has been much diſputed, whether he was ſubject to this or not, tho' he is allowed on all hands to have been her firſt-born. Some think he was not, becauſe he did not break open the womb her virginity (3). Others, thinking that every male opening the matrix is equivalent to every firſt born male, maintain, that he was to be redeemed (4). But ſome of the fathers have diſputed this argument, affirming, that in Chriſt's caſe ſpeech this law of redemption was only applicable to *Chriſt*, ſeeing he was the only male that properly opened the womb of his mother, whereas in other women it was opened [illegible] if not before, yet when the firſt-born was born. For which reaſon they think this law to have been wholly typical of *Chriſt* (5).

(97) *Miſhn. Tract.* חלה, PHILO *de præm. Sacerd.* HIERON. *in caſt.* 45. EZEK. MAIM. LEO DE MODEN. & *al.* (98) Pſ. lxxix. 27. (99) Job xviii. 13. (100) Iſai. xiv. 30. (1) Gen. xlix. 3. (2) Luke ii. 22, 23.
(3) CYRIL. HIEROSOL. [illegible] (4) *Vide* CORNEL. *a lapid. in* Exod. *cap. ult. ab ea citat.* (5) [illegible] AMBROS. & *al. ap.* CALM. *Job* [illegible]

a to partake of it, as of any other common-meat. But if it was an unclean beaſt, ſuch as an aſs, a dog, and the like, the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five ſhekels of money, or to break the neck of it [n] (G).

As to the firſt product of the trees, all that is meant by it, is that every new planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumciſed and impure during the firſt three years. It was not lawful to gather, much leſs to eat, the fruit of it; on the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the Lord's, and conſequently the perquiſite of the prieſts, from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent [o]: but from that time the owner was at liberty to make the ſame uſe of

b them as he did of his old ones [p].

7. TITHES. Theſe, and the firſt-fruits, and the redemption of the firſt-born, were the moſt conſtant and conſiderable income of the prieſts and *Levites*; tho' the firſt is by far the more antient, as we have ſeen in ſeveral places of this hiſtory [*]. However, we confine ourſelves to thoſe preſcribed by the laws of *Moſes*, in which he has been ſo ſtrict, that he ordained, that of all thoſe which conſiſted of clean animals, none ſhould be redeemed at any rate, but that they ſhould all be ſacrificed to the Lord; and that thoſe which conſiſted of the fruits of the earth ſuch as grains, fruits, and the like, ſhould not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinſick va-

c lue [q]. We need not here obſerve, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the reſt of the people (H).

THESE tithes were of four ſorts; namely, 1. Thoſe which were thus aſſigned to the tribe of *Levi* [r] (I), and theſe not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the *Levites*, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. The tenths of theſe tithes which were aſſigned to the prieſts, for theſe laſt did not gather the tithes themſelves, but that office belonged to the *Levites*, who were not to touch any part of them, till they had paid that proportion to the prieſts [s], and had ſent it to *Jeruſalem*. 3. After a layman had payed his firſt

d tithes to the *Levites*, he was obliged to ſet aſide a ſecond tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to *Jeruſalem*, and there make a feaſt, and invite, beſides his friends and relations, the prieſts and *Levites* to it [t] (K).

4. The

[n] Vide Num. xviii. 17, & ſeq. Exod. xiii. 13. Num. xviii. 16. Deut. xv. 20, & ſeq.
[o] Vide præc. affirm. 137. [p] Levit. xix. 23. [*] Vide ſup. p. 328. a. & note (S). 440. d.
[q] Levit. xxvii. 30, & ſeq. [r] Num. xviii. 20, & ſeq. Deut. xiv. 22, & alib. vide & 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, & ſeq. [s] Num. xviii. 25, & ſeq. [t] Deut. xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22, 23.

(G) *N. de Lyra*, a learned convert from *Judaiſm*, tells us, that dogs, and ſuch like creatures of no intrinſick value, were never to be redeemed, but put to death, by reaſon of a precept in *Deuteronomy*, againſt bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog into the houſe of the Lord (6); wherein he is followed by the learned *Bochart* and others, as the moſt received opinion of the rabbies (7). But we queſtion very much whether the generality of the *Jews* were ſo exact as to obſerve which came out firſt of a whole litter, it is more likely, that they deſtroyed them all for ſecurity's ſake.

(H) And, perhaps too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious obſervance of God's laws among the people, too prone naturally to back-ſlide; ſince their income was ſure to riſe and fall according as the ſpirit of religion and obedience proved more or leſs vigorous.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or ſend by proxy theſe firſt tithes to *Jeruſalem* (8); but beſides that, there doth not appear the leaſt ſhadow of a precept for it, it ſeems rather from the ſecond tithes, which the *Levites* were to ſend to *Jeruſalem* (9), to the prieſts, that the firſt was to be payed upon the ſpot, or at furtheſt in the cities of the *Levites*. And indeed it would have been a terrible trouble and expence, eſpecially for thoſe that dwelt at a conſiderable diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, to have even ſent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally ſo to the *Levites*, the anſwer is obvious, that it was much eaſier for them to ſend a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their reſpective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the firſt that was payed to the *Levites*, whatever ſome commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain. 1. Becauſe the firſt was the hereditary right of the tribe of *Levi*, which would have ſtarved without it, and this was conſumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The *Levites* were obliged to refund a tenth part of the firſt to the prieſts, but in this they were only invited as gueſts, 3. The firſt was payed all the land over, but this only at *Jeruſalem*.

(6) Deut. xxiii. 18. (7) *Vide Miſhn.* MAIM. *& al. &* MUNST. *in loc.* (8) JOSEPH. *ant. lib. iv. c.* 8. *Vide* SIXT. AMAM. *de Decim. & auct. ab eo citat.* (9) *Comp.* Deut. xiv. 22, 23, *with* Nehem. x. 34, *& ſeq.*

4. The laſt kind of tithes which *Moſes* commands, was to be ſet by every third year, and be conſumed in feaſts at home, to which they were obliged to invite the *Levites*, the poor, fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers [u] (L). a

WE read indeed of another kind of tithes, ſuch as *Samuel* threatned the *Iſraelites*, that their king, if they perſiſted in the choice of one, would levy upon them out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks [w]. But as there is nothing of ſuch a right mentioned by *Moſes*, in the rules which he ſettled for the conduct of their future kings [x], it is likely, the prophet only forewarns them of what they would be apt, rather than of what they might lawfully do.

WHAT the firſt ſort of tithes conſiſted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the prieſts and *Levites*, whether in all great and ſmall cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all ſorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is not eaſy to determine. The *Jews*, if we will believe ſome of the learneſt among them [y], affirm, that they had no ſhare nor title in the former, and that the fleſh of all thoſe creatures that were decimated belonged to the owners; and *Obedias de Barthenora* adds, that there is not one paſſage in the whole law that proves, that the prieſt had a right to any part of it [z]. It is hardly worth the while to dive further into this matter, becauſe we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was uſually decimated, we ſhall give it in *Maimon*'s own words [a]. "A man, *ſays he*, who out of ten lambs, for inſtance, ſhould have "ſet aſide one, or ten out of an hundred, would not be reckoned to have paid "the tithes of them: the right way therefore of doing it was as follows. They "did ſhut up all the lambs, kids, or calves, in a ſtable, which had one "door ſo ſtrait that two of them could not get out a-breaſt: they then "brought their dams to the door, that their young ones, hearing their voice, "might ſtrive to get out; purſuant to what is ſaid in *Leviticus* xxvii. 32. "*Every thing that paſſeth under the rod.* Accordingly it was required, that theſe "young ones ſhould come out of themſelves, and not be driven out: and "as faſt as they came out one after another, they that ſtood by told them one, "two, three, and ſo on to ten. This tenth was immediately marked with red "lead, and whether it were male or female, whether with or without blemiſh; "the owner ſaid, *this ſhall be conſecrated to pay the tithes.* If it was fit, it "was then to be ſacrificed to God; if not, it might be killed and eaten "where the owner pleaſed; for it could be neither redeemed nor exchanged" [b] (M). b c d

To

[u] Deut. xii. ver. 28, 29. [w] 1 Sam. viii. 15, & ſeq. [x] Deut. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [y] Vide MAIMON. in Bechoroth, c. 6. [z] BARTHENOR. in Zabachim, c. 5, & al. [a] MAIM. ubi ſup. [b] Vide BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. iii. lib. 33. c. 4.

(L) It is, however, more likely that this laſt tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was ſpent at home every third year, and the other at *Jeruſalem* on the other two years; ſo that there might be properly but three ſorts of tithes, that of the *Levites*, of the prieſts, and theſe laſt, which were rather a kind of euchariſtical agapæ, which the *Jews* therefore called מעשר עני, and the *Greeks* δευτεροδεκατη, *the tenth of the poor*, and *Tobit*, *the third tenth* (10).

(M) the reader will not perhaps think it amiſs, if we add ſome few remarks concerning their manner of ſacrificing their living creatures, not ſo much with regard to their ſlaying them, concerning which all that needs be ſaid is, that they were extreamly careful to let out all their blood, and to avoid every thing that might ſtagnate it in any part; but with reſpect to ſome ceremonies that were uſed by way of diſtinction between the ſacrifices of a more, and thoſe of a leſs, ſacred nature. Of the firſt ſorts were all the burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for ſin, and thoſe were always killed on the north ſide of the altar; whereas thoſe of the lower ſort, ſuch as peace, free-will, and all euchariſtical offerings, were killed in any part within the court of the ſanctuary. As for birds, the prieſt pinched their neck with his thumb-nail, and that which was for a burnt-offering had its neck quite pulled of, but that for ſin only broken (11). We have already ſpoken of theſe victims of the firſt rank, whoſe blood was carried and ſprinkled within the tabernacle, that of the others they only poured at the foot of the altar, except touching the horns with ſome of it, on ſome occaſions (12). The *Jews* add, that there was a grate through which the blood did fall into a kind of ſhore, which carried it into the brook *Cedron* (13). However, as for theſe aſperſions they were always to be repeated ſeven times; and from them, as well as the ſeven days of the week, and the week of years, and of ſeven weeks of years, as likewiſe from the ſeven-fold circumvection of the ark round the walls of *Jericho*, *Naaman* being commanded to plunge ſeven times in *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature, the

(10) Tob. i. 8. (11) Levit. i. 15. v. 8, & & 5, & ſeq. 34, &c. & alib. (12) Levit. xvi. 14, 15, & iv. & 34, alib. (13) Vide Maim. Trad. Middoth.

3 To theſe kind of offerings we might add ſome others, ſuch as that of incenſe, which the prieſts only were to burn every day upon the altar of perfume (N), before the morning and evening ſacrifice, and the high-prieſt once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already ſaid ſomething of, and thoſe which were offered on ſolemn feſtivals, new-moons, ſabbaths, and the like, beſides ſome others of leſs note; but we have already dwelt too long upon this article, and ſhall only add, that as *Jeruſalem* became afterwards to the *Jews*, what the camp was during their abode in the wilderneſs, thoſe victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burned out of the walls of the city.

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the *Jews*, eſpecially the *Cabbaliſts*, tell us great wonders of the number ſeven, too great indeed for us to enter upon.

The next thing was the fleaing and dividing of the victims, according to the deſign for which they were offered, wherein we ſhall only take notice of one circumſtance with reſpect to the burning of the fat of them; namely, that if it was a ſheep or lamb, they always burned alſo the rump (14), becauſe they are commonly very fat; eſpecially in that kind of *Syrian* ſheep whoſe rump was between two and three cubits long, and weigh'd as far as 30 or 40 pounds (15). So that not being able to drag them after, without wounding them againſt the ground, the ſhepherds laid them upon a kind of ſledge, which the creature drew after it. Hence one may underſtand the meaning of that prohibition in the *Miſhna* (16), *the ſheep ſhall not be ſent to paſture on the ſabbath, that hath its ſledge tyed to it.* As to the burnt-offerings of four-footed beaſts, the prieſts were obliged to waſh their legs and inteſtines in water before they burnt them (17). This was done in a place by itſelf, that the court might not be defiled with their dung. *Philo* thinks there is a myſtery in it, and that it implies, that we ought to waſh away all our ſinful filth before we preſent ourſelves to God (18). *Grotius* ſays almoſt the ſame things concerning the fat of the kidneys, *&c.* which were not to be eaten, but burned, thoſe parts being the ſeat of luſt (19). But however that be, it is certain, that they were not allowed to eat any fat except that which ſtuck to the fleſh. After theſe ſacrifices were duly diſſected and ſalted, a number of prieſts brought them upon the altar with the uſual quantity of wine and cakes. They were more or fewer, according to the days and the ſacrifices, and each carried one piece thither. Thus every common day, at the morning and evening ſacrifice, when there were but nine in waiting, the firſt carried the head and right foot, the 2d the two fore-feet, or hands, as the rabbies call them; the 3d the back-bone, liver, and kidneys; the 4th the breaſt and neck; the 5th the ribs; the 6th the inwards and legs in a diſh; the 7th a cake to be joined to the lamb; the 8th the cake that belonged to the high-prieſt; and the laſt brought up the wine for the drink-offering; each having his province decided by lot. All theſe pieces of the victim were to be ſet upon the altar, cloſe by one another in the ſame order as they were in before their being diſſected, according to what is enjoined by *Moſes*; *and the prieſts, the ſons of* Aaron *ſhall lay the parts, the head, the fat, in order*, &c. (20); after which the fire was kindled and kept under them till they were conſumed. This formality, however, was obſerved only for thoſe burnt-offerings which were made for the whole people, but not for thoſe which private men offered for themſelves. There are many more particularities relating to theſe and other offerings, the bare mention of which would be too tedious; the reader may ſee them at full length in the *Miſhna* and the two rabbies mentioned above, and more particularly in *Cunæus*. All that we ſhall add is, that whatever was to be burnt of them upon the altar was to be done, not with common, but with ſacred fire, which was preſerved for that purpoſe, (21).

(N) Some authors, who have inadvertently followed St. *Auſtin*'s miſtaken notion, that this altar ſtood in the moſt holy place, have affirmed accordingly, that none but the high-prieſt was to offer it up, and have even maintained, that *Zacharias*, the *Baptiſt*'s father, was inveſted with that dignity. Theſe have been ſufficiently confuted by *Cunæus*, among many more. However, there is one expreſſion in *Moſes* (22), which ſeems to favour that notion, where he ſays, that *Aaron ſhall burn incenſe every morning*, &c. But the *Jews* have made it plain, that the high-prieſt never offered it but on expiation-day, and on the firſt day of his inſtallation, on all other days, it was left to the prieſt in waiting, as the lot fell out (23); excluſive of the *Levites* and all other perſons, under pain of death. This mixture, which our verſion doth ſimply call incenſe, was rather a perfume, the compoſition of which is preſcribed by *Moſes*, and forbid under pain of death to be uſed by any but prieſts, or any where but in the ſanctuary (24), tho' any other compoſition might be, and was lawfully uſed, as appears by ſeveral places of ſcripture. Thus we read that *Hezekiah* ſhewed ſeveral ſorts of them among other rarities of his treaſure-houſe, to the king of *Babylon*'s ambaſſadors (25): and king *Aſa* had ſome ſuch like ſort uſed at his funeral (26).

As to the reaſon of this continual burning of incenſe, tho' we grant, that it might be typical of the prayers of the ſaints, yet we believe, we may take that of the learned *Maimon* along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place ſmell like a ſlaughter-houſe, and conſequently have inſpired the comers rather with diſguſt and contempt, than awe and reverence, had it not been over-powered by the agreeable fragrancy of thoſe perfumes (27).

(14) Levit. iii. 9. *& alib.* (15) *Vide* Herodot. *lib. iii.* Plin. *Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. c.* 48, *& al.* (16) *Vide Tract. Sabbath, c.* 4. (17) Levit. i. 9. (18) *De Anim. Sacr.* (19) *Comm. in* Levit. iii. 5. (20) Levit. i. 8. (21) *Comp.* Levit. x. 1, 2, & xvi. 12. (22) Exod. xxx. 7. (23) *Vide* Luke i. 9. (24) Exod. xxx. 34, *& ſeq.* (25) 2 King. xx. 13. (26) 2 Chron. 16. *ult.* (27) *Vid.* Basnag. *in Cun. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 12.

Laws concerning Vows.

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AS theſe made a ſolemn part of the *Jewiſh* worſhip and offerings, they may properly be joined as an appendix to the former, tho' their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the ſame rank. How ſoon they began to be in uſe, we have ſeen an inſtance of in *Jacob*'s vowing the tenths of all his acquiſitions, as he went to *Padan-aran* †; however, we confine ourſelves to thoſe under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, concerning which that law-giver made ſeveral regulations, in order to direct and enforce the performance of them [c].

VOWS were of a twofold nature; namely, 1. Of ſuch as devoted the thing vowed, whether man, beaſt, money, or any part of a man's poſſeſſion to the ſervice of God [d]. 2. Of ſuch as devoted them to utter deſtruction [e] (O). Under the firſt head it plainly appears, that perſons that were *ſui juris* might vow themſelves, their children, or any part of their poſſeſſions to God. We ſay *ſui juris*, becauſe the vows of a ſon or a daughter, of a wife or ſlave, were of no further force, than as they were approved, or diſapproved, by thoſe under whoſe power they were [f]. So that a parent, huſband, or maſter, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a ſanction, or to diſannul it: but if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the ſame day, according to the text, or in twenty four hours, according to the *Jewiſh* doctors.

OF perſons vowing themſelves in this ſenſe, we meet with no plain inſtance, but of their vowing their children we have; among others, that of *Samuel*, who was dedicated to God by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be ſuppoſed from what we juſt now hinted, by her huſband [g]; and he was accordingly conſecrated to God's ſervice all his life-time. However, in theſe caſes the law of *Moſes* allowed of a redemption or commutation for a ſum of money, which was either greater or leſs, according to the age and ſex of the perſon vowed, for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for thoſe who were not able to pay that ſum, in the chapter above quoted concerning vows [h]. It was otherwiſe with reſpect to cattle, lands, or the product of them, and the like. For theſe could not be redeemed or exchanged, in any caſe, except, where a man had vowed, for inſtance, a lamb, calf, or any ſuch creature, which, before the time came of his offering it, had contracted any legal defect, which made it unfit for ſacrifice. For in ſuch caſes he was to ſubſtitute another that was perfect and equivalent unto it, and if the beaſt which a man had vowed was an unclean one, he was, beſides the equivalent, to add a fifth part of its value by way of fine [i]. The ſame was to be obſerved if it was a houſe, field, or the like. As for the firſt-born of cattle, they could not be vowed, becauſe they belonged to God already [k].

Anathema's.

THE caſe was quite different, with reſpect to thoſe things which were vowed to deſtruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate [l]. That which had life was to be put to death, and that which had not was to be deſtroyed by fire, or ſome other way. We meet with various inſtances of it in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, but ſhall ſingle only a few of the moſt remarkable. We may remember, that the children of *Iſrael* vowed the whole kingdom of *Arad* to deſtruction, and that all the cities of the *Canaanites* were under the ſame anathema,

† Vide ſup. p. 472. b. [c] Levit. xxvii. paſſ. [d] Ver. 2, & ſeq. [e] Ver. 28, 29. [f] Num. xxx. paſſ. [g] 1 Sam. i. 21, & ſeq. [h] Levit. xxvii. 3, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. ver. 13. [k] Ibid. ver. 14, & ſeq. [l] Ibid ver. 28, 29.

(O) The original diſtinguiſhes them by the words נדר. *Nadar*, which ſignifies *to vow in the firſt ſenſe*, and חרם, *Charam*, which implies *to lay a thing or perſon under an anathema*, or *to devote it or him to deſtruction*. Several learned commentators indeed will not allow of this laſt meaning, when it relates to men; but think, that thoſe perſons who were thus vowed, were to become wholly devoted to God beyond the poſſibility of redemption (28); but the reader may ſee, by the inſtances which we ſhall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the perſon, and extermination and deſtruction of the thing anathematiſed; and that the difference between the firſt and ſecond vow was, that the firſt might be redeemed, but not the ſecond.

(28) *Vide* MUNST. GROT. LE CLERC, PAGNIN. JUN. CALM.

anathema [m], and more particularly *Jericho*; and that *Achan*, and all that he had, fell under the ſame curſe, becauſe, he had ſaved ſome of the plunder of that city [n], which was to have been deſtroyed. As for *Jephtha*'s vow, beſides that it was not exactly of the ſame nature, and authors are much divided about the manner of his fulfilling it, it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the hiſtory of that judge. The *Iſraelites* aſſembled at *Mizpeh*, vowed thoſe to deſtruction that did not aſſiſt in puniſhing the tribe of *Benjamin*, for their barbarous uſage of the *Levite*'s concubine •: and *Saul* would have ſacrificed his own ſon *Jonathan*, for ignorantly incurring the curſe, which he had laid upon thoſe that ſhould eat or drink whilſt he was in purſuit of his victory; had not the whole army ſtrongly oppoſed it. By all which inſtances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing leſs than death was the lot of the perſons devoted by this kind of vows.

THOSE who think, that when they related to human victims, they meant no more than that they ſhould be dedicated to God's ſervice as long as they lived, do indeed object the abhorrence which God expreſſes againſt all kind of human ſacrifices; but we beg leave to obſerve, that the caſe here is not about ſacrifices, but vows, and ſuch as, for ought appears to the contrary, by all the inſtances we meet with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the caſe of the land of *Arad*, or of the kings and judges, as in the other inſtances above mentioned. Beſides they ſeem altogether to relate to thoſe idolatrous nations they were going to conquer, the meaſure of whoſe ſins had already provoked God to paſs ſentence of deſtruction againſt them; in which caſe, if they bound themſelves by a ſolemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly we find them very exact where that was the caſe, and as remiſs when it was not, elſe they they had not left ſo many nations undeſtroyed, to be a continual ſnare to ſeduce them into all manner of idolatries. If therefore it was of ſo great conſequence to them to remove all ſuch dangerous incitements, we need not wonder if they were in ſome meaſure led into it by the ſtronger obligation of an oath. But after all, this precept may be only an inforcement of that vow, which *Moſes* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death *†*, of obſerving all the commandments of God, one of which was the extirpation of all theſe nations, with all their monuments of idolatry; in which caſe the meaning of thoſe words will be only this, that as they had ſolemnly vowed it to God, they muſt not pretend hereafter to exempt themſelves from it, upon any pretence whatever (P).

WHAT curſe *Jonadab* the ſon of *Rechab* had laid upon his poſterity, if they did not obſerve his arbitrary injunctions, of abſtaining from wine, from planting, ſowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how ſtrict obſervers they were of them we may conclude from their anſwer to *Jeremiah*, when he invited them to drink wine [p]. We ſhall conclude this article with a ſhort account of the *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the *Old Teſtament*, who were perſons that either dedicated *Nazarites.*

[m] Num. xxi. 1, & ſeq. Deut. vii. 23, & ſeq. xx. 15, & ſeq. [n] Joſh. vi, vii, & paſſ. [o] Judg. xxi. 5. *†* Vide ſup. p. 541. b. [p] Jerem. xxxv. paſſ.

(P) Thoſe who underſtand the original know, that the future tenſe is very often uſed for the paſt, and ſo *vice verſa*: ſo that the words may be properly rendered, *ſhall have vowed* inſtead of *ſhall vow*. Theſe two verſes therefore ſeem to us to come in as an exception to the regulations which *Moſes* had made a little before, concerning the redemption of thoſe things which had been vowed in the firſt ſenſe, and which he therefore prefaces with the word אך, *Ak*, *notwithſtanding*, or *nevertheleſs*, whatſoever ſhall be vowed in the ſecond ſenſe, that is, to deſtruction, whether of men or beaſts, *&c.* ſhall not be redeemed, but be put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourſelves by a ſolemn oath to deſtroy all thoſe nations that will not accept of proffered peace, and forſake their idolatry, and to eliminate all that belongs to them, remember therefore, that there is no redemption for them, and that if you ſuffer yourſelves, either through pity or covetouſneſs, to ſpare any of them, you will not only incur the puniſhment of perjury and rebellion, but be inſnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had *Saul* been mindful of this, he had not ſaved the king of *Amalek*, and the choiceſt of the cattle and plunder (29). When therefore he made that weak and puerile excuſe, that he deſigned the latter as an offering to God, *Samuel* did juſtly reprove him, by ſhewing him, how vain it was to pretend to attone for one open violation of God's command by another.

(29) 1 Sam. xv. 9, *& ſeq.*

dedicated themſelves, or were ſo by their parents, to obſerve the laws of *Nazaritehood.* Theſe were of two ſorts; namely, of ſuch who obliged themſelves to it only for ſome ſhort ſpace, as a week or a month, and thoſe who were bound to it all their life, and theſe were moſt commonly dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were *Samſon* and *Samuel* [q], and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abſtain from wine and all intoxicating liquors, and to wear their hair to its full length. As for thoſe of the firſt ſort, they were moreover to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into a houſe where a dead perſon was; for if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin a-freſh [r]. Women as well as men might bind themſelves to this vow, and after it was accompliſhed, they preſented themſelves to the prieſt, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle or temple, where they offered the ſacrifices preſcribed by *Moſes* in ſuch caſes [s], after which he cauſed their heads to be ſhaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the ſacrifice, and then pronounced them freed from their vow. b

THOSE that lived at ſuch a diſtance from the temple, that they could not reach it by that time their vow was expired, might ſhave their heads at what place ſoever they found themſelves, at which time they ſet aſide the price of their ſacrifice, in order to bring or ſend it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find St. *Paul* did, who made this vow at *Corinth*, ſhaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and went ſoon after to *Jeruſalem*, to accompliſh it by the uſual offering [t].

Laws concerning the Prieſts, Levites, and Nethinims.

Laws concerning the Prieſts.

THE two laſt things to be conſidered under this head of the worſhip of God, or as it is commonly called, the commands of the firſt table, are, 1. The perſons, and 2. The things, which were in a more peculiar manner conſecrated to his ſervice. Of the firſt ſort were the prieſts, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*; of the ſecond, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous *apparatus* of utenſils preſcribed by God himſelf to *Moſes* on the mount, in order to inſpire the carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of *Levi*, we have ſeen above how and upon what account it was ſeparated from the reſt, and appointed for this important office [†]. Before that time the prieſthood, or ſacrificature, is generally thought to have belonged to the firſt-born; and when *Moſes* ratifyed the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-prieſt, and choſe a ſet of young men to act under him [u]; but after the tribe of *Levi* had been thus ſet apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher offices of the miniſtry, it became a capital crime for any other tribe to interfere with them in the ſacred function; inſomuch that God's vengeance did miraculouſly diſplay itſelf in the puniſhment of the firſt offenders, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and in confirming the prieſthood in that family by the ſupernatural budding of *Aaron*'s rod [w]. It is not indeed eaſy to reconcile what is ſaid of the *Levites* being choſen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they ſhowed in puniſhing the worſhippers of the golden calf [x], with *Aaron*'s being raiſed to the higheſt dignity in that tribe, he who had ſo baſely conſented to, and countenanced that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be aſcribed to the meer pleaſure of God, like that which he made before of *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *David*, and many more. But however that be, *Moſes* tells us in another place, that God took the *Levites* inſtead of the firſt-born of *Iſrael*, to be his own tribe, and it is remarkable, that when the ſums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded that the over-plus ſhould be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels *per* head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and his

[q] Judg. xiii. 5. 1 Sam. i. 11. [r] Num. vi. 1, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [t] Acts xviii. 18. [†] Vide ſup. p. 537. note (C). [u] Exod. xxiv. 5, & ſeq. [w] Numb. xvi, & xvii, paſſ. [x] Deut xxxiii. 8, & ſeq. & alib.

a his ſons [y]. So that it is plain, that here was an actual ſubſtitution or exchange of the *Levitical* tribe in lieu of the firſt-born, which God had claimed to himſelf for his having ſpared thoſe of *Iſrael*, when he deſtroyed thoſe of *Egypt*; and a ſuperiority given to the family of *Aaron* over all the reſt of that tribe, both as to office and dignity, as we ſhall preſently ſhew under each head. As for the *Nethinims*, they were not ſo much as of the ſeed of *Jacob*, and we only rank them here, as being appointed to ſerve in the loweſt offices of the tabernacle and temple.

I. *Of the prieſts.*

b WE have heretofore taken notice, that the tribe of *Levi* conſiſted of three main branches, diſtinguiſhed by their principal heads, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. But the prieſthood was given ſolely to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a ſmall branch of that of *Kohath*, whilſt all the reſt of it, even the ſons of *Moſes* himſelf, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of *Levites*, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the miniſtry, whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that theſe were always ſubject to, and dependent on the prieſts, as will appear in its proper place.

c AT the head of the prieſthood was the high-prieſt, who was alſo the head of the *Jewiſh* church, and the final judge of all controverſies, whether concerning religion, or even about the adminiſtration of common juſtice. This laſt at leaſt ſeems plainly implied in the directions which *Moſes* gives the people, to have recourſe to the prieſts in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination under pain of death [z] (Q): and in this ſenſe *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and almoſt, if not, all the *Jewiſh* rabbies underſtand them [a]. However, in this reſpect he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-prieſt. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſubaltern prieſts and *Levites*, which were commonly admitted to ſit in their inferior courts of judicature; for it is plain, that the main end for which they were ſet apart was to bleſs the people in God's name, and to offer up incenſe and thoſe ſacrifices to him that were preſcribed by the law, excluſive of all other tribes [b], under the ſevere penalties above mentioned (R).

d THE

[y] Vide Num. iii. 12, 13, 45, & ſeq. xxxiii. 20. vide & Ezek. xliv. 24.

[z] Deut. xvii. 8, & ſeq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. xxii. 10.

[a] Cont. Apion. & alib. PHIL. MAIMON. Vide SELDEN de Synedr. vet Hæbr. & al.

[b] Num. xvi. & alib.

(Q) The words of *Moſes* run thus (30). '*And if there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in* '*judgment, between blood and blood, between plea* '*and plea, or ſtroke and ſtroke, being a matter* '*of controverſy within thy gates*' (the ſenſe of which from the laſt words is plainly, that if the matter is too hard for the judges of that city to which the contending parties belong (21). in ſuch a caſe) '*thou ſhalt ariſe and get thee up* '*unto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall* '*chuſe, and thou ſhalt come unto the prieſts and* 'Levites, *and unto the judge that ſhall be in thoſe* '*days———and thou ſhalt exactly obſerve and* '*do according to their ſentence———without* '*ſwerving from it to the right hand or to the* '*left———and the man that ſhall preſumptuouſly* '*refuſe to abide by the determination of the prieſt,* '*that ſtandeth to miniſter there before the Lord thy* '*God, or to that of the judge, that man ſhall be* '*put to death———*'. Now by the prieſt there mentioned, the generality of comentators underſtand the high-prieſt.

(R) This ought not however, to be underſtood too ſtrictly, becauſe it is certain, that ſeveral kings, judges, and prophets, have taken this office upon them, that were not of that tribe. Thus we read in one place, that *Samuel*, who was of that of *Ephraim*, was waited for to bleſs the ſacrifice (32); and in another that he offered up a lamb for a burnt-offering (33), tho' theſe two functions did properly belong to the prieſts. Thus again *Saul*, *Elijah*, and *David*, are ſaid to have offered up burnt-offerings to God (34), and both he and his ſon *Solomon* to have bleſſed the people in the name of the Lord (35).

It is indeed commonly anſwered, that they only cauſed the prieſts to perform that office for them; but this expoſition is forced, and incompatible with the plain meaning of the original. We think it therefore more probable, that theſe perſons above-named, not ſo much as being heads of the people, but as being prophets, and being directed by the ſpirit, might perform theſe functions upon particular occaſions, ſuch as theſe we have quoted, for the greater ſolemnity of the ceremony. For even *Saul* was for ſome time endowed with the ſpirit, and *Samuel* told him, that he might follow the directions of it upon all emergencies (36); when therefore that prophet reproved him for his indiſcretion (37), it is not ſo much for having offered up a burnt-offering, as for doing it contrary to his judgment, and out of an untimely

(30) Deut. xvii. 8, & *ſeq.* (31) *Vide ſup.* p. 431. *note* (F). (32) 2 Sam. ix. 13. (33) *Ibid.* vii. 9. (34) *Ibid.* xiii. 9, & *ſeq.* 1 King. xviii. 30, & *ſeq.* (35) 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18. 1 King. viii. 55, & *ſeq* (36) *Vide* 1 Sam. x. 7, & *ſeq.* (37) *Ibid* xiii. 13.

THE laws relating to the high-priest are reducible to these three heads; 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his consecration. And 3. To his dress.

The high-priest's office.

AS to his office, besides his having it in his power, whenever he pleased to perform any of the functions of the inferior priests; his being alone possessed of the divine oracle of *Urim* and *Thummin*, spoken of more particularly in a former section ‡, and his being alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and to pronounce that solemn blessing on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head; all these great privilges were confined to him, and intailed on his son and successor, either of his own body or family. Accordingly we find the two branches of it, that of *Eleazar* and that of *Ithamar*, the sons of *Aaron*, in the high-priesthood at different times, till the captivity, whilst the other occupied the next in rank, and this is the most probable reason why the prophet mentions a high-priest, and a second priest *†. How *Phineas*'s line came to be set aside from the first rank, the text doth not tell us, but the legal imperfections, which disqualified a man from that high dignity, were so many and so frequent, that it is probable, that some of them might be the reason of its passing to *Eli*, who was of the younger branch, in whose house it continued till *Saul*'s time. After this it shifted once or twice more in *David*'s time, till *Solomon*, dissatisfied with *Abiathar*, restored *Zadock* of the *Phinean* family to the first rank again, where it continued to the end. So that *Abiathar* cannot so properly be said to have been deposed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the pristine rank of his branch (S). Accordingly we find him named in the very next chapter but one, after his supposed deposition, as second to *Zadock*. *And* Zadock *and* Abiathar *were priests* *†*. But to return to the high-priest, there was such a particular sacredness inherent in his dignity, as oblig'd him to several strict laws, from which the rest of the priests were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or a harlot; the person whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe. He was forbid to put himself into mourning for the nearest relation, or to go into any house where a corps was [c]; he was further obliged to abstain not only from matrimonial commerce, during those festivals in which he was to officiate, but also from all food and other things which might occasion any defilement. Besides all these he was in common with other priests to be free from all natural defects mentioned by *Moses* [d]; that is to say, that he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither scurvy, itch, nor any disease in his skin, or defect in any of his limbs, especially

‡ See before, p. 537. note (C). *† Jerem. c. ult. ver. 24. vide 1 Chron. xxiv. 2. *‡* Comp. 1 King. i. 26, 27, and iii. 4. [c] Levit. xxi. 10, & seq. [d] Ibid. xiii, & seq.

timely fear, least *Samuel* should disappoint him, and his enemies surprize him unprepared, for *Saul* adds, *and I forced*, or did violence to myself, that is, my fear drove me to this action, contrary to my own judgment.

(S) This right was then only so far hereditary, that the high-priesthood always descended to one of the two branches, as long as it was capable of succeeding, if not, one of the next was chosen that was duely qualified. 'Tis true, *Moses* has not left any written direction about it, but we find that *Eli*, who was both high priest and judge in *Israel*, was not of the family of *Eleazar*, but of that of *Ithamar*, for his name is not to be found in the genealogy of the former (38), and *Josephus* tells us, that he was of the family of the latter (39), and the first of that line that was raised to that high function, and in whose family it continued uninterrupted till *Saul*'s reign.

It were needless to trouble our readers with the various conjectures that have been made about the reason of this translation of the high-priesthood from the eldest to the youngest branch; it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet sent from God said unto *Eli* (40), to this effect—*I chose the house of thy father* Aaron *to offer up incense and sacrifice upon my altar*——*Why then do ye kick at my sacrifices*——*Wherefore, tho' I said, that thine house*——*should stand before me for ever*——*Now far be it from me to honour those that dishonour me*——*Lo the time cometh, that thy sons* Hophni *and* Phineas *shall be cut off in one day*——*and thou shalt behold an enemy in my habitation*——*and I will raise me up a faithful priest*——*Whilst those that are left of thine house shall fall into the utmost poverty and contempt.* How, and when, this prophecy was fulfilled will be seen in its proper place. It is sufficient at present to have given the best light we can get to the manner of his sacred succession. We beg leave only to add, that where the prophet tells *Eli*, *thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation*, the word signifies more properly a rival, and seems to point directly at the eldest branch, which, tho' set aside for a time, would again be reinstated to that supreme dignity, as it actually was, when *Saul* caused *Abimelech* to be slain, and *Zadock* to be put in his place.

(38) *Vide* 1 Chron. vi. 3, & *seq.* (39) *Ant. lib. v. c. ult.* (40) 1 Sam. ii. 27, & *seq.*

especially in his teſticles. As many as had any one of theſe blemiſhes, were
a abſolutely reſcinded from all prieſtly functions, from entering into the ſanctuary,
and offering the ſhew-bread, only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the
offerings that were made there [e].

Conſecration. 2. His conſecration. This ceremony was preſcribed by God himſelf on the mount [f], and was performed by *Moſes* upon his brother *Aaron*, with a ſolemnity anſwerable to the ſacredneſs of his office. It conſiſted chiefly in the ſix following particulars. 1. And before all things, he was preſented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the preſence of all the people. 2. He was to waſh himſelf all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious
b veſſel, that ſtood near the altar, and was ſet up there for all ſuch purpoſes. 3. He was then immediately inveſted with all the pontifical veſtments, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head, and with the breaſt-plate and *Urim*. 4. His next buſineſs was offering the ſacrifices appointed for this purpoſe; namely, a bullock for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, and another for his conſecration, with the blood of which *Moſes*, 5. Anointed the tip of his right ear, thumb, and great toe, beſides the uſual aſperſions on the altar, and other wave meat, and drink-offerings. The laſt ceremony was the anointing of him with the ſacred oil, whoſe compoſition was likewiſe preſcribed by God [g], and was not to be uſed for any other purpoſe. Theſe ceremonies were repeated ſeven
c days ſucceſſively, at leaſt as far as relates to the waſhing, the ſacrifices, and the unction, for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the prieſtly garments [h]. During all this time, *Aaron* and his ſons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feaſted themſelves with the daily ſacrifices which they offered for their conſecration, of which no fragment was to be left till the next morning, but was to be burned that very night. On the eighth day *Aaron* entered into his office by a double ſacrifice, one which he offered for himſelf, and the other for the people, whom he bleſſed for the firſt time, and this his inauguration was ſignalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the deſcent
d of the holy fire from heaven [i], which was thence-forwards preſerved till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, and the uſe of any other in the ſacred miniſtry, expreſly forbid under pain of death †.

THERE is one thing to be obſerved in this firſt conſecration, that not only *Aaron*, but his ſons, were conſecrated at the ſame time, and with the ſame ceremonies, tho' theſe were to continue ſtill in the rank of common prieſts. This may be the reaſon, why *Eleazar* is afterwards ſaid to have been inſtalled into the high prieſthood, by the ſole inveſtiture of his father's garments without any other ceremony, from which ſeveral commentators have concluded, that the reſt were not to be uſed at the inſtallation of any new high-prieſt. It is true, we can offer nothing concluſive out of the *Moſaic* text to confute that notion, yet if we believe the antient *Jews*, who may be properly enough lookt upon as the beſt judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the inveſtiture till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, when *Joſiah* did depoſit the ſacred oil in ſo ſecret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity. From which time, and not till then, they began to content themſelves with the bare inveſtiture, without the unction [k] (T). However that be, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that *Moſes* was commanded

[e] Ibid. xxi, & ſeq. [f] Exod. xl. 12, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. xxx. 22, & ſeq. [h] Levit. viii. 1, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. ix. paſſ. vide ver. 23, & 24. † Videſup. p. 524, a. [k] Vide SELD. de Succeſſion ad Pontificat. lib. ii. c. 9. BASNAG. Rep. Heb. tom. i. lib. 2. c. 7.

(T) The rabbies add, that thoſe that were conſecrated by unction were called, *anointed*, and the others only, *inveſted*, and that they did never venture to make a new compoſition of the ſacred ointment after that of *Moſes* was gone (41). But we can ſee no reaſon for joining with them, becauſe *Moſes* was ſo far from forbidding any ſuch thing, that he has left a plain receipt how to make it. It is certain, that many antient fathers believed, that it continued till the time of *Chriſt* (42); and *Zechariah*, ſpeaking of his viſion of the two high-prieſts, *Jehoſhua* and *Zerubbabel*, calls them בני היצהר, *Bene Hajizhar*, *the ſons of oil* or *unction* (43), which *Kimchi* renders, rightly enough, *anointed*, becauſe, ſays he, *Jehoſhua* was anointed high-prieſt, and *Zerubbabel* king (44). We

(41) *Vide* SELD. *de Succeſ. ubi ſup.* (42) EUSEB. *Demonſt. Ev. lib. iv. c.* 4. CHRYSOST. *Orat.* 2 *cont. Judæos.* CYRIL. *Heroſ. Myſtag. cont. Jud.* ANAST. *de incarnat. verb. vide &* CALM. *ſub voc. unction.* (43) Ch. iv. *ver. ult. vide* MUNST. *in loc.* (44) *Vide* ABARB. & MUNST. *in* Zechar. *ubi ſup.*

manded to conſecrate *Aaron*'s two ſons, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-prieſthood was confined, as he did at the ſame time all the prieſtly garments, the tabernacle, and all the ſacred utenſils of it, which were to be entirely conſecrated to the ſervice of God for ever after [l]. a

His dreſs. 3. HIS prieſtly veſtments. And all that we can with any certainty advance concerning theſe is, that they were likewiſe preſcribed by God himſelf, and that they conſiſted of every thing that could made them truly rich, ſumptuous, and venerable, ſuch as a great variety of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, purple, ſcarlet, the fineſt of ſilk, linnen, and the like: but as to the faſhion of them, all that has been advanced about it, tho' with never ſo poſitive an air, is all meer conjecture, becauſe *Moſes* has contented himſelf with giving us the names of them, without any further deſcription, as being altogether needleſs. *Joſephus* has indeed been more particular in this reſpect [m], but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has deſcribed them as they were worn in his time, and how far the faſhion of them might have altered during ſo long a ſpace, and ſuch a variety of circumſtances which the *Jewiſh* common-wealth went through, is not eaſy to gueſs. The rabbies have deſcribed them vaſtly different from him, and St. *Jerom* deſcribes ſome of them differently from thoſe two [n]. So that we may truly ſay, that thoſe moderns who have lately given us ſuch lively deſcriptions of them, both in writing and in various prints, have rather furniſhed the world with new models for maſquerading habits, than informed us with any thing, either certain or indeed material. This caution being premiſed, we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers the beſt account we can of them, with any tolerable certainty, and refer the reader to *Joſephus* and thoſe modern authors, who have treated more fully of them [*]. b c

THEY were of two ſorts, the one made of linen, and common to him and all the other prieſts; and if there was any difference between them, it was in the former being made of finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones, that he is ſuppoſed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that theſe were made of a finer linen, becauſe they are called by another name; namely, *Sheſh*, which is thought a fine *Egyptian* ſort, whereas that which is called *Bad* is a more common one. Theſe were the mitre, or turban, long robe or veſt, his drawers, and his girdle. The others, which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all ſolemn days and occaſions, were ſo rich and magnificent, that the *Jews* called them *Bagde Zahab*, *veſtures of gold*, to expreſs the richneſs of them; and *Moſes*, *the glory and ornament of* Aaron [o]. The firſt was a blew or purple robe, which he put on over his linen-veſt (V). This garment had no ſleeves, or any ſeam, according to *Joſephus*, being woven, like that of our Saviour's, from d

top

[l] Vide Levit. viii. 10, & ſeq. ad 30. ix. paſſ. vide & verſ. 23, & 24. [m] Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. [n] HIERON. ad Fabiol. [*] Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. CUNÆUS, BASNAG. LAMY, CALMET. & al. [o] Exod. xxviii. 2.

We may add an addage of the *Gemarriſts* concerning the דין ירושה, *Din Jeruſhah*, or *hereditary right*, about which they make this diſtinction, that an high-prieſt, the ſon of an high-prieſt, muſt be anointed, becauſe that right is not abſolutely in him, but the ſon of an anointed king needs not be anointed, becauſe it is in him. *Abarbanel* adds, in his comment upon the place, that it was the judgment of their wiſe-men to chuſe him for high-prieſt מאחיו, from among his brethren, that was גדול בנוי גדול בעשר וגדול בכוח *the moſt beautiful, the richeſt, and ſtrongeſt*; who was therefore to be anointed, that the reſt might thereby know, that he was duely choſen from the midſt of his brethren (45).

How this anointing was performed, is not very clear, but, by the expreſſion of the pſalmiſt (46), as well as that which *Zechariah* makes uſe of here, it ſeems to have been performed by pouring the oil upon the head ſo plentifully, that it ran down to his beard, and thence upon the skirts of the garment. The rabbies are of that opinion, only ſome ſay, that is was poured in form of an X, others in that of a כ *Caph*; but theſe are not worth dwelling upon (48).

(V) We have no great certainty about theſe colours, eſpecially the blue. The *Greek* and old verſions render the word תכלת, *Tekeleth*, by *Hyacinth*, but as there is a ſtone of that name, which is of a yellow, and a flower of a light blue, or purpliſh colour, it is not eaſy to know to which of theſe the interpreters alluded. The old *Italic* verſion, among ſome others, renders it yellow ſilk, but as that colour, when mixed with ſcarlet and purple is too glaring, eſpecially where there is ſo great a mixture of gold, the generality of interpre-

ters

(45) ABARBAN. *Comm. in gemar in loc.* (46) *Vide* GOODWIN's *Moſes & Aaron. lib. i. c. 5. note* 1. (47) Pſ. cxxxiii. 2. (48) *Vide* TOSTAT. JANENS. MANOCH.

a top to bottom, with a ſlit to put his head through. The border of it, which reached almoſt to his ancles, was trimmed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomgranates, curioully wrought in pure gold, at equal diſtance one from another, that by their tinkling his approach might be the more eaſily diſtinguiſhed. This veſt was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice round his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

Over this veſt was a third, called the *ephod*, curiouſly wrought with gold and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a ſhort coat, about two foot in
b length. On the top of it, on each ſide, were two ſhoulder-pieces, to which were faſtened two precious ſtones (W) ſet in gold, on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes, ſix upon each ſtone, that he might always have before his eyes thoſe that were committed to his paſtoral care. Upon the breaſt of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length, and a proportionable breadth, on which the breaſt-plate was to be faſtened. This was a folded piece of the ſame rich embroidered tiſſue, on which were faſtened twelve precious ſtones, ſet in gold, on each of which were engraven the name of one of the tribes. Theſe were ſet in four rows, three in each row (X), and the whole was faſtened at the four corners; thoſe on the top to each ſhoulder-piece by a golden hook or ring, at the end of a wreathen chain; and thoſe below to the girdle of the
c ephod, by two blue ſtrings or ribbons, which had likewiſe two rings and hooks; ſo that the whole might be tied faſt to the garment, beyond the danger of falling off. For theſe were never to be ſevered, and the *Jews* tell us, that if the high-prieſt did at any time, either through inadvertency or wilfully, put on the one without the other, he was to be puniſhed for it. This ornament is therefore called the *memorial*, to put him in mind how dear theſe tribes ought to be to him, whoſe names he wore over his breaſt. It is alſo called the breaſt-plate of judgment, becauſe it had the divine oracle faſtened to it. At leaſt the far greateſt part of interpreters have underſtood the command of God

ers think it to be the colour of the flower ſo called. As for the ארגמן, *Argaman*, which we tranſlate *purple*, it is moſt likely to have been a die made of the blood of a ſhell fiſh of that name, which was caught upon the coaſts of *Paleſtine*, and for which the *Tyrians* came to be ſo famous. Some *Jewiſh* etymologiſts make *Argaman* to be a kind of adjective of the word רגם, *Regem*, which, according to them ſignifies *a prince* or *royal perſon*; for which reaſon they chuſe to tranſlate it a *princely colour*, ſuch as the kings wore themſelves, and cloathed their greateſt favourites with. Thus *Daniel* was cloathed in purple by *Belſhazar* (49); and *Chriſt* with a robe of mockery of the ſame colour (50).

Neither are we much more certain concerning the *Hebrew* words בד, *bad*, שש, *ſheſh*, פשתה, *piſhtah*, and בוץ, *buzz*; whence the *byſſus*; that is, whether they all ſignify linen made of flax or hemp, differing only in degrees of fineneſs, or weaving; or whether the *ſheſh* was not either a kind of cotton or ſilk. There is no reaſon to doubt but theſe were both uſed and eſteemed at that time; and as the prieſtly robes were to be made of the moſt coſtly things, it is not improbable, but theſe went into the compoſition under one of the three firſt names. As to the *buzz*, by which interpreters commonly underſtand the fineſt of *Egyptian* linen, it is moſt likely to have been a ſilk, made of the tail of a fiſh †. But this laſt is not to be met with in the *Moſaic* writings. The laſt quoted author has at leaſt made it probable, that the *ſheſh* was a kind of fine cotton †, and as for what the *Jews* ſay, that there could be no linen thread mixed in theſe garbs, becauſe it was contrary to the law, which forbids the mixture of linſey woolſey *, it is probable, as *Cunæus* obſerves, that it related only to ſtuffs made for common wear or uſe, and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that were for ſacred purpoſes, ſuch as the curtains, &c. of the tabernacle, and the robes of the high-prieſt, which were made of every thing that was ſplendid and coſtly.

(W) The word in the original is שוהם, *ſhoham*, which our verſion, after ſeveral others antient and modern, tranſlate *onyx-ſtone*, tho' the *Septuagint* and ſome others think, it ſignifies the emerald. The truth is, that all the light we can get from commentators, whether *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtians*, antient or modern, is too dim to lead us to the certain knowledge either of this or any other of the twelve ſtones of the breaſt-plate, becauſe it is hardly poſſible for any of them to have been ſufficiently acquainted with their true ſignification. And this is the reaſon, why we find ſo little agreement among them. However, as the thing is of no great conſequence, we ſhall follow our *Engliſh* verſion, which, for ought appears to the contrary, may have gueſſed as right as any other. Thoſe who are curious in ſuch things may, if they pleaſe, conſult thoſe authors quoted in the margin (51), who have wrote about them *ex profeſſo*.

(X) Theſe were divided one from another by the little golden partitions into which they were ſet, and were diſpoſed in the following order, to which

(49) Dan. v. 29. (50) John xix. 5. † Basil. *in Hexamer.* Procop. *de Fabric. ap.* Calmet. *Comm. in* Exod. & *Paralipom.* ‡ *Idem Comm. in* Exod. & *Dict. ſub. voc. Cotton.* * Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11. (51) *Vide Commentat. in* Gen. ii. 12. Lud. de Dieu, *in* Exod. xxviii. 17, & *ſeq.* Brannius *de Veſt. S. Sacerd. Hæb.* Fra. Dell. Strad. *de Gemmis*, & *al.*

God to *Moſes*, of putting the *Urim* and *Thummim* to the breaſt-plate [p]; as if it implied them to be a diſtinct thing from it; and this has made them run into various notions, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

What this oracle conſiſted in, and how it was conſulted, we have ſeen in a former ſection [†]; and have now nothing left to enquire about, but its form and make. But here we are alſo left ſo much in the dark, that it would require a new *Urim* and *Thummim* to acquaint us with it, becauſe no inſpired writer has given us any hint, and thoſe who have ſince wrote their conjectures about it ſeem to have given ſo great a ſcope to their fancy, that one ſhall ſcarce find two or three of them agreeing in the ſame notion. Some antients thought, that there was a thirteenth ſtone in the breaſt-plate, whoſe extraordinary luſtre and beauty above the reſt did ſignify to the high-prieſt God's approbation or diſlike of the thing enquired about [q]. And though St. *Auſtin* has plainly proved, that there was not the leaſt foundation for ſuch a ſupernumerary ſtone [r], ſome moderns have not ſcrupled to add another, in order to anſwer the two names of *Urim* and *Thummim* [s]. An antient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that thoſe two words were either engraven on a plate of gold and fixed to the breaſt-plate, or embroidered in raiſed work upon it [t]. Moſt of the *Jews* believe, that it was the *Tetragrammaton* written upon a plate of gold, or ſome other way fixed to the breaſt-plate [u]; and *Le Clerc*, that *Urim* and *Thummim* were the names of two kinds of precious ſtones, ſet in a gold chain or collar, which were hung about the high-prieſt's neck, and came down to his breaſt; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, whoſe chief magiſtrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of juſtice and truth engraven on ſome precious ſtone [w]. A modern traveller, in a letter dated from *Cairo*, tells us, that he ſaw a very antient mummy in *Egypt*, which had a large collar hanging down to its breaſt, with a bird engraven in gold faſtened to the end of it [x]. *Spencer*, after *De Caſtro*, believed, that the breaſt-plate had two little golden figures, encloſed in a kind of purſe, which did give anſwers *viva voce*, to the queſtions of the high-prieſt [y]; and for this he quotes St. *Jerom*

[p] Exod. xxviii. 30. [†] Vide ſup. p. 537. note (C). [q] EPIPHAN. Tract. de XII. Gemmis. SUIDAS, in Εφωδ. [r] Queſt. in Exod. 117. [s] ARR. MONT. & al. [t] CYRIL. Expoſit. Symbol. [u] Ita Rabbin. vide R. SALOM. vide EGUB, & MUNST. in loc. [w] Comm. in loc. vide DIOD. SICUL. lib. ii. c. 3. Biblioth. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. & al. [x] PET. VALLA, Epiſt. xi. [y] Diſſert. de Ur. & Thum.

which we have added their *Hebrew* names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them.

1. אדם Odem	Sardius REUBEN	2. פטדה Phiterah	Topas SIMEON	3. ברקת Barketh	Carbuncle LEVI
4. נפך Nophek	Emerald JUDAH	5. ספיר Saphir	Sapphire DAN	6. יהלום Jahalom	Diamond NAPHTHALI
7. לשם Lethem	Ligure GAD	8. שבו Shebo	Agate ASHER	9. אחלמה Achlamah	Amethyſt ISSACHAR
10. תרשיש Tarſhiſh	Berit ZEBULUN	11. שהם Shohem	Onyx JOSEPH	12. ישפה Yaſhphe	Jaſper BENJAMIN

Some of theſe ſtones, it muſt be owned, are of ſo hard a nature, eſpecially the diamond, that one may juſtly queſtion how they came ſo ſoon by the art of engraving on them. But here the *Talmudiſts* wonderfully help us out, by aſſuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have waſted ſome part of the ſtone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which being ſet upon each of theſe ſtones, did ſink itſelf all along thoſe places which *Moſes* had chalked to it, and ſo impreſſed the letters into the ſtones, in the ſame manner as we might do into ſome things of a ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, without taking off any part of it. They relate likewiſe ſeveral other wonders about this worm and theſe precious ſtones, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, after what we have owned in the laſt note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true ſignification of their names. The *Jews*, among other things, tell us, that the names of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were engraven alſo over the name of *Reuben*, in the firſt ſtone; and in the laſt under that of *Benjamin* the words, שבטי יה, *Shibte-jah*, *the tribes of the Lord:* in order to make up the whole alphabet, ſome letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypotheſis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance or ſuperior luſtre of ſuch letters as compoſed the anſwer. But of this we have already ſpoken in another place [†]

(52) Exod. xxviii. 17. *& ſeq.* (53) MAIMON, *Kele hammikdaſh. c.* 9. [†] *Vide. ſup. p.* 537. *note* (C)

St. *Jerom* and *Cedrenus* among the antients, *Cornelius a Lapide* and *Ludovicus de Dieu* among the moderns, with ſome *Jewiſh* writers: but this notion has been ſo ſeverely anſwered by the learned *Pocok* *, as abſurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author ſince. *Philo* indeed ſeems to hint ſomething like it [z], only with this difference, that he ſays, thoſe two figures, or vertues, namely, manifeſtation and truth, were only embroidered upon it: and it muſt be owned, that if there were any ſuch figures or ſymbols, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe them, with him, to have been only embroidered, than with *Spencer*, that they were real figures, whether caſt or carved by any other way; becauſe this latter ſeems too contrary to the prohibition in the ſecond Commandment (Y). But we ſee no need of ſuppoſing any ſuch figures, upon the Authority of either, becauſe *Joſephus*, who was alſo a prieſt, and may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been as well acquainted with it as *Philo*, doth not ſo much as hint any thing like ſuch figures, but makes the oracle to conſiſt in the ſupernatural brightneſs of the twelve ſtones at the time of enquiring, as we have ſeen already; and as for *Spencer*, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from *Egypt*. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places where *Moſes* mentions the *Urim* and *Thummim* [a], will have reaſon to wonder, that God, who took ſuch particular care to give him the moſt exact directions for all the other garments, utenſils, *&c.* ſhould not give him the leaſt hint about theſe; unleſs we do ſuppoſe them to have been things ſufficiently both known to him and to all the people. If therefore we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the reſt, it would be that of the judicious *Hottinger*, who thinks, that when *Moſes* is commanded to put into the breaſt-plate the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which words, as has been ſhewn already, do ſignify light and perfection in the plural, it means only, that he ſhould make choice of the moſt perfect ſet of ſtones, and have them poliſhed, ſo as to give the moſt conſummate luſtre [b] (Z). And this ſeems moſt agreeable to what *Joſephus* and *Maimon* ſaid of it, except the miraculous luſtre which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle, concerning which we have elſewhere offered a more probable conjecture *†*. However we are far from diſapproving of that more ſpiritual notion of the learned *Prideaux*, who believes, that thoſe two words were choſen to expreſs the clearneſs and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine vertue communicated to the breaſt-plate at its conſecration, only we are more inclined to ſuppoſe, that this latter ſenſe was emblematically ſignified by the genuineneſs and brightneſs of the ſtones. At leaſt we find that the *Jews*, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it neceſſary to imitate this breaſt-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the ſame

* Comm. in Hoſ. iii. 4. xxxix. 8. & Levit. viii. 8. [z] In vit. Moſ. lib. iii. de Monarc. l. ii. [b] In Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. c. 5. note 11. [a] Exod. xxviii. 30. *†* Sup. p. 537. note (C).

(Y) If it ſhould be objected here, that the cherubims in the ſanctuary were as contrary to that prohibition, as theſe ſuppoſed figures, we beg leave to obſerve, that there was not the leaſt danger of the former being miſtaken for a ſymbol of the deity, even by the moſt ſtupid, becauſe God is expreſly ſaid in ſeveral places to dwell between the cherubims; ſo that they could only look upon them as ornaments to the mercy-ſeat, or at moſt, as ſymbols of thoſe heavenly beings, who continually adore and praiſe him, and fly with the utmoſt ſpeed to perform his commands. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of the humble poſture in which they were repreſented, and of their having ſo many wings. We cannot ſay the ſame of the latter, becauſe their delivering the divine oracles in any way, but more eſpecially if they had done it *vivâ voce*, as our author pretends, could hardly have failed of inſpiring the people with the ſame idolatrous notions that the reſt of the *Heathens* entertained concerning their falſe deities.

(Z) This conjecture is ſo far from jarring with the literal ſenſe of the original, that the very expreſſion, which *Moſes* makes uſe of in the places above quoted (54), ſeems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all the particular directions for making the breaſt-plate, ſuch as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious ſtones, *&c.* even to the hooks, rings, chains, and ſtrings, by which it was to be made faſt to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפט את האורים ואת התמים which literally runs thus; *and thou ſhalt give to the breaſt-plate of judgment theſe lights or luſtres and perfections*; namely, of the twelve ſtones before deſcribed. We need not to add, that according to the *Hebrew* idiom the word אור, or *light*, doth often imply *the brightneſs*, and תום, *thom*, *the goodneſs* of a thing in its kind, and that the plural number, as here, is often uſed to expreſs the higheſt degree of it. However, we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all theſe ſeems moſt probable to him, and if he is deſirous to know more about this point, he may conſult the learned *Buxtorf* the younger, who has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject (55).

(54) *Sub. lit.* a (55) *Exercit. iii. de Ur. & Thum.*

fame name, tho' they own, that it had not the oracular vertue of the former [c]. Now it is plain, that ſuch an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other ſuppoſition, than that they underſtood the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, to have been deſigned by God, not as abſolutely expreſſive, but as ſymbolical, of the light and clearneſs of this oracle. a

THE laſt garment peculiar to the high-prieſt was his mitre or bonnet. Whether, and how far it differed in faſhion from that of the common prieſts, *Moſes* doth not tell us, neither is it eaſy to gueſs, tho' their being called by different names, and made at leaſt of different kinds of linen (A), inclines one to think, that there was ſome conſiderable difference between them; if not in ſhape, yet in beauty and richneſs. The reader may ſee in the next note all that can be conjectured concerning it (B), from *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* authors; however the pontifical one was remarkably diſtinguiſhed from the common, by the golden plate on which were ingraven in *Hebrew* the words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD [d]. This plate is alſo called in ſome other places a crown [e], and was faſtened to the fore-part of the mitre, by two blue ribbons or ſtrings. b

THESE words, the *Jews* tell us, were raiſed by a kind of enamel above the gold [f]: but this ſeems contrary to the meaning of *Moſes*'s words, who expreſly ſays, that they were to be *written, like the engraving of a ſignet*. However there is no doubt, but it was deſigned to expreſs the holineſs of the character of the perſon that wore it, which was to be ſuch, that the leaſt defilement, tho' never ſo unvoluntary, diſqualified him from performing his office, till he had been legally purified from it. Concerning this point, the *Jews* acquaint us with a particularity, which, tho' not mentioned by *Moſes*, is well worth inſerting here, as having no ſmall probability. They tell us out of their *Talmud* [g], that on expiation-day, the high-prieſt being to perform the ſervice of that ſolemn faſt, and it being far from impoſſible, that he might contract ſome impurity, which might unfit him for his office, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, they uſed, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in caſe of ſuch a defilement. This vicar was neither anointed nor conſecrated for the place, tho' his new office, did oblige him to go into the moſt holy place inſtead of him. They add, that as ſoon as the one was cleanſed, c

[c] Vide MAIM. Kele hammikdaſh, cap. x. § 10. [d] Exod. xxviii. 36. [e] Exod. xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. Levit. viii. 9. [f] MAIM. ubi ſup. c. ix. § 1. [g] Idem in Maſſec in Yoma.

(A) As to the names, that of the high prieſt is called מצנפת, *Mitznepheth*, from which the boldeſt etymologiſts, that we know of, have not ventured to draw any hint about its make. It is not ſo with thoſe of the common prieſts, which being called מגבעות, *Migbaghoth*, they conclude, were higher than the former, becauſe גבעה, ſignifies *a hill* (56). Tho' the word, being in the plural, would rather incline one to believe, that there were ſome partitions in thoſe prominences, like unto the mitres worn in the church of *Rome*, but the learned *Abraham Ben David* has rejected that notion in his obſervations on *Maimon*, and maintains, that the high-prieſts mitre was higher than all the reſt. We ſhall not take upon us to ſay which of theſe is moſt in the right.

Another difference marked by *Moſes* is, that that of the high-prieſt was made of שש, *ſheſh*, and that of the prieſts of בד, *bad*. We have already taken notice, that the former was, if not a ſilk or fine cotten, yet at leaſt a finer ſort of linen than the latter (57).

(B) All that we can gather from *Joſephus*, St. *Jerom*, *Maimon* (58) and others concerning this ornament is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike a hemiſphere, which conſequently did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped ſeveral times about with a piece of fine cotton or linen, of a conſiderable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribbon or ſtring, to prevent its falling of. *Joſephus* adds, that the mitre was covered with another of fine blue or purple, having a tripple crown of gold about it, and that on the top, juſt in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, reſembling the bud of a plant which he is there very particular in deſcribing. But we ſhall refer the reader to the author. The *Jews* further add, that as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers or feſtoons to the place where it was tied. Both the high-prieſt and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets faſt when they officiated, becauſe it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldneſs to be ſeen bare-headed; according to which notion the *Chaldee* paraphraſt renders thoſe places, where the *Iſraelites* are ſaid to have marched out of *Egypt*, *with a high hand* (59), by the words *bare-headed*, that is, with boldneſs, and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greateſt token of reſpect with them was to be bare-foot; and this is the reaſon why we find no mention of ſhoes or ſandals among the prieſtly robes, they being all obliged to perform their office bare-foot; and in this they became ſo ſcrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, tho' but a ſtraw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or elſe their miniſtry was eſteemed null.

(56) MAIMON. *ubi ſup. c. viii.* § 29. (57) *Vide* CALM. *ſub voc. Cotton.* (58) *Joſ. Ant. lib. iii. c.* 7. HIERON, *ad Fabiol.* MAIM. *Kele hammikdaſh, c. ix.* 10. (59) Exod. xiv. 8, *& alib.*

a cleanſed, he re-entered into his office, and the other relinquiſhed it, and returned into the rank of common prieſts, only with this difference, that he had ſome kind of ſuperiority and rule over the reſt; and if the high-prieſt died before him, he ſucceeded him in that dignity of courſe. *Joſephus* confirms this by the inſtance of the high-prieſt *Matthias*, who, having defiled himſelf by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Eli*, a near relation of his, officiated for him [a]. *Maimon* calls this vicar *Sagan*, and adds, that he had two prieſts to wait upon him, as he himſelf waited on the high-prieſt; with ſome other particulars which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they appear of later inſtitution [b] (C). However, with reſpect to the high-prieſt, it is plain, b that he might be ſubject to many unforeſeen ways, and ran ſuch riſk if he entered the moſt holy place with any ſuch pollution, that it is more than probable, there was ſome perſon appointed by way of precaution to perform his office in all ſuch caſes. But who this ſubſtitute was, how, and by whom, he was appointed, we dare not affirm; though it is not improbable, that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we obſerved at firſt, did hold the next rank to him, and is therefore moſt likely to be the perſon meant in the laſt chapter of *Jeremiah*, where it is ſaid, that *the captain of the guard took* Serajah *the high, and* Zephaniah *the ſecond prieſt* *. In this ſenſe likewiſe it is thought by many of the learned, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are ſaid, by St. *Luke* †, to be high-prieſts in c the ſame year; but, concerning the perſon that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, *Moſes* has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a ſucceſſor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

Laws concerning the prieſts.

Laws concerning prieſts.

WE have already taken notice, that theſe were deſcended from *Aaron* the firſt high-prieſt, by his two ſons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*. *Moſes* indeed mentions only theſe two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the c prieſthood, but it were abſurd to ſuppoſe from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father; for we find that *Phinehas* was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he ſhowed againſt the *Midianiſh* defection [c]; and probably there were more of age ſufficient to perform the prieſtly functions. Theſe, being ſubordinate to the high-prieſt, and of a rank and office ſuperior to the *Levites*, may be conſidered in a threefold view, namely, with regard to their conſecration, office, and dreſs. But of theſe we ſhall not read ſay much, becauſe there was nothing of pomp or ſolemnity uſed in any of them.

Their conſecration.

THEIR conſecration, if we except that of the ſons of *Aaron*, which we mentioned in a former article, was performed with little or no ceremony. They were firſt carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities (D), and

[a] Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. [b] Vide MAIM. Kele hammikdaſh. * Verſ. 24. † Luke iii. 2. vide CALMET. adverſ. Baron. Jos. SCALIGER, Prolog. in EUSEB. HOTTING. in GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar.* lib. i. c. 5. ſub note 19, & al. [c] Num. xxv. 7, & ſeq.

(C) The truth is, that after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when they became more ſcrupulous obſervers of the law, their prieſts and wiſe-men made abundance of ordinances for keeping a ſtricter diſcipline, even to the adminiſtring of a ſolemn oath to the high-prieſt on the eve of expiation, that he would exactly conform to the *Moſaic* injunctions, according to the traditions then received. This caution became highly neceſſary, not only after the high prieſthood became venable, and the purchaſers leſs ſcrupulous about the functions of it, but alſo by reaſon of ſome difference in opinions about the burning of incenſe in the holy of holies, the ſcape-goat, and ſome other things concerning which the reader may conſult *Ben Maimon* (60).

(D) Theſe were the ſame as unqualified the high-prieſt, and are mentioned under that head out of *Leviticus* (61); but the *Jews* tell us, that theſe are but a ſketch of thoſe that exclude from the prieſtly functions, which they have enlarged at a very ſtrange rate. We ſhall juſt mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids, ſeven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the noſe, ſix to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, ſixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the ſkin and fleſh, and at leaſt eleven to the upper ſkin (62).

Beſides

(60) *Halaka havodath yom hakephurim*, c. 1. *Vide* BASNAG. *in* CUN. *lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (61) *Ch.* xxi. 18, *& ſeq.* (62) *Vide* MAIM. *in Biath hammikd. ch.* 8. BASNAG. *ubi ſup. tom.* iii. *lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

and if ſo, they were introduced into the court of the tabernacle or temple, a where they waſhed themſelves with pure water preſerved there for that purpoſe; after which, being cloathed in their prieſtly habit, they were brought to the high-prieſt, who preſented them to the Lord; and after the uſual ſacrifices preſcribed by *Moſes*, that pontif, or the prieſt in waiting, ſanctified them, or, as the original imports *filled their hands*, by which is underſtood their being immediately ſet about ſome branch of the prieſtly office. At leaſt theſe ceremonies are inferred from thoſe of the conſecration of the *Levites* [1]; for as theſe were of an inferior rank, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the prieſts could not be conſecrated with leſs ceremony; but even here it is very much queſtioned, whether any of theſe, except only the two or three firſt, were ever uſed, unleſs b in caſes of ſome ſignal defection, or long diſuſe of their office and the like, ſuch as frequently happened during the reigns of ſome of their wicked kings [m].

Office. THEIR office, which was ſeverally determined by lot, and which they did caſt at their firſt coming into waiting, was either to burn incenſe morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily ſacrifice, to kill, dreſs, and offer up the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar, to keep up a continual fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the ſhew-bread upon the golden table, with ſome others of the like nature, the moſt material of which we have had occaſion to mention under the articles of ſacrifices, firſt-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from ſabbath to ſabbath, and quarterly according to their claſſes; the age in which they were to begin to miniſter, was fixed by *Moſes* at about twenty-five or thirty years of age, and ended about fifty [n]; but in *David*'s time they were made to ſerve from the age of twenty [o]. Thoſe who either by age or infirmity were diſabled from miniſtring, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquiſites of the prieſthood; and any *Levite* that willingly offered himſelf to ſerve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance [p], as we ſhall ſee in its place: other more important parts of the prieſtly office were the inſtruction of the people [q], judging of controverſies [r], of leproſy, and other pollutions [s], cauſes of divorce, and the uſe of the waters of jealouſy [t]; of vows, and of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of victims; the blowing of the trumpets, in order to proclaim the ſabbath and ſolemn feaſts, the calling of aſſemblies; ſounding to war; encouraging of the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occaſionally ſpoken of already. But the moſt ſacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preſerving of the volumes of the law, and bleſſing of the people in God's name [u]. There were likewiſe ſome ſeveral inhibitions relating to their office, ſome of which were explicit, and ſome implicit. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which forbad them to make uſe of any ſtrange fire [w], of drinking either wine or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to c miniſter [x] (E). They were likewiſe forbid to begin any ſacerdotal function till they

[1] Numb. viii. 5, & ſeq. [m] Vide 2 King. ii. 5, 7. [n] Numb. iv. 3. viii. 24. [o] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chr. xxxi. 17. [p] Deut. xviii. 6. [q] Lev. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7. [r] Deut. xvii. 8, & ſeq. xix. 17, & alib. [s] Lev. xiii. xiv. & xv. paſſ. & alib. [t] Numb. v. 12, & ſeq. [u] Num. vi. 23, & ſeq. [w] Lev. x. 1, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. 9.

Beſides theſe, which unqualified a man, either from being admitted to the prieſtly office, or from being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were ſeveral other voluntary ones for which he was ſet aſide from the miniſtry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the firſt kind were ſeveral legal pollutions, the greateſt of which was that of a dead body. For this reaſon they were not allowed to aſſiſt at the funeral of any but the neareſt relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or ſiſter that died virgins. In all ſuch pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any ſacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things, till they had thoroughly purified themſelves, according to the law (63. Thoſe that excluded them wholly from the prieſthood, beſides the natural and accidental ones above mentioned, were, for inſtance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying of a harlot, or a *Canaanitiſh*, or any ſtrange, woman, and refuſing to put her away. Something like this we find practiſed in the time of *Ezra* (64), after the captivity, to which we may add, that of the prophet (65), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a prieſt. Idolatry likewiſe, and many other crimes of a like high nature, did wholly exclude a perſon from the prieſthood (66).

(E) The reaſon of this prohibition we have hinted

(63) Lev. xxii. 6, & *ſeq.* (64) Ezr. x. 10, & *ſeq.* (65) Ezek. xliv. 22. *vide* & Levit. xxi. 13, (66) *Vide* MAIM. בִּיאַת הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, c. 1.

a they had firſt waſhed their hands and feet [y]. The implicit ones were ſuch as theſe, not to appear in the miniſtry without their prieſtly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, becauſe they were tokens of mourning; or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To theſe the *Talmudiſts* have added ſome others, ſuch as ſitting down whilſt they performed any part of their office (F); making uſe of the left hand inſtead of the right (becauſe *Aaron* and his ſons had their right ears, thumbs, and great-toes ſanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of leſs conſequence [z].

IN *David*'s time the two families of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were, for better order's ſake, divided into twenty four claſſes, according to the number of each b family; ſo that the former, being the more numerous, was divided into ſixteen, and the latter into eight claſſes. Theſe took their turns in the miniſtry, according as it was aſſigned to them by lot, which was commonly caſt before the king, high-prieſt and other perſons of diſtinction, to avoid fraud and confuſion: an account of which the reader will find in the twenty-fourth chapter of the firſt book of the *Chronicles*. All that we ſhall add is, that theſe claſſes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that common-wealth, and from this the heads of each claſs came afterwards to be called *chief-prieſts*. This is the reaſon why we meet in two of the evangeliſts *†* with an aſſembly of them, which ought therefore to be c diſtinguiſhed both from the high-prieſt and from his ſuffragan.

Dreſs. WE have already ſaid ſomething of their dreſs when we ſpoke of that of the high-prieſt going into the holy of holies. It conſiſted of a veſt, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre or cap, all of linen. The cap reſembled, according to *Joſephus*, and thoſe who follow him, a helmet or pointed turban. Their girdle was variegrated with the fineſt colours about three finger's-breadth, and woven round like an eel-ſkin. Their veſt or long coat, it is pretended, was without ſeam woven from top to bottom, and with the ſleeves to it. Some of thoſe authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom or frame for making ſuch kind of garments [a]. No prieſt was to wear his hair to its full length, d but was obliged to clip it with a pair of ſciſſors, at leaſt when he went into waiting [b]. As to their dreſs, they were only bound to wear it at the time of their miniſtring, at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue and perquiſites, will be beſt ſeen when we come to ſpeak of the *Levites*: in the mean time we cannot forbear making one obſervation upon the garb both of the high and lower prieſts, in deſcribing of which we have followed *Joſephus* and the current of interpreters, that if their veſts had been of the length which they tell us of, and had had a pair of drawers under them, there would ſcarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without ſteps, for fear of their diſcovering that which modeſty requires to be hid [c]. We hope this will be a ſufficient excuſe for our enlarging no further on that ſubject.

Laws

[y] Exod. xxx. 21. [z] Vide MAIM. Biath. Hammickdaſh, c. 1. & ſeq. BASNAG. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4. [a] See the verſions of JOSEPHUS, LAMY, CALMET, and others. *†* Math. xxvi. 3. Mark. xv. 1. [b] Comp. Levit. xxi. 5. & Ezek. xliv. 20. [c] Exod. xx. ver. ult.

hinted at heretofore †, but as expreſs and plain as it is, the *Jewiſh* doctors have ſubtiliſed a conſiderable part of it away, and thereby fruſtrated its main deſign, by diſtinguiſhing between wine under or above forty days old; between the latter and other ſtrong drink; between drinking the quantity of a quarter of a pint, at one, or at ſeveral draughts, and the like (67). Sure it is, that this prohibition was intended to prevent all kind of blunders and indecencies in God's ſervice, whereas it is plain, that a prieſt might drink enough to endanger his being guilty of them, and yet to be deemed guilleſs, or at the worſt come off with a baſtinado, by theſe nice diſtinctions.

(F) Some of their rabbies have indeed been more remiſs, and allowed them to ſit down when they were not in the actual performance of their office; but the *Talmudiſts* are ſo far from ſuch an indulgence, that they would not permit them to ſit, or to be in any other than a ſtanding poſture, even whilſt they waſhed their feet. And this they inferred from the words of *Moſes*, *the Lord has choſen them to ſtand to miniſter*, &c. (68).

† *Vide ſup. p.* 524. a. (67) MAIM. *ubi ſup.* *ad Hæbr.* x. 11. MAIM. *ubi ſup. c.* 5. R. SAL. JARK. *in* Deut. xviii. 5, *& al.*
(68) Deut. xviii. 5, 7, *& alib. Vide* CHRYSOST.

Laws concerning the Levites.

Levites.

THESE related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes, for as to their deſcent, the choice of their tribe, and their conſecration, we have had already occaſion to mention all that is material concerning them; only with reſpect to the laſt of theſe, it is obſervable, that this ceremony was began with ſprinkling them with the water of ſeparation, which was that which they uſed to purify thoſe who had contracted any legal impurity, with ſhaving their whole body, and waſhing all their cloaths before they were preſented by the people to the high-prieſt [d]. As to their dreſs, it was the ſame with that of the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, *Moſes* not having appointed them any particular one. We have likewiſe heretofore given an account of their number, claſſes, incampments, marches, carrying, ſetting up and taking down the tabernacle and all its moveables [e]; of their being ſubject to their brethern; of the family of *Aaron*, and officiating under them in the lower and more laborious branches of the miniſtry, during all the time that the ark was removing from place to place. But after it was once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their ſervice became eaſier and more delightful [f]. This ſeems to be the reaſon why *Moſes* ordered at firſt, that they ſhould not be admitted into their office, till they had attained to the age of between five and twenty and thirty, and that they ſhould be diſcharged from it at fifty [g]; their office then being ſuch as required more ſtrength and vigour; but in *David*'s time, when they were eaſed of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of twenty [h]. And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the fiftieth year, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

Their conſecration and dreſs.

BEFORE *David* did divide them into claſſes, their miniſtry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the prieſts did, and their buſineſs was, ſome to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were uſed by the prieſts; others to keep the court of the ſanctuary, and all the utenſils that ſtood out of the tabernacle clean and decent, and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle. Some were likewiſe appointed to ſing and play upon inſtruments, others to ſtudy and expound the law to the people, and to aſſiſt at the inferior courts of judicature; and theſe provinces were, in all probability, aſſigned to them according to their ſeveral capacities. But after *David* had once fixed the ark at *Jeruſalem*, by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more ſo, than the vaſt project he had premeditated of building the temple, would moſt likely require, that wiſe monarch made ſeveral neceſſary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* polity. We have ſeen above, that they were diſtinguiſhed into three families, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. To each of theſe, which he alſo ſubdivided into twenty four claſſes, which were to ſucceed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their ſeveral functions, as follows: to the one he aſſigned the aſſiſting of the prieſts at the tabernacle, preparing of flower, cakes, wine, and oil for the ſacrifices, and all other ſervices of that kind. The ſecond was appointed to ſing and play on muſical inſtruments, at proper periods of the divine ſervice; and the third to keep a conſtant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over theſe claſſes he appointed from among them proper officers and overſeers of ſeveral ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He choſe likewiſe from among them, men of learning and piety to teach and breed up the younger *Levites*, either to their miniſtry or to expound the law unto the people (G); beſides thoſe whom he appointed to aſſiſt at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all

[d] Num. viii. 7, & ſeq. [e] Vide ſup. p. 549. c. [f] Vide MAIM. BASNAG. ubi ſup. [g] Comp. Num. iv. 3, & viii. 24. [h] 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.

(G) The *Jews* tell us, that the *Levites* paſt through four different degrees. From one month old to the twentieth year they were inſtructed in the law of God. From twenty to twenty five they were taught the functions of their miniſtry; from thence to thirty they ſerved, as it were

all theſe functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man from performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the *Jews* do, that of ſinging, for which it is poſſible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reaſon of the diſagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice [i].

THESE ſingers king *Solomon* diſtinguiſhed from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a kind of linnen robe, or ſurplice, when they were upon duty [k], but the reſt did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king *Agrippa*, about the year of *Chriſt* 62, and about ſix years before the deſtruction of the laſt temple. *Joſephus* adds [l], that the prieſts did highly reſent it, and obſerves, that ſuch innovations ſeldom went unpuniſhed. It is true, that he calls them *ſingers*; but 'tis plain he muſt have been either miſtaken or miſcopied; ſeeing there could be no alteration in their caſe, but what was as old as the time of *Solomon*.

2. Their revenues. We have choſen to ſpeak jointly of thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, becauſe they were intermixed together by God's own appointment, at leaſt in their main branches, thoſe of the tithes, cities, and ſome other perquiſites. As for what either of them had in particular, it is ſcarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that according to *Jacob*'s prophecy, the tribe of *Levi* was to be interſperſed among the other tribes **, and that they were excluded, by an expreſs law in *Deuteronomy* [m], from having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, and had their portion aſſigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the firſt-born of *Iſrael*, in whoſe ſtead they were ſubſtituted. We have already ſpoken of all theſe, but as it was neceſſary, that they ſhould have ſome certain places of abode appointed for them, as ſoon as they were come to the plain of *Moab*, over-againſt *Jericho*, God was pleaſed to aſſign them forty eight cities, with their ſuburbs, thirteen of which were to belong to the prieſts, and the other thirty five to the reſt of the tribe of *Levi* [n] (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the prieſts were for the moſt part in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and conſequently nearer to *Jeruſalem*; whereas thoſe of the *Levites* were divided unto them by lot out of all the other tribes on either ſide of *Jordan*. Thus did God turn *Jacob*'s curſe into a bleſſing, and the prieſts and *Levites*, whoſe office it was to preſerve knowledge, became thus ſo diſperſed, that the people might be every where ſupplied with it. What thoſe cities were an apprentiſhip to them, and began to exerciſe themſelves in ſome of the lower branches of it, ſuch as cleanſing the courts and veſſels, guarding the gates, ſinging and playing upon inſtruments: laſtly, when they attained the thirtieth year, they were peremptorily inſtalled into their office. Some ſuch degrees we find obſerved among the veſtal virgins, who were bound to the ſtricteſt chaſtity during thirty years; the firſt ten of which they ſpent in learning the myſteries of their profeſſion, the ſecond ten they adminiſtred in holy things, and the laſt ten they beſtowed in bringing up of young novices (69). And it is probable, that the apoſtle alluded to this, when he tells *Timothy*, that they who have performed the office of a deacon well do purchaſe to themſelves καλὸν βαθμὸν, *a good degree* (70). *Moſes* indeed ordered (71), that they ſhould be diſcharged at the age of fifty from ſerving any more; but he adds, in the next verſe, that they ſhould miniſter to their brethren in the tabernacle, and keep the charge, but do no ſervice: by which it is plain, that they were only exempted from the harder ſort of ſervice, but continued ſtill in ſome others, ſuch as they were fitteſt for; in which number the breeding up of the young *Levites*, teaching, judging, and the like, may be reaſonably reckoned (72).

(H) The right of the *Levitical* tribe to theſe cities and lands adjacent is not without ſome difficulties, which have made ſome authors doubt, whether they had any more than the bare uſe and income of, without the power of alienating them (73). Thus it is objected, that *Hebron* was given to the prieſts as a city of refuge, and yet *Caleb*, who was of the tribe of *Judah*, had the fields and villages belonging to it aſſigned to him (74). This difficulty may be eaſily removed, by ſuppoſing with our author, that *Caleb* did yield the city unto them, becauſe the Lord had determined it for a city of refuge; but that he reſerved the territories to himſelf, as being out of the caſe. However, as to the prieſts and *Levites* having power to alienate their houſes and lands, or even to purchaſe new ones, exclusive of thoſe allotted to them, we have ſufficient proof, as the reader will ſee by what follows above.

Their revenues.

[a] [b] [c] [d]

[i] Vide OBAD. BARTENOR, Tract. Cholin c. i. § 6. [k] 2 Chron. v. 12. [l] Ant. lib. xx. c. 8.
** Vide ſup. p. 462. a, and note (F), & alib. paſſ. [m] Ch. xviii. paſſ. [n] Numb. xxxv. 1, & ſeq. Joſh. xxi. 10, & ſeq.

(69) *Vide* DION. HALICARN. *lib. ii.* (70) 1 Tim. iii. 13. (71) Num. viii. 25. (72) *Vide* MAIM, *ubi ſup* ABARBAN. *in c.* BASNAG *R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c.* 2. (73) *Vide* BASNAG, *ubi ſup. c.* 7. (74) Joſh. xxi. 11, & *ſeq.*

cities were, is not worth enquiring, ſeeing we know little more of them than their names, and the tribes they were in. All that we ſhall examine at preſent is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues conſiſted in, and how far they did extend. (As for the ſix cities of refuge which were choſen out of that number, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate article.) With reſpect then to the privilege of the former, which ſome authors have queſtioned the extent of, further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may obſerve on the contrary, that their owners had power to ſell or mortage them, as well as the other tribes, only with this advantageous difference on their ſide, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able, and if not, they devolved to them on the year of *Jubilee*: whereas, as we obſerved before, thoſe alienated houſes of the laity, which ſtood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably loſt to the firſt owner [o]. Hence is is plain, that their right to their houſes was even ſtronger than that of the people, for which reaſon it is called their inheritance [p]. The caſe was indeed different with reſpect to the grounds that were annexed to thoſe cities, which could not be alienated upon any account [q]; but the reaſon of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only paſture-ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by conſent to incloſe or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the diviſion was made in proportion to the largeneſs of their families, which could not have ſubſiſted, had ſuch an alienation been permitted.

IT is likewiſe manifeſt, that their being excluded from any portion in the diſtribution of the land, was ſo far from depriving them of the right of poſſeſſion, or even purchaſe, that we have ſeveral inſtances to the contrary in both caſes, and they authorized by God. With reſpect to the firſt, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his houſe or land unto the Lord, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling, to redeem them, they were then to continue ſacred unto God [r], that is, the prieſts became the right owners of them; accordingly we find, that the high-prieſt *Abiathar* had ſome eſtate of his own, into which he was relegated by *Solomon* [s]; and even in the apoſtle's time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had ſome land which he ſold for the uſe of the church [t]. To this we may add, if what *Maimon* tells us be right, that the tribe of *Levi* had their twelfth ſhare of all the lands, which were got by the ſword [u]. As for their having it in their power to purchaſe eſtates, we need but read the 32d chapter of *Jeremiah*, who was a prieſt, where we ſhall find a curious account of his purchaſing of a piece of land, with all the formalities that were then uſed in ſuch caſes [w].

EVERY one of theſe cities had ſuburbs, the limits whereof were alſo appointed by God himſelf [x]; but *Moſes* has expreſſed them in ſuch terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him, than our readers would care to be troubled with (I); in which uncer-

[o] Levit. xxv. 29, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. ver. 33. [q] Ibid. ver. 34. [r] Levit. xxvii. 14, & ſeq. [s] 1 King. ii. 26. [t] Acts iv. 36, 37. [u] Halak. Shemit veyobel. Vide BASNAG. ubi ſup. [w] Ver. 7, & ſeq. [x] Halak. Havoda. Hacokabin Umazaloth, ap BASNAG. R. H. tom. i. lib. i. c. 7.

(I) *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf in one verſe thus, *and the ſuburbs of the cities of the* Levites, *from the wall of the city outwards ſhall be*, one thouſand cubits round about, and in the next verſe it is ſaid, *thou ſhalt meaſure from without the city, on the eaſt ——weſt——north——and ſouth ſides of it*, two thouſand cubits, *and the city ſhall be in the middle*, &c. (75) To reconcile theſe two numbers, *Junius* (76) has ſuppoſed the latter to be mentioned *kat'exegeſin*, of the diameter of the ſuburb, the city abſtracted, ſo that which way ſoever one meaſured it, it had two thouſand cubits; but this conſtruction ſeems to us ſomewhat too forced and unnatural; we therefore think with the *Jews*, that the two numbers may be more properly joined together, namely, the laſt as a further addition to the firſt. The word מגרש, *Migraſh*, which we tranſlate, *Suburbs*, doth properly ſignify *expulſion*, or *thruſting out*, from גרש, *to expel* (77); and conſequently in a figurative ſenſe, may ſignify *extenſion*. Accordingly the *Chaldee* renders it a *ſpace*. The ſenſe might therefore, we think, run naturally thus: *the firſt extent of the Levitical cities ſhall be one thouſand cubits from the out wall; after which thou ſhalt meaſure again from without the city another ſpace of two thouſand cubits, and this ſhall be the extent of their outward ſpace or territories*. We own however, that this latter ſenſe is not altogether literal, but we hope, it will be found leſs forced than the former, and to remove the ſeeming contradiction to the full as well.

(75) Num. xxxv. *ver.* 4, & 5. (76) *In loc.* (77) *Vide* KIMCH. BUXTORF. PAGN. *in Rad.*

uncertainty we are willing to rely on the *Jews*, who tell us, that thoſe two numbers were to be taken jointly; ſo that the extent of thoſe ſuburbs, or rather territories, ſhould extend to the diſtance of three thouſand cubits from the out walls [y]. They add, that the firſt thouſand were aſſigned for paſture ground, on which therefore it was not lawful to build, ſow, or plant, but within the limits of the other two thouſand cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within thoſe cities or their ſuburbs, but that they had, according to the *Jews*, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying place, which was quite out of the verge of thoſe limits. We ſhall venture no further on the rights and privileges of theſe cities, concerning which the *Jews* tell us wonders, but without any probability; thoſe that are fond of ſuch fables may find more than they can give credit to in *Maimon* [z], and other *Jewiſh* commentators on theſe places of the pentateuch, where mention is made of them [a]. This, however, we may ſafely add concerning the cities themſelves, namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or leſs abounding in each of them. Thus for inſtance the tribe of *Judah*, whoſe lot was full of them, did allot nine, whereas that of *Benjamin*, which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only [b]; as to the nomination and diſtribution of them among the *Levites*, it was done in the ſame manner as they had done the land itſelf, namely, by lot; which was the moſt effectual to prevent all difference; for even this tribe doth not ſeem to have been ſo diſintereſted, that any other method could have ſatisfied them but this (K).

Laws concerning the ſix cities of refuge.

THESE were choſen out of thoſe forty two which had been aſſigned to the tribe of *Levi* [c]. They differed from the *Aſyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in that they were deſigned to protect innocent perſons only, from the rigor of the law, in caſes of unvoluntary homicide, whereas theirs did equally ſhelter the guilty and innocent from it. There is an expreſs command in *Exodus* with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty perſon ſhall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death [d]; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a ſanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderneſs, but all the time of their abode in the land of *Canaan*; at leaſt, the inſtance of *Joab*'s taking refuge there ſeems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it [e]. And indeed ſo ſevere were God's laws againſt murder, that if it was even commited in a fray, or in correcting of a ſervant, and other caſes, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty perſon could not go unpuniſhed [f]. And where the fact was accidental and unvoluntary, tho' his concern for the life of the innocent perſon was ſuch, that he not only appointed theſe cities for his protection, but ſeemed, as it were, to take the fault upon himſelf (L), yet he condemned him to a kind

Cities of refuge.

[y] Vide Commentat. in Ex. xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Deut. iv. 21. & xix. 2. [z] Num. xxxv. 45.
[a] Rab. SALOM. in loc. vide & MOS. DE COTZI, MUNST. JUN. & al. in loc. [b] Joſh. xxi, paſſ.
[c] Num. xxxv. 6. [d] Exod. xxi. 14. [e] 1 King. ii. 28. [f] Exod. xxi. 12, 20.

(K) According to thoſe lots, the tribes of *Judah*, *Simeon*, and *Benjamin*, furniſhed the thirteen cities which were allotted to the prieſts: thoſe of *Ephraim*, *Dan*, and half of *Manaſſeh* on the other ſide of *Jordan*, yielded ten to the *Kohathites*: the *Gerſhonites* received thirteen, namely, two from the other half of *Manaſſeh*, three from *Nephthali*, and eight from *Iſſachar* and *Aſher*; and laſtly, *Reuben*, *Zebulon*, and *Gad* gave four each, to the *Merarites* (78).

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand.* This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe theſe and ſuch like expreſſions, which occur in ſcripture, whatever ſiniſter ſenſe ſome may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* idiom, than that, though a man may die contrary to the ſeeming courſe of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permiſſion of heaven, whoſe providence directs all ſuch events, either for the puniſhment of the perſon, or for ſome other wiſe purpoſes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that it is only uſed in this place, to ſhew the injuſtice there would be in puniſhing a man for an act which had been ſo directed by providence, that one perſon loſt his life without the leaſt deſign in the other of hurting him.

(78) *Vide* Joſh. xxi. *paſſ.*

a kind of baniſhment, till the death of the high-prieſt then in being [g] (M); inſomuch, that if he ventured out of the limits, *Joſephus* ſays out of the walls of the city [h], it was lawful for any relations of the deceaſed either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of Juſtice.

THESE cities were not only for the *Iſraelites*, but for all ſtrangers that either lived among them, or came thither occaſionally. The *Jews* do indeed confine the benefit of them to their proſelytes, but this ſenſe ſeems to flow more from their narrowneſs of ſoul, than from the words of the text [i]. We may remember, that *Moſes* ordered three of them to be aſſigned on either ſide of *Jordan* [k]. This partition ſeems indeed ſomewhat unequal, becauſe one ſide had but two tribes and half, and the other nine and half; the reaſon of which ſome *Jews* tell us was, becauſe there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of ſelf-defence, than in the latter: but this is ridiculous, and that of *R. Nachman* is by far more probable and judicious, namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at leaſt as large as that of the latter, tho' leſs inhabited; which made it neceſſary for them to have ſo many of thoſe cities. However as to thoſe tribes on the other ſide, God permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeneſs of their conqueſts ſhould make it neceſſary [l]; but as this depended upon their conſtant obedience, and they, on the contrary, proved continually ſtubborn and diſobedient, they never found occaſion for this addition, for which reaſon they think it will be made in the days of the *Meſſiah*.

HOW, where, and by whom, the examination of the manſlayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded, the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by thoſe of the city, where the man fled for ſanctuary, is neither clear from the text, nor agreed by interpreters. However, as a late author juſtly obſerves [m], from an expreſſion in *Deuteronomy* and *Joſhua* [n], there ſeems to have been a double trial, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which is underſtood either thoſe of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and this ſeems to us to have been neceſſary only when the avenger of blood appealed from thoſe of the place of refuge. As ſoon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his firſt buſineſs was to flee, with all convenient haſte, to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by God's own appointment, to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might

[g] Num. xxxv. 25, & ſeq. [h] Ant. lib. iv. c. 7. [i] Vide Num. xxxv. 15, [k] Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix. paſſ. [l] Ibid. ver. 9. [m] CALM. ſub. voc. Refuge. [n] Deut. xix. 11, 12. comp. with Joſh. xx. 6, 9.

(M) We ſhall not trouble the reader with the various reaſons, which interpreters have conjectured, concerning the time of a man's return being fixed to the death of the high prieſt. Some of the *Jews*, who affirm, that the death of ſo great a perſon, which was univerſally lamented, was the moſt proper motive to make all reſentment on the part of the proſecutor to ceaſe, ſeem rather to trifle than to be in earneſt (79), and one would wonder, that they ſhould have been followed by any *Chriſtians*. But the far greater part of theſe look upon this circumſtance to have been typical of the reconciliation which *Chriſt*, our eternal high-prieſt, made of ſinners to God by his death (80). This is what the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, ſeems to intimate (81): however, it muſt be owned, that ſome men have given too great a ſcope to this way of allegoriſing; and that, where ſo little light is to be had from the ſacred writings, it would be more adviſable to ſay nothing, than to ſay all that a pious fancy ſuggeſts.

(N) The text (82) ſays only, *thou ſhalt prepare thee a way and divide the coaſt of the land into three parts, that every ſlayer may flee thither.* But the *Talmudiſts* and *Rabbies* add a great number of circumſtances for keeping thoſe roads in continual repair, that the perſon might meet with no obſtruction in his flight. Theſe roads, according to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, ſmooth, plain, and without aſcent, deſcent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a poſt was to be ſet up to direct them, which had the word מקלט. *miklat, refuge,* engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the ſurface kept ſmooth and hard. To theſe precepts the words of the *Baptiſt, prepare the ways of the Lord, make his paths ſtrait, every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain levelled,* &c. are thought to allude. Once a year at leaſt, in the month *Adar*, which anſwers in part to our *February*, the magiſtrates of every city were obliged to viſit them, and ſee that they were kept in good order; otherwiſe, in caſe the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the ſlayer, the magiſtracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate

(79) *Vide* MAIM. *More Nevoch*, c. 40. (80) HIERON. AUGUST. & *al. vide* & GROT. JUN. CORN. A LAP. & *al. mult. in loc.* (81) Heb. ix. 15. (82) Deut. xix. 3.

might retard his ſpeed. As ſoon as he came to the place, he preſented himſelf to the judges of it, and declared the occaſion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the perſon, and according as his account appeared true or falſe, he was admitted to, or excluded, their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the neareſt relation to the deceaſed, came to demand juſtice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges did either confirm their former ſentence in favour of the manſlayer, or delivered him up to be puniſhed, if the fact was proved to be wilfully done; but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a ſecond time, and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a ſufficient guard, and remained there free from all further proſecutions, and at the death of the high-prieſt he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at leaſt, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeding in ſuch caſes. However, as the account we have of it from *Moſes* is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were ſometimes at ſuch a diſtance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manſlayer might be eaſily overtaken by the proſecutor, before he could reach it: we think it, at leaſt, as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he went and ſurrendered himſelf to the judges of the neareſt place, and, having cleared himſelf before them from the guilt of wilful murther, was by their order conducted ſafely to the next city of refuge, where the magiſtrates had a further hearing of the cauſe, and either confirmed, or revoked, the ſentence of the former, according to the evidence of it. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the laſt note, about the conveniencies of the roads leading to ſuch places, would be needleſs in this caſe, but we look upon their teſtimony to be very dubious, and in ſome caſes plainly wrong. Thus the *Talmud* tells us °, that thoſe cities were to be ſituated by ſome rivers, in order to be well ſupplied with water and all kinds of proviſion, that the acceſs to them was to be eaſy and without aſcent; and yet it is plain, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. There are many other particulars which they tell us there, which we purpoſely omit, becauſe they are ſtill more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to chuſe which ſuppoſition he likes beſt.

BESIDES theſe cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly obſerved above, and afterwards the temple, had likewiſe the privilege of ſanctuaryſhip, eſpecially the altar of burnt-offering P. The rabbies do indeed tell us, the latter was only for the prieſts; but we have ſeen the contrary in the inſtance of

° Gemar. Tract. Makloth. P Vide PHILO, Legatal Cai.

moderate bigneſs, well furniſhed with water, proviſions, artiſts, and all manner of conveniencies, weapons excepted. The reaſon they give for excluding this laſt was, leſt the avenger ſhould, in a fit of anger, make uſe of them againſt the ſlayer, (83). Thus far they agree, in ſome other points they are divided. Some pretend, that the refuged was to be kept at the charge of the city; and others affirm, that he was obliged to follow ſome trade, if he could not maintain himſelf without it. Some ſay, that the Houſes in the ſuburbs were to obſtruct the entrance of the proſecutor, till they had taken all proper means to pacify him; and others, that they only ſent ſome grave and reverend deputies to meet him without the gates, to perſuade him to clemency and moderation. Some add, that the tribe of *Levi* was excluded the benefit of theſe ſanctuaries; ſo that if any of them happened to kill a man, how accidentally ſoever, they were forced to wander from place to place (84). The modern *Jews* do ſo far keep up this cuſtom, that a manſlayer is baniſhed for three years into ſome city, in which they have a ſynagogue, where by way of penance, he is forced to ſay aloud, *I am a manſlayer*, at his entering into the ſynagogue, and at every courteous civility that is ſhewed to him (85).

Maimon and ſome other rabbies tell us from antient tradition, that all the forty-two cities of the *Levites* were places of refuge, with this difference however from the ſix properly ſo called, that the former might refuſe their protection to any man, how innocent ſoever, but the latter were obliged to receive him, and that in the former he lived at his own, and in the latter at the publick charge (86). The *Miſhna* on the contrary, tells, upon the authority of R. *Eleazer*, that the death either of the high-prieſt, or of him that is anointed for the war, reſtored the ſlayer to his freedom, and that the mothers of theſe two prelates did find the refugees in food and raiment, that they might not by their prayers accelerate the death of their ſons, in order to their ſpeedy releaſe from their baniſhment (87).

(83) *Vide Gemar. Tract.* מקלט, *præcept. aff.* 73, & *ſeq. Rab.* SALOM, MUNSTER, & *al. in* Num. XXXV. (84) *Targ.* ONKEL. *Fag. in* Num. XXXV. (85) *Vide* BASNAG. *lib. ii. c.* 7. (86) *Idem ibid. vide* & CALM. *ſub voc. Refuge.* (87) *Ap.* HOTTING. *in* GOODWIN, *lib, ii. c.* 5. *ſub note* 9.

of *Joab* mentioned above. Thoſe indeed who were guilty of wilful murder a ſheltered themſelves there in vain, and were, by God's expreſs command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign puniſhment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there alſo, whoſe buſineſs it was to make a *The altar a place of refuge.* ſtrict examination of the caſe, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of juſtice, or ſend the innocent under a proper eſcort to one of the cities of refuge [q]. There are ſeveral other material circumſtances relating to thoſe kinds of caſes, which *Moſes* having left no particular directions about, they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been left to the diſcretion of the judges. Such as, for inſtance, when the fact was committed juſt before, and the ſentence of the judges not obtained in favour of the homicide, till after the death of the high- b prieſt; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in caſe the high-prieſt was killed by ſome friends of the exiled perſon; or laſtly, when the high-prieſt himſelf became a manſlayer, which was far from impoſſible: concerning which, and, ſeveral others of the like nature, the *Talmudiſts* have made very judicious and equitable regulations, but which we ſhall not trouble our readers with.

Nethinims THE *Nethinims* are the laſt ſort of perſons dedicated to the worſhip of God (O). Theſe were not of the chiklren of *Iſrael*, but of the *Gibeonites*, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a ſtratagem, which we have taken notice of before †, and whom *Joſhua* condemned to the loweſt and moſt c laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*, ſuch as the drawing of water, the fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like [r]. We do not find, that this name of *Nethinims* was given to them till after the captivity, when a ſmall number returned with *Ezra* and the reſt of *Iſrael* from *Babylon*. That name imports as much as *given*, and *Ezra* ſays [s], they were given or appointed by *David* and other kings to ſerve in the temple under the *Levites*; and in another place, that they were the children of *Solomon*'s ſervants [t]. But by this time the name was not confined to the *Gibeonites* alone, but was given alſo to *Canaanites*, whom theſe princes had conquered and converted [u]. We read of d ſome ſuch abject perſons alſo in the time of *Moſes*, who mentions them in his laſt pathetick ſpeech in theſe words: *You all ſtand this day before the Lord—— your little ones and your Wives, and the ſtranger that is in your camp, from the hewer of thy wood, to the drawer of thy water* [w]. And probably the lowneſs of their condition might be one main reaſon, why ſo few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we don't read of above two hundred and twenty that came with *Ezra* [x], and three hundred and ninty-two with *Zerobabel* [y]; which number was ſo inſufficient for the exigences of the temple, that *Joſephus* tells us, they did inſtitute a feſtival, which he calls *Xylophoria*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to ſupply the altar of burnt-offering [z]: and not unlikely e that

[q] MAIM. Tract. רֹאשׁ שְׁמוּרַת נֶפֶשׁ, cap. 5. vide HOTTING. in GOODW. lib. ii. c. 5. note 2, & Commentators, in Num. xxxv. † Vide ſup p. 331. c. [r] Joſh. ix. 23, 27. [s] Ezr. viii. 20. [t] Ibid. ii. 58. [u] 1 King. ix. 20, 21, & alib. [w] Deut. xxix. 11. [x] Ezr. viii. 20. [y] Ibid. ii. 58. [z] Wars of the Jews, lib. ii. c. 17.

(O) We may however add another ſort, who were called אַנְשֵׁי מַעֲמָד, *Anſhe Mahmad*, *Station-men*, which were a pious, grave ſort of perſons, choſen, not out of the tribe of *Levi* alone, but out of all the twelve indifferently, to to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, as repreſentatives of a certain number of people. They were called by that name, becauſe, as we obſerved before, no man was allowed to be in any but a ſtanding poſture during the time of divine ſervice. The law required, that every man ſhould come and make his offerings of what kind ſoever in perſon, and to ſtay there till the ceremony was ended; but becauſe this was not practicable in many caſes, as when an offering was made for the whole nation, or in times of great reſort, becauſe the place could not contain them; they choſe theſe repreſentatives to perform that duty for them. Theſe were divided, as the prieſts and *Levites*, into twenty four claſſes, who took their turns weekly as they did. Each claſs having a head or captain, who was called רֹאשׁ מַעֲמָד, *Roſh Mahmad*, or *head of the ſtation* (88). We do not indeed read of any ſuch order of men in the ſacred writings, and conſequently do not think it of divine inſtitution; but the *Jews* do fetch it from the oral law, and believe, that it began long before the captivity; but moſt *Chriſtians* are rather of opinion, that it began ſoon after their return from it (89), for which reaſon we ſhall ſay no more of it.

(88) *Vide* Mos. KOTZ. ס. מצות גדול (89) GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. cap.* 5. HOTTING. *Diſſert. de Viris Stationar.*

a that alſo of bringing water thither from the pool of *Siloah*, on the laſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles, the inſtitution of which is attributed to the prophet *Zachariah*, of which we have made ſome mention before.

II. *Of things conſecrated to the ſervice of God.*

THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candleſtick and other utenſils belonging to it. 5. The table of ſhew bread. And 6. The court, with all the utenſils which were repoſited in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be ſaid with any tolerable certainty is ſo well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and ſo diſregarded by the reſt of the world, that we ſhould gladly content our ſelves with the bare mention of them, did we think, that our readers would be ſatisfied b with it, without a further deſcription of them. It may indeed appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that *Moſes* ſhould have beſtowed almoſt as many pages in deſcribing the ſtructure of the tabernacle and its ſumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we ſhould be ſo much in the dark about it, and that there ſhould be ſo much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper ſignification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the caſe, we ſhall not expatiate upon them, unleſs we can do it upon ſome ſure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the goſpel.

The tabernacle. 1. THE tabernacle was built by the command and directions of God himſelf, c that he might dwell in the midſt of his people [a]. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderneſs, and thereby delayed the time of their entering into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land, it was neceſſary, that this ſacred place, where the moſt ſolemn parts of the divine worſhip were to be performed, ſhould be fitted to their frequent marches, and be eaſily ſet up and taken down, as occaſion required. For which reaſon, among other names which it has in the *Moſaic* writings (P), it is moſt commonly called by that of *Obel*, which doth properly ſignify *a tent*; but ſuch a magnificent one, both in its ſtructure, materials, and utenſils, as might inſpire both the *Iſraelites*, and all other nations, d with an awful reſpect and regard for the ſervice of God. To this end, the moſt coſtly and precious thing, which they had brought with them from *Egypt*, and from thoſe other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally beſtowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ableſt artificers, to be wrought in a manner ſuitable to the deſign of it, and to the richneſs of the materials [b].

OUR learned *Spencer* has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances from *Egypt* [c]. He quotes the ſacred and profane wiritings to prove, that the *Heathens* had ſuch portable temples, in which they depoſited the moſt valuable utenſils that belonged to e their religion. It is indeed eaſy enough to prove, that they had both theſe, and many other things very like thoſe of the *Jews*; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condeſcended ſo far to the genius of the *Iſraelites*, as to introduce them into his own worſhip, to be a kind of fence againſt their proneneſs to their idolatrous ſuperſtitions, is not only very

[a] Vide Exod. xxv. 8, & alib. paſſ. [b] Vide ſup. 523. a. [c] De Leg. Rit. Hæbr. Diſſert. i.

(P) The tabernacle is called by ſeveral names in ſcripture, the moſt common of which is that of אהל מועד, *Obel Mohed*, *the tent or tabernacle of the congregation* or *aſſembly*, becauſe it was made in the faſhion of a magnificent tent or pavillion (90). For this reaſon *Joſephus* calls it μεταφερομενος ναος, *a portable temple* (91); we find it elſewhere called מקדש, *Mikdaſh*, *the holy place* (92), and by the Septuagint αγιασμα, becauſe it was made holy by God's preſence; it is therefore elſewhere called by way of excellency משכן, *Hamiſhcan*, *the habitation*, which the *Greek* renders σκηνη, accordingly (93). Sometimes this laſt is joined with the word העדות, *Habeduth*, *teſtimony* (94), *the habitation* or *tabernacle of teſtimony*, becauſe God delivered his oracles from thence; laſtly, it is in other parts of ſcripture called היכל, *Hecal*, *palace*, and *the palace of the Lord* (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

(90) Exod. xxviii. 43, & *alib. paſſ.* (91) *Ant. lib. iii.* c. 5. (92) Exod. xxv. 8. (93) *Ibid.* ver. 9. (94) *Ibid.* xxxviii. 21. (95) 1 Sam. i. 9. iii. 3. 1 King. xxi. 1, & *lib. paſſ.*

very preſumptuous and unlikely, but doth too evidently thwart the known deſign of them, and the typical application which the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* makes of them. [d]. And yet this ſophiſtical way of reaſoning is juſtly enough obſerved by a later author ** to run through all his writings on this ſubject; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear ſaying more about it, having ſo often given our reaſons for diſſenting from him. The reader however may ſee this laſt ſuppoſition ſufficiently exploded by the author laſt quoted, and but weakly defended ſince by *Le Clerc*. *†*. a

THE tabernacle was of an oblong ſquare figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in heigth. It had two appartments within, divided by a row of four Columns of ſhittim-wood (Q), covered over with maſſive gold, fixed in the ſame number of pedeſtals or ſockets of ſilver; from which probably might come that ancient method of ſetting porphiry columns on baſes of white marble. *Moſes* doth not tell us, whether they were round or ſquare, but it ſeems more likely to have been the latter, not only becauſe they became much in vogue in the inſide of great buildings, under the name of pilaſters, but alſo becauſe they were more proper for the deſign for which they were intended, and more eaſy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the top, or rather capitals, of theſe, was faſtned by golden hooks, a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and diſtinguiſhed the outward, called *the holy*, from the inward appartment, called *the moſt holy*, or *the holy of holies*. This latter was but ten cubits deep (R), and conſequently b c

[d] Heb. ix. paſſ. & ver. 8. ** Vide SAURIN's Diſcourſe on the Pentateuch, Diſc. liv. paſſ. & alib. paſſ. *†* Bibliot. A. M. tom. xii. part 2. § 1. paſſ.

(Q) This wood, tho' ſo famous in ſcripture, is yet ſo unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to tranſlate its name. St. *Jerom* has retained its *Hebrew* one, and the *Septuagint* only calls it imputrible wood; and indeed it is more than probable, that it was called *Shittim* from the place where it grew, often mentioned in ſcripture †. Our Readers therefore may be perhaps willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The moſt probable account we can meet with is that of St. *Jerom*, who ſays, that it is a hard, ſmooth wood, free from knots, and of exquiſite beauty and lightneſs; inſomuch, that the rich uſed to make skrews of it, for their preſſes: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn, but that it grew to ſuch a height, that one might ſaw it into boards of a conſiderable length, and that it grew no where in the *Roman* empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of *Arabia* (96). Hence ſome authors have concluded, that he meant the black *Acacia*, not only becauſe it has all the ſmoothneſs, hardneſs, length, and beauty, which he ſpeaks of, but becauſe this latter is the only one that is to be found in thoſe parts of *Arabia* (97). But whoever reads the deſcription, which other authors give us of the *Acacia* (98), will find, that it cannot be the *Shittim* of St. *Jerom*, tho' we are told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in theſe deſarts (99); but be it which of the two it will, 'tis plain, they were both very fit for *Moſes*'s purpoſe.

It is certain at leaſt, that it could not be a kind of cedar, as ſome have imagined; not only becauſe the *Hebrew* has another name for that tree, but becauſe there grew none nearer than the *Libanus*, which was at too great a diſtance from *Sinai*; and yet the *Jews* are not aſhamed of entertaining a more ridiculous notion, that *Moſes* cauſed it to be brought from *Egypt*, whither *Jacob* had carried and ſown the firſt ſeeds of it, foreſeeing what uſe his poſterity would have for it (100). But had *Moſes* known any thing of a tabernacle being to be reared in the wilderneſs before he came thither, 'tis certain, the *Jews* had ſomething more valuable to load themſelves with than timber, how rare and uſeful ſoever.

(R) This proportion is not mentioned by *Moſes*, ſo that the reader is at his liberty to fix the partition in any other place, or, according to the rules of architecture, in the middle, and ſo make both appartments of equal length. What has determined the generality of interpreters to fix it where we do is, that in the temple of *Solomon* the moſt holy place was but half the length of the holy one (1), and is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made according to the dimenſions of the tabernacle; the only difference between them being, that the one was a fixed, and the other a moveable temple. To this may be added, that the moſt holy having nothing but the mercy-ſeat in it, and none but the high-prieſt being permitted to enter it, leſs room ſufficed them for the outward one, which had the table of ſhew-bread, the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, &c. and was more frequented. *Joſephus* (2), tho' he agrees with *Moſes* in the length of the tabernacle, adds two cubits both to its height and breadth, with ſome other particularities, ſome not mentioned by *Moſes*, and others differing from him. See the next note. However, it is not improper here to take notice, once for all, that the cubits were ſomething longer than ours, tho' how much is not agreed. The moſt received opinion is that from twenty to twenty two inches. The *Jews* add a ſtrange diſtinction between the cubits within and without the tabernacle, making the former longer by one hand, or three inches, than the latter, but we find no warrant for it but their bare word.

† Num. xxv. 1. xxxiii. 49. Micah. vi. 5. (96) HIERON. *Comm. in* Joel iii. *al ſcr. in* Mich. vi. & 5. & *alib.* (97) BELLON's *Obſerv. lib. iii. c.* 56, & 80. ÆLIUS, *lib. ix. c.* 11. (98) *Vide* PROSP. ALPIN. *de plant. Ægypt. lib. ii.* THEOPHRAST. THEVENOT, LA ROQUE, & *al.* (99) *Vide* LE CLERC, CALMET, & *al. Comm. in* Exod. xxv. 5. THEVEN. LA ROQUE, RADZIVIL, LUDOLPH. & *al.* (100) *Vide* BASNAG. *ann. tom. ii. lib. iii. cap.* 3. (1) *Vide* 1 King. vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3. (2) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 6.

ſequently ſquare. The other was twenty cubits, and at the entrance of it, at the weſt end, hung a ſecond curtain to another row of five columns of the ſame fabricature with the former, only the baſes of theſe were of braſs, and this covered the inſide of the holy place from common ſight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the veil, that parted the holy from the moſt holy place, was made of the richeſt ſtuff, both for matter and workmanſhip; and adorned with cherubims, feſtoons, and other ornaments, curiouſly embroidered upon it. The whole was incloſed on the north, weſt, and ſouth ſide, with a flight of boards of the ſame wood, covered alſo with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into ſockets or mortiſes like the columns. Theſe boards were ten cubits in length, b and one and half in breadth; ſo that there were twenty on each ſide, and eight at the weſt end. They were moreover faſtned to one another by a five-fold row of golden rings at equal diſtance one over the other, five to each board, and through theſe were run five bars of gilt ſhittim-wood, which locked or unlocked them on thoſe three ſides. As for the eaſt end, it had no boards, but was ſheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubims imbroidered upon it, as the innermoſt had, for theſe were never expoſed to publick ſight, but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and ſuch like embelifhments of needle-work [e]. How low this curtain did hang, is neither expreſſed in the text, nor agreed about; ſome : thinking, that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place [f], others believing, that it touched the ground, and concealed it all [g]; which laſt is the more probable of the two (S). The whole had four different coverings, the two innermoſt of which were by far the richeſt, being of a beautiful light blew mohair, ſtriped with ſcarlet and purple, or crimſon, and adorned with cherubims [h]. The other two were made, the under one of ram's-ſkins, with the wool on, of ſcarlet dye, and the uppermoſt of all, of badgers-ſkins, of a light blew. Theſe were to preſerve the other two from wind and rain; for which reaſon they were made to hang down to the ground on the three ſides that were boarded, whilſt they left the outward veil d open to publick view on the weſt end, which was the entrance into that ſacred place. The inſide of both theſe apartments was ſtill made more awful by the darkneſs that reigned in them: for we do not find that there was any apertures made for the light; ſo that the moſt holy had none but what the cenſer gave it, when the high-prieſt went into it on expiation-day: as for the holy place, it had the golden candleſtick with a ſufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We ſhall follow the *Jewiſh* law-giver no further in his ſuccinct account of every minute part that compoſed this portable edifice, much leſs thoſe who

[e] Exod. xxvi. 36. [f] Joseph. Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [g] Philo ap. Basnag. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5. [h] Exod. xxvi. 1.

(S) *Joſephus* adds further, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preſerve it from the weather, being made of ſtuff that was proof againſt rain, but that it was drawn aſide on the ſabbath and other feſtivals, to give the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments; if ſo, it muſt at the ſame time expoſe the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, *&c.* to publick ſight. *Philo*, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no layman was ſuffered to ſee the fumigations which were performed within that place, the prieſts being the only perſons who had that privilege. This ſeems at leaſt more likely, by what we read of *Zecharia*h's tarrying longer than uſual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, *Maim* calls theſe two curtains or vails by different names, namely, this outward one by the name of מסך, *Muſſak* which only ſignfies *a covering*, whereas the inward, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place, he calls פרוכת, *Paroketh*, from *Parak*, which ſignifies *to ſnatch away*, and figuratively, *to deliver*, becauſe it covered the mercy-ſeat, and kept it from publick ſight.

The *Talmud* adds another particular concerning this laſt veil, namely, that it conſiſted of two curtains, which hung parallel a-croſs the tabernacle, at the diſtance of two cubits from each other; and that when the high-prieſt went into the moſt holy place, he lifted up the firſt curtain at one end of it, and ſo walked between them quite to the other end, and then entered within the ſecond curtain, and marched forward towards the ark (5); if ſo, it was the moſt effectual way to keep that ſacred place from ſight; but we dare not warrant the truth of it. The apoſtle to the *Hebrews* mentions indeed a ſecond veil *, but whether in alluſion to this double curtain, or, what ſeems more probable, in oppoſition to the *Muſſak*, or outward veil, we ſhall not determine.

(3) *Ap.* Basnag. *ubi ſup.* (4) Luke i. 21. (5) *Vide* Maim. *Kele Hammickdaſh.* * Hebr. ix. 3.

who have commented upon him, the greateſt part of whom have given ſuch a ſcope to their luxuriant fancies, that they ſeem rather to have viewed it with the utmoſt nicety, than to have taken their deſcription from him: we think it ſufficient for us to ſay, that there was nothing wanting in it, that could make it rich, ſumptuous, and venerable, firm, laſting, and eaſily moved [i].

Of the mercy-ſeat and ark of the teſtimony.

The ark and mercy-ſeat.

THESE were the two chief things that were depoſited in the moſt holy place, and the former was as a lid or cover to the latter; for which reaſon ſome interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word *Kaphoreth*, by which *Moſes* calls it. But moſt verſions do more properly render it the *Propitiatory* [k], others the *Oracle* [l], and ours *the mercy-ſeat* (T); becauſe God is ſaid to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubims which cover it. Beſides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary ſanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of God's immediate preſence; for which reaſon there were ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted on thoſe who preſumed to approach it [m]. *Moſes* was commanded to make it of pure gold [n]; from which one may conclude, that is was not made of ſhittim-wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden-table, and other ſacred utenſils. The length of it was two cubits and half, and the breadth of it one cubit and half; ſo that it exactly fitted the dimenſions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubims that overſhadowed it in a frame, or, as *Moſes* calls it, a crown [o], not of a round, but oblong ſquare figure, which cloſed the upper part of the ark, like a rim or ogee. As to the cherubims, it is certain, that they were made of gold, but whether ſolid, and caſt of the ſame piece, and in the ſame mould with the mercy-ſeat, as ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians* render it [p], or only chaſed and hammered, as the original, which only expreſſes it by hardned gold, ſeems rather to intimate, is not worth diſputing. It would indeed be more material to know ſomething concerning their form, poſture, and attitude; but *Moſes* has here alſo left us in the dark, except where he ſays, that they ſtretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-ſeat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-ſeat [q] (V); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that they were at leaſt in a kind of bowing poſture. This attitude, tho' not ſo clearly expreſſed by *Moſes*, may be

[i] Ibid. p. tot. [k] LXX. [l] HIERON, Vulgat, & al. [m] Vide Judg. v. paſſ. vi. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 6. & ſeq. [n] Exod. xxv. 17. [o] Ibid. ver. 11. [p] CHALD. Paraph. R. SAL. ARR. MONTAN. TREMEL. & al. in loc. ver. 18. [q] Ibid. ver. 20.

(T) The word כַּפֹּרֶת, *Kaphoreth*, indeed comes from the verb *Caphar*, which doth ſignify *to expiate*, *to forgive*, in a figurative ſenſe, and in the primitive one, *to cover*, according to that of the pſalmiſt——*whoſe unrighteouſneſs is forgiven, and whoſe ſin is covered* (6). But it would be abſurd to infer from hence, that the word here ſignifies only *a bare covering*; eſpecially when the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, who in other caſes has followed the verſion of the *Septuagint*, departs from it here, and calls it ſimply Ἱλαστήριον, *the propitiatory*, or *mercy-ſeat* (7), where they had rendered it Ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα, *the propitiatory lid* or *covering*.

(V) We have had occaſion in another place to hint ſomething concerning the form of theſe cherubims; not that either theſe which *Moſes* ſpeaks of here, or thoſe which were embroidered on the veils and curtains, can help us to form any idea of them, except we have recourſe to other places of ſcripture, where they are ſomewhat more particularly deſcribed. The generality of interpreters, both antient and modern, have ſuppoſed them to have human ſhapes, becauſe *Moſes* ſays here, that they had their faces turned towards the mercy-ſeat; and elſewhere (8), that *God let them with flaming ſwords*, in their hands it is ſuppoſed, *to guard the entrance of paradiſe*. But this concludes nothing, becauſe face and hands, if any had here been mentioned, are attributed to beaſts, as well as men, in the *Hebrew*. The greateſt part of the *Jews* derive the word from another, which ſignifies, *to be like a child*, from which they conclude, that they were like young men naked, and covered only for decency with ſome of their wings (9). But it is certain, on the contrary, that the prophet *Ezekiel* repreſents them quite otherwiſe, and ſpeaks of the face of a cherubim as ſynonimous with that of an ox or calf, (10); according to which, the *Septuagint* calls them τέτρα, beaſts (11), and it is not improbable, that the different deſcriptions we meet with of them, in ſeveral places of ſcripture, made *Joſephus* ſay, that they were a kind of winged creature,

(6) Pſ. xxxii. 1. (7) Hebr. ix. 5. (8) Gen. iii. *ver. ult.* (9) *Vide* KIMC. & BUXTORF. *ſub voc. Cherub.* BASNAG. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 5, 6, & 7. *paſſ.* (10) *Conf.* Ezek. i. 10. & x. 14. (11) Apoc. iv. 6.

a be further evinced, not only as it was the moſt decent and reſpectful, but as it ſeems to be alluded to by the pſalmiſt, who having declared, that God was ſeated between the cherubims, and expreſſed his majeſty, juſtice and power in the two or three verſes following, adds, *proſtrate yourſelves before his foot-ſtool* [r]. Neither is it improbable, that what is ſaid of their looking down upon the mercy-ſeat, in a kind of admiring poſture, might give occaſion to that beautiful alluſion of St. *Peter*, when, ſpeaking of the myſteries of our redemption, he ſays, *which the very angels deſire to look into* [s]. We might likewiſe give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed, that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-ſeat, did bear the uſual proportion to the reſt of b their bodies: but theſe enquiries are more curious than uſeful.

THE ark was a ſmall cheſt made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have ſeen the dimenſions of its length and breadth, by thoſe of the mercy-ſeat; its height was equal to its breadth, that is, one cubit and half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the teſtimony; the firſt, becauſe it was a ſymbol of the covenant made between God and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod (W), which were depoſited in it, to be as ſo many witneſſes againſt every deviation of theirs. It had on each ſide two golden rings, through which were faſtened the two bars, by which it uſed to be carried on the prieſts ſhoulders. Theſe bars were made of the ſame wood with the ark, and like it c over-laid with gold; and theſe were never to be taken off. The ark with its covering ſtood lengthwiſe, and not croſswiſe, as ſome have imagined, in the midſt of the moſt holy place. *Moſes* doth not tell us, whether or no it had either feet or ſome pedeſtal to ſtand upon; and yet it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that it ſtood upon the bare ground.

SEVERAL learned rabbies have a notion, that there were two arks, the one made by *Moſes*, and the other by *Bezaleel*; becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid in one place to have made an ark of ſhittim-wood, into which he put the two tables of ſtone [t]; and in another place, that *Bezaleel* made an ark and covered it with gold [u]. d But they might as well conclude, that *Solomon* built one temple, and his workmen another; however they add, that *Moſes* did always carry his own, and the prieſts the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies [w]. *Abenezra* endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is ſaid in *Joſhua* of the diſtance that was to be kept *between the people and it* (the ark) [x]. He pretends, that the particle *it* is in the plural in the original, and that the words ſhould be tranſlated *between you and them*, that is, the two arks [y]. But, beſides that, his criticiſm has no foundation, but on different reading of the *Mazorites*, and that grounded on the diſputed authority of the points; we have elſewhere ſeen, that the plural e is ſometimes uſed to expreſs the excellency of a thing; ſo that we ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe two arks from either of theſe arguments; and yet ſome *Chriſtians* have given into that opinion [z] (W).

BESIDES

[r] Pſ. xcix. 1, & ſeq. [s] 1 Pet. i. 12. [t] Deut. x. 3. [u] Exod. xxvii. 1. [w] NACHMAN, KIMCHI, ZACHUT, & al. Vide BASNAG, ubi ſup. [x] Joſh. iii. 4. [y] ABENEZ. in Deut. x. [z] GOODW. & HOTTING. ubi ſup. Differt. de Tabernacul. § 13.

creature, anſwering to the deſcription of that which *Moſes* ſaw about the Throne of God, but to which no man had ever ſeen the like before (12).

However, we think with many learned moderns (13), that the word is derived from *Charab*, which, in the *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic*, ſignifies, *to plow*; according to which, *Charub*, or *Cherub*, doth often imply *a ſtrong man*, or *beaſt*; and as the ox is known to be very proper for agriculture, both on account of his ſtrength and docility, the authors above quoted have made no difficulty to believe, that the cherubims here ſpoken of reſembled them, if not in the whole, at leaſt in face and ſome other parts of the body. To theſe we may add the authority of an antient father, who believed, that the *Egyptian Sphinx* and other hieroglyphical beaſts were borrowed from thoſe of *Moſes* and *Ezekiel* (14). And indeed *Moſes* ſeems to hint at leaſt, that the cherub-work, which was embroidered on the veil and curtains within the holy of holies (15), was full of ſuch ſymbolical figures, after the manner of the famous *Phrygian* tapeſtry. Whether therefore theſe took the hint from *Moſes*, or he from them, is not very material; either ſuppoſition may be allowed without any harm. If the firſt, *Moſes* might thereby deſign to intimate the exiſtence and office of thoſe ſpiritual beings; and if the latter, it might ſerve to expoſe the folly of their *Gentile* worſhippers, ſeeing they were no more than ſervants to the God of *Iſrael*.

(W) R. *Kimchi* adds, ſpeaking of theſe two arks,

(12) *Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.* (13) GROT. BOCHART, SPENCER, LE CLERC, MEDE, *& al.* (14) CLEM. ALEX. *Strom. lib. v.* (15) Exod. xxvi. 1.

BESIDES the ark and mercy-ſeat, there was ſtill in this moſt holy place the volume of the law, which *Moſes* gave the *Levites* to depoſite by the ſide of the ark [a]: whether in the in or out-ſide is not agreed; but moſt probably without †. St. *Paul* omits this in the mention he makes of the things that were preſerved there [b]; for which no other reaſon can be given, than that it was ſufficiently known, for it is ſaid elſewhere, that there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of ſtone, which *Moſes* put into it at *Horeb* [c]; tho' it is plain, that the pot of manna and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod were likewiſe preſerved in it. But we do not think, that either of theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, or the depoſiting of the ſacred volume, and the other holy utenſils, are matters of ſuch weight, as to deſerve all the pains which ſome learned authors have given themſelves to little purpoſe [d]. However, as to the book itſelf, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that it was the only copy, ſeeing it would not have been lawful for the high-prieſt to have fetched it out and in but on expiation day; whereas the publick reading of it was to be on the feaſt of tabernacles. We may therefore ſuppoſe, with the *Jews* (X), that there were ſeveral copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preſerved to prevent the reſt from being corrupted. Laſtly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philiſtines*, they depoſited the little cheſt with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the ſide of it [e].

THE utenſils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incenſe. 2. The golden candleſtick, And 3. The table of ſhew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is ſometimes called the golden altar, becauſe, tho' it was made all of ſhittim-wood, yet it was ſo well covered over with gold, that it looked like a ſolid piece of it. It is alſo called the inner altar, to diſtinguiſh it from that of burnt offerings, which ſtood without the tabernacle. Its uſe was twofold, namely, to burn incenſe morning and night, as we hinted elſewhere, and to be ſprinkled with the blood of the ſacrifices, which were offered for ſins of ignorance committed either by particular prieſts, or by all the people in general [f]. It was one cubit ſquare, and two cubits high, ſo that the ſmoke had ſtill eight cubits to aſcend. Two bars of the ſame wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, ſerve to carry it about, like the ark; only theſe might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewiſe covered with gold. The main difficulty is, how to underſtand what

[a] Deut. iii. 26. † Vide PRID. Connect. part 1. lib. iii. [b] Comp. 1 King. viii. 9. with Heb. ix. [c] 1 King. viii. 9. [d] GOODW. ubi ſup. § 18, ad 24. 1 Sam. vi. & alib. vide PRID. ubi ſup. [e] 1 Sam. vi. & alib. [f] Vide Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.

arks, that the one had the pieces of the two tables which *Moſes* had broke, and the other thoſe which he made afterwards. And even the *Talmudiſts*, who do not ſeem to have dreamed of a double ark, are yet of opinion, that thoſe precious relicks were preſerved in that one in which the new were repoſited. It is indeed ſcarce credible, that he left them ſcattered on the ground; but as he has not told us what he did with them, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he took them up into the mount, and there buried them out of ſight, than that he depoſited them in the ark, where they could be of no uſe, unleſs it were indeed to put them in mind of their abominable idolatry, which had occaſioned the breaking of them.

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preſerved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite ſo clear, namely, that, after the building of the temple, this laſt was taken out of the ſanctuary, and depoſited in the treaſury of the temple; and that it was this volume which was found there by the high-prieſt *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Joſiah* (16). But if the latter be true, it is more likely, that it was taken out of the ſanctuary, and repoſited in ſome ſuch private place, to prevent its undergoing the ſame fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Ammon* and *Manaſſes*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon*'s time, without any neceſſity, or command from God.

(Y) It is ſcarce worth the while to enquire into the various notions which interpreters are run into about the ſhape of theſe horns; ſome making them to be round, and others ſquare, knobs (17), others little plain, and others like twiſted, pyramids (18). What is worth obſerving to our *Engliſh* readers, is that the word קרן *keren*, ſignifies either *a horn*, or *a ray of light*, from which perhaps, as *Cunæus* obſerves, thoſe rays which ſhone about *Moſes*'s face may eaſily have been transformed into horns, ſo that theſe on the corners of the altars might, for ought appears to the contrary, be nothing elſe but ornaments reſembling in ſome meaſure the rays of the ſun. However, thoſe who think them to have been in ſhape like the horns

(16) 2 King. xxii. 8, *& ſeq.* 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, *& ſeq. Vide* KIMCH. *in loc. &* BASNAG. *ubi ſup. c.* 8. (17) N. DE LYRA, *poſt Rabbin. aliq.* (18) VILLALPAND, ARR. MONTAN. *& al.*

a what is meant by the top or roof of it [g], and how it could be ordered ſo as to bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning the wood through the gold that overlaid it. This has induced St. *Jerom* and others to tranſlate it a grate, through which the ſmall coals and aſhes fell to the bottom [h], but the conſtruction of the altar is incompatible with it. *Joſephus* calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the ſame inconvenience, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been of more than common thickneſs. The difficulty is ſtill greater with reſpect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which tho' made of the ſame wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intenſe heat, by reaſon of the great number of victims, which were burnt conſtantly upon it. *Le Clerc* hath offered two ways of ſolving this difficulty, either by ſuppoſing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the *Shittim* was the ſame with the *Larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incombuſtible wood [i]; and, becauſe he found b the firſt ſolution to be inſufficient, he publiſhed a ſhort diſſertation to prove the probability of the latter [k]: but the misfortune is, that we have no ſufficient teſtimony, that any ſuch wood did grow in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, or indeed in *Arabia*. We ſhall ſpeak of the latter altar by and by; as for this of incenſe, *Cunæus* ſeems to have found out the beſt expedient out of the *Jewiſh* rabbies, by ſuppoſing, that the burning coals were not ſet upon the altar itſelf, but upon a cenſer like a chafing diſh; which conjecture he backs by a text or two where ſuch cenſers are commanded to be filled with coals, and ſet upon the altar [l]. However, if the readers ſhould ſcruple to admit of theſe, it is but ſuppoſing, that this golden top or roof, with its crown or frame, was ſo c fixed, as to be at ſome ſmall diſtance above the altar itſelf, and the wood will be out of danger of being burnt, tho' it had not been overlaid with gold, becauſe the heat naturally aſcends. The ſituation of it is not clear in the text, which ſays, that it was to ſtand before the veil [m]. *Joſephus*, who is univerſally followed, places it between the candleſtick and the table of ſhew-bread [n]. We cannot contradict it, and yet we think, that if the candleſtick were placed in the midſt, which is the propereſt place for it, and the other two, which were near of the ſame form, height, and bigneſs, put on each ſide, and at a little diſtance between it and the ſides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of ſymmetry. The author of the ſecond book of *Maccabees* d tells us that *Jeremiah*, ſeeing the captivity approaching, took this altar and the ark of God to mount *Nebo*, and hid them in a cave there, and ſtopt the door ſo cloſe, that it could not afterwards be found [o]. The *Talmudiſts* gave a different account of it, namely, that *Joſiah*, having been admoniſhed by ſome prophets, that all the precious veſſels of the ſanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, depoſited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, *Aaron*'s rod, and the breaſt-plate of *Urim*, and this altar of incenſe, in a ſubterranean place which *Solomon*, from the ſame forecaſt, had cauſed to be built with ſuch extream care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the c Meſſiah. One thing indeed ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that if they had been carried into *Babylon*, with the reſt of the ſacred utenſils of the temple, they would have been alſo reſtored to them; but we find on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old [p].

Altar of perfume.

2. THE candleſtick was by far the richeſt piece in the whole ſanctuary, ſeeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the ſanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or ſauder [q]. Its baſe or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, becauſe

Candleſtick.

[g] Exod. xxx. 3. [h] Chald. Paraphr. FAGIUS in loc. [i] Comm. in Exod. in loc. [k] Bibliot. Choiſie, tom. xii. p. 57, & ſeq. [l] Comp. Levit. x. 1. xvi. 12. Num xvi. 6, 7. [m] Exod. xxx. 6. [n] Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. ad fin. [o] Ch. ii. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vide BUXTORF de Arc. c. 21, 22. R. JACKUT. PRID. CONN. part. 1. lib. iii. CUNÆ. BASNAG. & al. [q] Exod. xxv. 31, & ſeq.

horns of an ox or ram, may as probably gueſs right, ſince any of theſe forms might anſwer the purpoſe for which they ſeem intended, namely, for the greater eaſe and ſteadineſs in moving and carrying the altar about, and the tying of the victims to them, according to the alluſion of the pſalmiſt (19).

(19) Pſ. cxviii. 27.

cauſe it probably reſembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which proceeded ſix branches, three on each ſide, and this laſt made the ſeventh in the middle. Theſe branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidiſtant, and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, ſhaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occaſion ſerved [r], and in them were put the oil and the wick or cotton. Theſe had their tongs or ſnuffers to draw the cotton in or out, and ſnuff-diſhes to receive the ſparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All theſe were of pure gold alſo. It was the prieſt's buſineſs in waiting every evening, at the time of incenſe, to go in and light them, and about the ſame time in the morning to put them out, to clean, and replenish them [s] (Z). As to the height of it *Moſes* has not mentioned any thing about it; ſo that whilſt ſome have lowered it to the level of the altar of incenſe, which would have caſt but an imperfect light, eſpecially on the table of ſhew-bread, where the loaves ſtood one upon another, others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worſe extream, ſince it muſt not only have required a ladder or ſteps to have reached it, but it being the half of the height of the place, the ſmoak of it would ſoon have ſullied and ſpoiled the rich curtains over head: It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it of ſuch a height that a man might eaſily reach the top of it, that is, about ſix foot high. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at its ſhape, breadth, ſituation, and ſeveral other particulars, in which every other commentator thinks he has hit better than any of his brethren [t]; for which reaſon we ſhall follow them no further in the dark (A); but only add, that after the building of the temple, *Solomon*, inſtead of one, placed ten candleſticks in the holy place, all of the ſame metal, with their other appurtenances [u]; but whether that of *Moſes* was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain; the latter ſeems the more probable of the two, becauſe the holy place here being conſiderably larger than that of the tabernacle; and all the veſſels being made ſo accordingly; it is likely, that the candleſticks did bear the ſame proportion; in which caſe the old one would not have been uniform with the reſt. But whether it was new caſt or repoſited in the treaſury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

Table of ſhew-bread.

3. THE table of ſhew-bread. We have ſpoken of the bread elſewhere; as for the table on which it was ſet, it was made of the ſame wood, and covered with gold, like the ark: it was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high: it had a golden border or crown, which may be ſuppoſed to

[r] Comp. Exod. xxv. 37, with Num. iv. 9. [s] Comp. ver. 37, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3. [t] Vide int. al. JOSEPH. ubi ſup. HIERON. ARR. MONT. VILLALP. CUN. BASNAG. VILET, & al. [u] 1 King. vii. 49. 2 Chron. iv. 7.

(Z) Notwithſtanding thoſe texts we have quoted above, to prove, that the lamps burned only in the night, ſome have ſtuck ſo cloſe to the letter, where it is ſaid elſewhere, that *they ſhall burn continually* (20), that they have affirmed them to burn all the day alſo. *Joſephus*, as if he had been minded to ſplit the difference, tells us, that three of them burned all day, and the other four were lighted againſt night *. But if we muſt ſuppoſe, without any occaſion, that any burned in the day, it were more reaſonable to think, it was the middle one, which being more capacious than the reſt, may be concluded to have burned ſo much the longer accordingly. However, ſeeing that the ſanctuary opened to the ſun-riſing, we can ſee no occaſion for ſuch a ſuppoſition againſt ſo many plain texts. But *Joſephus* has added ſome other particulars, which it would be hard to gueſs where he had them, ſuch as that the knops, cups, flowers, &c. in the candleſtick amounted to 70 in all (21). Whereas thoſe who will be at the pains to tell them after *Moſes* will find but about 58; that is, 18 cups, 18 flowers, and 18 knops, to the 6 ſide-branches, and 4 to the middle one. Of the ſame kind is what he tells us there, that the 7 branches anſwered to the 7 planets; that the candleſtick ſtood ſtooping, and ſuch like, not worth a further enquiry.

(A) It may not however be amiſs here to ſay ſomething of the oil that entertained theſe lamps; and this, the text tells us, was to be the pureſt virgin oil of olives, with which the land of *Canaan* abounded very much, as we have ſeen heretofore †; and indeed none but ſuch would have been fit to burn in that place, where the furniture was ſo exquiſitely rich. We may remember, that when *Moſes* exacted a free-will offering from the people, of all their coſtly ſpoils, oil was one of the things of that number; ſince then there being always a certain quantity required with their other ſacrifices, beſides tythes and the free-offerings of the devouter ſort, there could not be wanting a conſtant ſupply of it for this purpoſe. The *Babyloniſh Talmud* aſſures us, that, after the extruction of *Solomon*'s temple, there was a place, by the women's apartment, appropriated for the keeping of it (22).

(20) Exod. xxvii. 20. *& alib.* * *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 8. (21) *Ibid. c.* 7. *ad fin.* † *Vide ſup. p.* 464. *note* (N). (22) *Tract. Midoth.*

a to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables [w]. It was alſo of pure gold, and might have an ogee or ſome ſuch ornament about it. It ſtood upon four feet, which *Joſephus* ſaid reſembled in part thoſe that were uſed in the *Dorian*'s beds [x]; but what he meant by it is not worth our enquiry. *Moſes* ſeems to intimate in another verſe [y] ſomething like a ſecond crown or rim, tho' ſome take it to be the ſame with the former, but it is more likely, that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them ſteady. To the upper rim were faſtened four gold rings, two on each ſide, through which the bars were put that ſerved for its carriage. On the top there were, beſides the two rows of ſhew-loaves, ſome pans, or chafing-diſhes b of gold, in which the incenſe uſed to be burnt, with ſeveral other ſmaller utenſils, which ſerved for inferior uſes in this holy place [z], which we ſhall not dwell longer upon, becauſe there are almoſt as many different opinions about the ſignifications of their names, their forms, and uſes, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by *Solomon* [a]. *Joſephus* tells us [b], that it was larger than the old one, probably to anſwer the largeneſs of the place. The author of the book of *Chronicles* adds, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide of the holy place, which ſerved to ſet all the other utenſils upon [c]; and *Joſephus* ſays, that there were as many more of different makes and ſizes, as ſerved to hold twenty thouſand cups, and c other veſſels of gold, and twice that number of ſilver ones [d].

4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utenſils, is the laſt thing we have to ſpeak of. The court was an oblong ſquare, an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad (B), incloſed on all but the eaſt ſide, which had an opening of twenty cubits for the prieſts and *Levites*, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This incloſure was not deſigned to conceal what was done in the court, ſince the curtains, that ſurrounded it, were made of a kind of net or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. Theſe curtains, which *Moſes* therefore calls by a particular name (C), to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the tabernacle, whoſe uſe was of a different nature, d were ſupported by four flights of pillars, probably of ſhittim-wood (D), with braſs *Court of the tabernacle.*

[w] Exod. xxv. 23, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. 25. [y] Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [z] Exod. xxv. ver. 29. & alib. paſſ.
[a] 1 King. vii. 48, & ſeq. [b] Ant. lib. viii. ch. 2. [c] 1 Chron. iv. 8. [d] Ubi ſup.

(B) This חצר *Chatzer*, or *court*, being mentioned in ſome places, eſpecially by the pſalmiſt (23), in the plural number, has induced ſome interpreters to ſuppoſe, without any reaſon, that there were two of them (24), one for the *Levites*, and the other for the people: but as *Moſes* doth hint nothing like it, and we have obſerved already, that the plural is often uſed to denote the excellency of a thing, we ſee no ground for ſuch a ſuppoſition, nor indeed for looking upon theſe expreſſions as prophetical of the three courts which *Solomon* made to the temple, *viz.* one for the *Levites*, one for the *Iſraelites*, and the laſt for the *Gentiles*, as ſome authors have done (25).

(C) The word here uſed is קלע, *Kelah*, which ſignifies either *a ſling*, or a net, or *open work* (26), probably becauſe thoſe ſlings, with which they ſlung their ſtones, had the bottom made of ſome ſuch kind of open work. For this reaſon the *Chaldee* paraphraſt tranſlates it *grate* or *crib-work*, in which he is followed by the generality of *Chriſtian* interpreters (27). Some indeed pretend it was a flouriſhing of all ſorts of leaf and flower-work (28), but they all agree, that the ground was open and tranſparent, ſo that theſe hangings might in ſome meaſure reſemble a piece of point or lace.

The *Jews* tell us, however, that after the tabernacle was fixed in *Shiloh*, they ſurrounded it with a good ſtrong wall of the ſame dimenſion: but whether this had any apertures or not, doth not appear. Sure it is, that theſe courts were in uſe, and eſteemed as a piece of grandeur, in the earlieſt times, both among the *Egyptians* and other nations, and that not only their temples, but their palaces, were ſurrounded with one or more of them, either to obſtruct the ſight, or the approach of the people.

(D) As *Moſes* makes no mention of any wood, but only of ſilver and braſs, *Joſephus* (29) and the old *Latin* verſion have ſuppoſed thoſe pillars to have been made of this laſt metal. But beſides that there is no likelihood that they ſhould have added ſuch a monſtrous weight, as fifty ſix ſuch columns muſt have been, to all their other carriage, it is plain, *Moſes* mentions nothing like it, where he ſpeaks of all the other utenſils made of braſs (30), which he would hardly have omitted. However, leſt this ſhould not prove ſufficient to confute that notion, a late author has been at the pains of computing all the braſs that was uſed in the tabernacle, to prove, that there would not have been a ſufficient quantity for other utenſils, had theſe pillars been made of it (31). There is however ſome

(23) *Vide* Pſ. lxv. 4. lxxxiv. 2. *c.* 4, & *alib.* (24) *Vide* CALVIN *in loc.* (25) *Vide* CUN. & BASNAG. *ubi ſup. tom. ii. lib.* 1. *c.* 6. (26) *Vide* BUXTORF. THES. & ARR. MONTAN. *ſub. voc.* קלע (27) *R.* SAL. JACK. *Vide* MUNST. JUN. OLEAST. & *al.* (28) KIMCH. *in Rad.* & *al. vide* & RASCIUS *in loc.* (29) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 6. (30) Exod. xxxviii. 29, & *ſeq.* (31) *Vide* BASNAG. *ubi ſup.*

braſs pedeſtals or ſockets; and adorned with ſilver fillets, or rather chapiters, a
for ſuch they were [e]. As for their height, as *Moſes* has ſaid nothing of it,
authors have conjectured it variouſly, from ten to five cubits; but as the deſign
of them was only to ſupport the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and
not the view of the tabernacle; the laſt ſeems the moſt rational, it being
the height that *Joſephus* aſſigns them, as well as that of the curtains; only
we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſilver chapiters did riſe above the curtain.
We are likewiſe left to gueſs at their figure, only a ſquare one may be
reaſonably ſuppoſed fitter, both for carriage and for holding the hangings
tight, than a round one. They were fifty ſix in number, twenty on each
ſide, ten at the weſt, and ſix at the eaſt end, beſides thoſe which ſupported b
the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was of a
fine sky-blue flouriſhed, and was made to draw on either ſide, or to lift up;
the text doth not ſay which, but the *Jews* believe the latter [f].

THUS the whole court had a circuit of three hundred cubits. Thoſe
therefore who ſuppoſe, that the curtain that ſurrounded it, was one entire piece,
ſeem not to conſider, what a laborious task it would have been to the *Ger-*
ſhonites to have folded or rolled it up; beſides that, the text, ſpeaking all along
of them in the plural number, ſhows, that there were more than one or two
[g]. However, though this court bore the ſame proportion with the tabernacle,
and the four ſides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be ſuppoſed c
to have ſtood in the center of it. There was no neceſſity for the *Area* on
the weſt end to be of the ſame extent with that on the eaſt, becauſe we do
not read of any conſiderable utenſils placed in that; whereas this latter had the
altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and ſeveral other things, of which we are
going now to ſpeak; ſo that though *Moſes* has not left us the dimenſions of
either, this laſt is ſuppoſed to have been of equal length with its breadth,
that is, fifty foot ſquare; and indeed leſs than that ſpace could hardly ſuffice
for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utenſils that were
uſed in it, ſince it was the only place in which all the victims were ſlain, and
both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up. For d
this reaſon it is diſputed, both among the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, whether the peo-
ple, who came thither with the victims, were ſuffered to enter into it, in order
to lay their hands on their heads, and to ſtay the whole time of the cere-
mony, as the letter of the law ſeems to require; or whether they were not
met by the prieſts or *Levites*, at the entrance into the court, and having per-
formed the part of the impoſitions of hands and confeſſion there, did go to
behold the remainder of it from the openings of the incloſure. If the former
be admitted, it muſt be owned, that they muſt have been very much crowded
at ſome particular times, or been forced to admit no more at one time than
the place would conveniently hold. We need not to add, that the braſs ſtakes e
and cordages which were ranged all around, within as well as without, in order to
ſecure both the court and tabernacle from ſtorms and winds, did ſtill
ſtreighten the place conſiderably. There have been alſo various conjectures
concerning the reaſon of its ſituation and facing of the weſt, which we ſhall
not dwell upon: the beſt we meet with from the *Jews* is, that it was done
in oppoſition to the *Heathen*, who worſhipped towards the riſing ſun. As for
the myſtical interpretation of ſome *Chriſtian* divines, they are out of our
province.

THE altar of burnt-offerings was placed, as we have obſerved before, at the
eaſt end of the court, and one may ſuppoſe it to have ſtood at ſuch a con-
venient diſtance from the tabernacle, that neither the ſmoak of its conſtant fire,
nor that of the victims which were burned upon it, might fall upon, or damage, its
outward veil. This altar is alſo called the outward, to diſtinguiſh it from that
of

[e] Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28. [f] Ibid. xxvii. 9, ad fin. [g] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 12, & ſeq.

ſome difficulty in adjuſting the equidiſtance of theſe pillars, ſo as to bring the whole to the length and breadth aſſigned by *Moſes*; and which cannot be otherwiſe removed, than by ſuppoſing, that thoſe that were at the end of the four ſides did come almoſt cloſe to one another at each angle (32).

(32) BASNAG. *ibid.* *Vide* MUNST. JUN. CALM. *& al. in. loc.*

a of incenſe, which was within the ſanctuary. We have already taken notice, that it was made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with braſs. It was five cubits ſquare and three cubits high, and, becauſe it was portable, like the other, it had four braſs-rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the prieſts ſhoulders. It had four horns at the four corners of the ſame wood, and covered with the ſame metal, but whoſe ſhape is equally uncertain with thoſe of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be ſuppoſed as capacious as the bigneſs of the altar will admit, was hung by four braſs rings, a croſs-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the aſhes fell. This was to be b placed under that part which is generally rendered the compaſs (E) of the altar [h], but is variouſly underſtood, or rather fancied, in order to ſave the wood from being conſumed within the copper-work. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving our readers the moſt probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the *Diſſertations upon the Pentateuch* [i]. He ſuppoſes the cavity of the altar to have been about ſeven feet and half wide, from ſide to ſide, and the ſhittim-wood to have been covered with braſs, within as well as without. The croſs-bar grate he ſuppoſes to have been a veſſel, made in the moſt convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was conſtantly ſupplied with freſh wood; and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the c *Carcob*, which we render *the compaſs* or *circuit*, he thinks that it was another copper-veſſel, whoſe form he leaves to the diſcretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the fleſh of the victims, which were to be conſumed upon, or in it. This veſſel being likewiſe ſuſpended by four braſs rings over the grate, at a convenient diſtance, was conſequently ſurrounded by the continual flames from below, and might conſume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both the *Carcob* and the grate being thus ſuſpended, might be eaſily taken on and off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or tranſported. Thus far our author: the reader may ſee his reaſons for theſe ſuppoſitions in the original. The only thing that can d be objected againſt this ſuppoſition is, that there are ſome expreſs texts, which enjoyn the *victims, with the head and the fat, to be laid*, not over, but *upon the wood, or upon the fire, which is upon*, not within, *the altar* [k]. This ſeems alſo to have been the practice of the ancient patriarchs before the *Moſaic* inſtitution. So that this *Carob* ſeems rather to have contained the fire, if it was really a diſtinct thing from the grate. As for what is ſaid of this latter hanging in the middle, it may more reaſonably be underſtood of the middle with reſpect to its ſides, than its height. Since therefore invention muſt ſupply the obſcurity of the text, as our author obſerves, may we not as well ſuppoſe this *Carcob* to have been a kind of cincture to the grate, capacious enough to contain both the e wood and the victims, and to have been ſuſpended ſo near the level of the altar, and at ſo convenient a diſtance from the inſides of it, as not to heat the braſs of it to a degree ſufficient to burn the wood incloſed in it; whilſt the crib might be a kind of bottom to it, ſerving to give it air from beneath, and to let out the aſhes and other ſmall rubbiſh, which might otherwiſe clog the fire. We may even venture to add, that the whole might be ſo artificially contrived, that the fleſh being thus embraced on all ſides by a fierce and conſtant fire, and this by the circumambient air, might concenter the heat to ſuch a degree as to conſume every particle, and yet be entirely free from that offenſive ſmell, which

Altar of burnt-offering.

[h] Exod. xxvii. 1, & ſeq. [i] SAURIN's Diſcourſ. ſur le Pentat. Diſc. liv. [k] Levit. i. 8.

(E) The word כרכוב, *Carcob*, is one of thoſe that occur but once in the ſcriptures, and whoſe meaning muſt remain uncertain for want of parallels to fix it. The *Jews*, inſtead of helping us in ſuch doubtful caſes, do rather embroil them the more. R. *Solomon*, and after him, the learned *De Lyra* believed it to have been only a kind of ornament, that ſurrounded the altar; and other rabbies, who affirm, contrary to the text, that the altar was ten cubits high, and large in proportion, tell us, that it was a kind of gallery, upon which prieſts were forced to mount, in order to lay the wood and victims in due order, and that the three cubits which *Moſes* aſſigns to the height of the altar, muſt be reckoned from that gallery and upwards. But what quite confutes this wild notion is, that *Moſes* ſays, this *Carcob* was to reach to the middle of the altar. If therefore the altar was ten cubits high, there muſt have been five cubits above, as well as five below this imaginary gallery, as *Cunæus* juſtly obſerves. Our commentators have therefore juſtly rejected them, and endeavoured to remove the main difficulty, without departing from the original, or giving into fabulous traditions.

which ſuch quantities of fleſh and fat muſt have neceſſarily cauſed (F). But this we ſubmit to our readers. The truth is, that a man ought to have ſeen and examined the whole ſtructure of the tabernacle and its apparatus, to be able to remove every difficulty, that may be raiſed by the curious. But do we not find the ſame with reſpect to *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, though we are better acquainted with thoſe languages, and have ſuch multitudes of antient authors to conſult, in compariſon of thoſe few that relate to the *Jewiſh?* It was on this altar, that the ſacred fire, which deſcended from heaven at the conſecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be aſked, how this could be done in their marches when this and all other utenſils were wrapped up in ſeveral coverings, the uppermoſt of which was of badgers-ſkins, without either burning thoſe coverings, or extinguiſhing the fire, we need not to have recourſe to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every where elſe (G). We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the *Carcob*, or veſſel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occaſion required, as on the morning and evening ſacrifice. The reader, however, muſt be reminded here, not to confound this *Moſaic* altar, with that ſpacious one which was afterwards reared by *Solomon*, of which this is not a proper place to ſpeak. One common caution however belonged to theſe and all other altars (H), that the aſcent to them was to be gradual, and not by ſteps, to prevent all indecency in God's worſhip [l].

The great laver.

THE brazen laver is the laſt conſiderable utenſil that was in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently ſituate between the eaſt end of it and the altar of burnt offerings. Its ſhape and capaciouſneſs, not being mentioned by *Moſes*, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its uſe was twofold. Firſt, it ſerved for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet, who were expreſly forbid, under ſevere penalties, to preſume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony [m]. Secondly, to waſh the entrails and legs of the victims [n]. Some *Jews* fancy, that there was another reſervoir of water for this laſt uſe [o], which is not improbable, not

[l] Exod. xx. ult. [m] Exod. xxx. 20. [n] Vide Levit. xix. [o] Vide KIMCH. in loc.

(F) As a confirmation of what we have advanced, we beg leave to aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen in *France* a kind of portable hearth, not unlike a chafing-diſh, ſo artfully contrived, that the fire within it, tho' not very fierce to outward appearance, did conſume feathers, brimſtone, and other like fœtid materials, without caſting the leaſt ſmell, or indeed any heat beyond the narrow boundaries of its focus. As this curious piece was expoſed to publick view by the owner, for a ſmall piece of money, at *Paris* and ſeveral other parts of *France*, we doubt not, but it has been ſeen by many of our curious countrymen, who may confirm the truth of what we ſay. However, if the reader think much of admitting the parallel, we beg leave to add, with reſpect to theſe two altars, that as that of incenſe was over-laid with gold, in order to anſwer the reſt of the rich utenſils of the ſanctuary, ſo this of burnt-offerings was covered with braſs, becauſe all the other materials of the court were made of that metal; rather than barely to preſerve the wood under it from the fire. The ſhittim therefore might be deſigned only as the mould or model of the altars, and to avoid either the exceſſive coſt, or weight of maſſive ones: ſo that whether we ſuppoſe it to have been incombuſtible or not, the end was ſtill anſwered, ſince even upon the latter ſuppoſition, that of gold was out of danger, becauſe the fire was ſet upon it in a ſeparate golden veſſel or cenſer, and this of copper might either be ſo contrived as to ſave the wood, or if that ſhould be burnt to a cole, the metal may be ſuppoſed ſtrong enough to ſtand without it.

(G) It is by the ſame miraculous power that they pretend it was preſerved againſt violent winds and rains, to which the altar was expoſed, by ſtanding in ſuch an open place; but we may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they took proper means to ſhelter it from both, ſuch as *Moſes* might leave to their diſcretion. As for the wood that entertained this fire, they tell us, that it was not to be ſuch as had ſerved to any other purpoſe; that it was not to be canker or worm-eaten, and the like; and that after the *Nethinims* had made it ready for uſe, it was the buſineſs of thoſe prieſts, who were diſabled from officiating at the altar, to examine it after them, and to throw aſide all that they found any ſuch defects in. As for this ſacred fire, we need not to tell our readers how early it was in uſe among the *Chaldeans* and *Perſians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other nations. It was called in the old *Perſ. Oriſmada*, which ſome critics pretend to be derived from the *Hebrew* words, *urim eſh yah*, *light and fire of God*, or from *or eſh men yah*, *light and fire from God*; and from thence infer, that they had this cuſtom from the *Jews* †, but that is what we dare not venture to warrant. As for the *Jewiſh* one, we read in the *Maccabees* (33), that, at the approach of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Jeruſalem*, the prophet *Jeremiah*, with ſome other prieſts, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well, and that at the return from the captivity *Nehemiah* ſent ſome of their grand-children to the well, who brought him ſome dirty water inſtead of fire, but, upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame, which was kept afterwards till the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. This ſtory is likewiſe apocryphal, but the *Jews* believe it, only they compare this ſecond fire to a dog, whereas the firſt, they ſay, was like a lion (34).

(H) As we are upon the ſubject of the divine laws, by

† BASNAG. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c.* 14. (33) 2 Macc. i. 19. *& ſeq.* ii. 1, *& ſeq.* (34) *R.* ZACCATH, *ubi ſu*

not only as it was more decent, but becauſe we find it ſo ordered in *Solomon*'s temple, where the brazen ſea was for the ſole waſhing of the prieſts, whilſt there were ten other lavers beſides for the waſhing of the victims [p]. If this was not the caſe here, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they only took the water out of the laver into ſome other veſſels to waſh thoſe entrails in, for it was not even lawful for a prieſt to waſh his hands and feet in the ſame water. For this reaſon they ſuppoſe, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was ſet to run upon their feet firſt, and then upon their hands, and was received into a baſon underneath [q]. This fountain was to be kept continually repleniſhed with water, and this office belonged to the *Levites* [r], unleſs they made perhaps the *Nethinims* bring it to them to the entrance of the court. *Moſes* tells us in another chapter, that this braſs laver and its foot was made of the looking-glaſſes of the women, that came in crowds to the door of the tabernacle [s], which has given ground for various ſpeculations; and ſome interpreters have even ventured to turn the braſs there mentioned into ſteel [t]: as if thoſe antient mirrours had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals alſo, ſuch as braſs, tin, ſilver, and the like, and ſome with braſs mixed with tin or ſilver; the laſt of which, *Pliny* tells us [u], were the moſt eſteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it, and that it ſhould be rendered, he made the laver and its foot of a braſs, like unto the looking-glaſſes of the women that crowd about the door of the tabernacle, by which is meant, that he made them either of the ſame metal, or that he gave them the ſame degree of brightneſs and ſmoothneſs (I). And if what an antient father tells us be true of the *Egyptian* women [w], that they uſed to go to the temple with a looking-glaſs in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will ſtill give us a greater light into the meaning of the *Hebrew* women wearing ſuch an ornament when they came to the tabernacle. As for what is ſaid of their repairing thither in crowds, it was no more than what they uſually did, as appears from other places of ſcripture [x].

To

[p] 2 Chron. iv. 6. [q] Miſhn. ap. ARR. MONTAN. in loc. [r] Vide N. DE LYRA in loc. [s] Exod. xxxviii. 8. [t] Vide TREMEL. in loc. [u] Lib. xxxiii. c. 9. [w] CYRIL. ALEXAND. de Adorat. in ſpirit. lib. ii. ap. CALM. ſub voc. Miroir. [x] Vide 1 Sam. ii. 22, & alib.

by whoſe directions all theſe things were made, we muſt by no means forget that altar which God enjoined to be made to him, either of earth or of rough ſtones, in all places where he ſhould record his name (35). Whoever compares theſe words with the command of building the brazen altar, might be apt to think, that the *Iſraelites* were left at their liberty to offer up their ſacrifices either upon the one or the other, as they liked beſt; and yet we find a ſevere prohibition againſt ſacrificing any where but at this latter, and in the court of the tabernacle (36). To reconcile this ſeeming contravention, ſome have conjectured, that this brazen altar was filled with earth and rough ſtones, but what we have ſaid above doth ſufficiently confute ſuch a ſuppoſition. We paſs by ſeveral others equally crude to come at the moſt rational. There ſeems indeed a manifeſt difference between the laws relating to thoſe two altars; that of the one, *viz.* the brazen one, confined it to the ceremonial part, in which the prieſts alone were allowed to officiate; whereas the other related properly to extraordinary caſes, when ſome holy perſons were commanded by God to offer ſome kind of ſacrifices, without any regard to the tribes they were of; upon all which occaſions they were obliged to rear ſuch a plain altar, as is above deſcribed.

The only thing that can be objected againſt this ſolution is, that the words, *thou ſhalt build me an altar of earth——— in every place where I record my name*, &c. ſeem rather to imply a fixed, than ſuch an occaſional, altar. But the *Chaldee* paraphraſt has given us a truer ſenſe of theſe words, as all who underſtand the original will eaſily own; which is this. *In every place where I cauſe, or command my name to be recorded or celebrated*, &c. The meaning of which is plainly this, by comparing both places together: *it ſhall not be lawful for you to offer your ſacrifices whereſoever your fancy leads you, but only at the court of my tabernacle: nevertheleſs, whenever I cauſe my name to be celebrated upon any particular occaſion, in what place ſoever I command my ſervants to ſacrifice unto me, there ſhall they rear me an altar of earth*, &c. *and there I will meet and bleſs them; but this ſhall not be done without an expreſs command from me.* This natural interpretation was not only verified by the ſequel, as appears from all the inſtances we have of theſe extraordinary ſacrifices, but doth likewiſe account for the reaſon of God's chuſing a plain and artleſs altar upon all ſuch occaſions; about which both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have racked their brains to little purpoſe. For had they been more elaborate and laſting, the *Iſraelites*, too prone to ſuperſtition, would have been in all probability induced to fancy a more than ordinary ſanctity in them, and ſo have gone a whoring after them, contrary to God's expreſs prohibition; whereas their being reared up juſt to ſerve the preſent exigence, and then being immediately pulled, or falling down in courſe, could not adminiſter any ſuch temptation.

(I) Thoſe who underſtand the original know that it is far from improbable, that ב *beth* may have ſlipt in here inſtead of the כ *caph*, by reaſon of their likeneſs; eſpecially if they remember, that the former is never uſed, that we can recollect, to expreſs the metal or ſtuff of which a thing is made; ſo that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas the

(35) Exod. xx. 24. (36) Levit. xvii. 3, 4. *Vide* BASNAG. *ubi ſup.* c. 14.

To these we might add a multitude of other furniture subservient to other uses, a such as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, shovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, dishes, and many more; all of which were either made of brass, or of wood covered with it; but it is sufficient to have named the most considerable of them. We shall only add, that the charge of all these was committed, the most sacred ones to the priests, and the rest to the *Levites*, whose business it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and skins, made for that purpose, whenever they removed. It is observable however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, so much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible, as was observed before, that its rich and sacred utensils should stand on the bare ground. We may therefore b suppose, that *Moses* has barely mentioned all that was done before the setting up of the tabernacle. And if we consider their vast number and variety, the richness and curious workmanship of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finished in, not much above five months [y], we shall have cause to wonder at their dispatch, unless we suppose a vast number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from supposing, that *Moses* might add many others, as he saw needful in process of time, among which this flooring might be one.

THESE are the principal laws relating to the worship of God, or, as they are commonly called, of the first table; but before we pass on to those of the second, it will be necessary to say something of those which related to their proselytes (K). c There was an express command of God, that if any stranger was desirous to be admitted to eat of the passover, he was first to be circumcised, after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand solemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the *Israelites* [z]. Of this number was a great part of the mixt multitude which came with them out of *Egypt*, and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan*. And indeed the condition of those who became circumcised was so preferable to that of those who continued in their old religion, that the number of them increased very much; and this is supposed to have put the selfish *Jews* upon the distinction between *proselytes of the gate*, and *proselytes of righteousness*, the former of which, continuing uncircumcised, and being bound to observe d only the precepts of *Noah*, were kept in a state not many degrees better than slavery. We find no less than an hundred and fifty three thousand and upwards, of this kind in *Solomon*'s time, who were all imployed in the most servile and laborious works [a]. But because this would have proved a most effectual way to have made them embrace the *Jewish* religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the *Jews* tell us, that they admitted few, if any, into it, especially in the happy reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, lest they should be induced to it only from worldly ends [b] (L). *Moses* commanded

[y] Ita Judæi. Vide Sedar. Olam. MUNST. CUN USSER Ann. p. 16, & al. [z] Exod. xii. 48. Num. ix. 14. [a] 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. [b] MAIMON. Vide SELD. de Synedr. BUXT. Synagog. & alib.

the כ, which signifies *as*, *like unto*, *according to*, gives a good sense to the phrase. However, the rabbies, taking it in the other sense, have made it a great piece of merit in those devout women, who, according to them, were filled with such a zeal for the service of God, that they came in sholes to the tabernacle, to sacrifice the most precious ornament of their toilet to holy uses, resolved for the future to neglect all outward adorning, that they might take more care of the inward. Those interpreters who have fancied them to be real glasses framed in brass, and to have been fixed round the laver that the priests might see themselves in them, seem still more out of the way, since they came thither to wash only their hands and feet, which they could do without the help of a glass.

(K) The text distinguishes them only by the words גר, *Ger*, *a traveller*, or *sojourner*, and נכר, *Neker*, *a stranger*, or *alien*. However, we may make a threefold distinction of them, namely, of such as continued still in their idolatry and religion of their fathers; such as had renounced it to worship the only true God, but remained still uncircumcised, or bound themselves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the observation of the *Noachid* law; and lastly, those who by circumcision were bound to observe the law of *Moses*, and were thereby intitled to the same privileges with all the *Israelites*. It is true, they were not to suffer any of the first sort to live among them, but it is plain by the sequel, that they became extreamly remiss and negligent in this respect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The second sort were called גרי חשער, *Gare hashabar*, *strangers of the gate*, from the expression often used in the pentateuch, *the stranger that is within thy gates*. But when any of either sort became circumcised, they were then distinguished by the name of גרי-חבריח, *Gare-haberith*, *strangers*, or *proselytes of the covenant*, and גרי-צדק, *Gare-zedek*, *proselytes of righteousness*.

(L) The *Talmud* compares those proselytes to the rust in iron, or ulcers in the body, and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admission of them (37). For this reason they add, that they were refused three times, but if they persisted in their desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised, before two or three sufficient witnesses, to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism, and lastly, to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of *Israel* (38).

(37) *Vide* SELD. *de Syned. lib. ii. c. 2. art. 5.*

(38) *Vide* BASNAG. *R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 1.*

commanded the *Iſraelites* to give the beaſts which died of themſelves to theſe
a ſtrangers [c], which is inconſiſtent with what the *Jews* ſay of their being bound to keep the precepts of *Noah*, one of which and indeed the only one recorded by *Moſes*, was againſt eating fleſh with the blood thereof [d], we therefore think it more probable, that they were only obliged to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the one true God.

THE caſe was different with reſpect to the *proſelytes of righteouſneſs*, theſe becoming incorporated into the family of *Iſrael*, and bound to obſerve the *Moſaic* law, were to undergo a long and ſerious examination, wherein they ſet before them the difficulties of keeping *Moſes*'s laws, the danger of breaking them, the contempt,
b and hatred, and ſometimes grievous perſecutions they expoſed themſelves to, by becoming the ſervants of the God of *Iſrael*, and the like. If they continued ſtedfaſt in their purpoſes, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, they were then to be circumciſed, and as ſoon as the wound permitted it, they were to be baptized. And becauſe this laſt ceremoney was looked upon as judiciary, it was to be performed before three judges at leaſt, and recorded; ſo that it was never to be repeated afterwards, even in caſes of apoſtacy; neither were their children, that were born after their father's baptiſm, to be baptized, but only circumciſed, as thoſe of the *Iſraelites*. If the proſelytes had been of a nation which uſed circumciſion, ſuch as the *Iſmaelites*, *Edomites*, and others were, they contented themſelves
c with opening the ſear of circumciſion with a launcet, and drawing out ſome drops of blood, after which they were admitted by baptiſm; and as for their women, they were only to be baptized, without any other ceremony. *Moſes* made likewiſe ſome difference between nation and nation with reſpect to their admiſſion into what he terms *the congregation of the Lord* [e]. The *Edomites* were received after the ſecond generation, becauſe they were brethren, and ſo were the *Egyptians*, becauſe *Iſrael* had been a ſtranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as ſome underſtand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, becauſe, inſtead of receiving the *Iſraelites* with a brotherly hoſpi-
d tality, they hired *Balaam* to curſe them (M). Baſtards and all illegitimate iſſue were under the ſame excluſion with them (N). The *Amalekites*, as well as *Eunuchs* of

[c] Deut. xiv. 21. [d] Gen. ix. 4. [e] Deut. xxiii. 1, & ſeq.

(M) The *Jews* obſerve, that *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf only in the maſculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, *a man Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon ſome extraordinary account. Thus *Ruth*, tho' a *Moabiteſs*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we ſhall ſee in the next note, that this is not the only inſtance of their admitting of perſons expreſly excluded by that law-giver.

(N) The original word is ממזר, *Mamzer*, by which the *Jews* generally underſtand, not only all kind of inceſtuous and adulterous iſſue, but likewiſe children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the *Canoniſts* take it to ſignify only *the ſon of a proſtitute*. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, becauſe it is uſed only in this place and in *Zechariah* (41), but in neither is explained in the context. What has induced the *Jews* to underſtand it of inceſtuous and other unlawful iſſue, is, that the *Mamzer* is mentioned juſt before, and put upon the ſame foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by inceſt (42); but if that were the caſe, how came the two ſons of *Judah*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43), not to be reputed ſpurious. If it be ſaid he knew her not, yet 'tis plain ſhe knew him, and the *Jews*, againſt whom we object this, pretend, that either in inceſt or adultery, tho' neither party be conſcious; as when a woman, believing her huſband long ſince dead, marries another, or *vice verſa*, yet the iſſue of ſuch a marriage is *Mamzer*, or *ſpurious*; ſo that according to this canon of theirs, thoſe two and their poſterity ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain, they have not always been rejected, ſince *Jephtha*, who was both judge and general in *Iſrael*, was the ſon of a concubine (44). We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that theſe were particular caſes excepted, or which is moſt probable, that *Mamzer* ſignified ſomething different from either of theſe, perhaps the children begot by an *Hebrew* upon a *Canaaniteſs* or an idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from ſuch unlawful mixtures, by the conſideration, that the iſſue of them muſt be excluded from all the privileges of the *Iſraeliteſs* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but whatever it meant at firſt, the *Jewiſh* canoniſts, according to their uſual rigidneſs, have extended it not only to all illegitimate iſſue, but even to that whoſe legitimacy is any wiſe doubted (45).

(30) *Vide* MUNST. *in* Deut. xxiii. 1, & *ſeq.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) Ch. ix. 6. (42) Gen. xix. 31, & *ſeq.* *vide ſup. p.* 284. a. (43) Gen. xxxviii. 13, & *ſeq.* (44) Judg. xi. 1. (45) *Vide* SELD. *ubi ſup.* & *de Jur. Nat.* & *Gent. lib. v. c.* 16. & *lib. de ſucceſſ. bon. l. iii*, & *alib. paſſ.* MUNST. *ubi ſup.* & *al. it. præc. neg.* 117.

of all kinds (O), were totally excluded; the former, becauſe they were under the divine *Anathema* [f]; and the latter, becauſe their condition was accounted a legal defect [g]. What is meant by not *entering into the congregation of the Lord*, is not agreed; ſome underſtanding by it, their being denied admittance into the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth by circumciſion; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This laſt is the moſt probable and moſt received among *Chriſtian* interpreters. The *Jews*, however, underſtand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the *Iſraelitiſh* women, for it was a received maxim among them, *that the children did follow the quality of the mother*. Every proſelyte of righteouſneſs was obliged to circumciſe all the males, and baptize all the females in his family under the age of thirteen; but thoſe that were above that age might chuſe whether they would ſubmit to it, or remain in their old religion. On the other hand, thoſe under thirteen could not be admitted to proſelytiſm, without the conſent either of their parents, or, in caſe of their refuſal, that of two or three judges. In this caſe their admiſſion was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer eſteemed as ſuch; inſomuch, that they believed this kind of new converts to receive a new ſoul after baptiſm [h]. Well might therefore our Saviour wonder, that *Nicodemus, who was a maſter in* Iſrael, ſhould heſitate at his diſcourſe concerning a new birth [i]. We find ſeveral other regulations concerning the prerogatives of theſe proſelytes, in the *Talmud* and other *Jewiſh* writings, which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they do not appear to us to be of divine appointment. Such was the law which made the children born after the baptiſm of their father to inherit, in prejudice of thoſe that were born before it; and another which aſſigned the eſtate of a proſelyte, who had no children after his baptiſm, not to thoſe he had before, nor to the king, or to the publick; but to the firſt perſon that ſeized upon it. But theſe, and many more ſuch, the reader may ſee in the authors above quoted.

Laws of the ſecond table: or concerning the Jewiſh *government, with the cuſtoms relating to it.*

Laws of the ſecond table.

THESE we ſhall mention in the ſame order as they are in the decalogue, and begin with thoſe which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural ſenſe. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reaſon of its being branched out into ſo many families, whom God nevertheleſs deſigned to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws; and the precepts of *Noah*, or rather the laws of nature, being perhaps partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their *Egyptian* thraldom; God was pleaſed to prevent all murmurings and oppoſition, which ſuch a change might cauſe in ſo untractable a people, by declaring, that himſelf would be their king, and appoint them his vicegerents from time to time, under whom the heads of families ſhould govern and adminiſter juſtice to thoſe under them, in exact conformity to his laws. *Moſes* was declared the firſt vicegerent, and accordingly it is ſaid, that he *gave a law*, or rather *a body of laws, and an inheritance unto the congregation of* Jacob, *and was king in*, or *over Jeſhurun*, that is, *over* Iſrael (P), *when the heads of the people and the tribes of* Iſrael *were gathered together* [k]; that is, as we underſtand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families became concentred under one head. To him ſucceeded *Joſhua* and the judges, but ſtill by God's appointment; and nothing evinces more the reaſonableneſs, or rather neceſſity, of this change of government,

[f] Exod. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [g] Vide Levit. xxi. 20. [h] Vide SELD. ubi ſup. & de J. N. & G. & JAC. ALTING. Diſput. de proſelyt. R. MOS. KOTZ. R. MOS. Ægypt. Iſſur biath perek, SERRAR. Trihœres. lib. ii. c. 2. DRUS. de. trib. ſect. FAG. in Exod. xxii. 21, & al. in Deut. xxiii. 1. vide & præc. neg. 113, & ſeq. LEO DE MODEN. pt. v. ch. 3. CALM. ſub. voc. Proſelyte, & al. [i] John iii. 1, & ſeq. [k] Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5.

(O) The original implies a man who has any defect, either in his teſticles, or in his penis, by fracture, compreſſion, or by any other way. We ſhall obſerve here with the *Jews* however, that there is no proper name either for thoſe parts in either ſex, or for ſeveral other things which modeſty forbids to utter, in all the ſacred books. This they bring as an argument of the holineſs and chaſtneſs of the *Hebrew* tongue; but whether it be not ſaid with more zeal than truth, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in another place.

(P) The word ישורון *Jeſhurun* is derived from ישר *Jaſhar*, to be righteous; which name is given them, not ſo much for their righteouſneſs, as for that of their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; or more likely, perhaps, on account of thoſe righteous laws which God himſelf had dictated unto them.

government, than their conſtant back-ſlidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedneſs at every interregnum, when their inferior rulers became ſo remiſs, that as often as we read, that *there was no judge among them*, ſo often we find, that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, or that *they did evil in the ſight of God* [l]: but as every defection brought its puniſhment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But inſtead of having recourſe to God by repentance, they bethought themſelves of that expedient of having a king, who ſhould be always ready at hand to defend them, and God, having condeſcended to their deſire, appointed *Saul* to be their monarch; and the *Jewiſh* commonwealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reaſon, why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forſake them, though he reſented this their imprudent deſire of being governed by a king like other nations (Q), gave them ſo few laws to inforce their obedience to him, whilſt he made ſome coercive ones to reſtrain him from oppreſſing them. The univerſal paſſiveneſs of thoſe nations whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unneceſſary; and, on the other hand, the exceſſive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extreamly dangerous, unleſs limited by wholſome reſtrictions. We need not a more lively inſtance of this early deſpotic power of kings, and of the people's baſe ſubmiſſion to it, than the horrid ſlaughter which *Saul*, their firſt king, made of eighty five guiltleſs prieſts, and of all the innocent inhabitants of *Nob*, even to their very ſucking children and all their cattle †: and if this had not been likewiſe the caſe of other nations, *Samuel* could not have given ſo pathetic a liſt of the hardſhips they were to expect under an abſolute monarchy. But whether this, or any other, were the reaſon, ſure it is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the *Moſaic* laws to enforce an obedience to princes, except the command, *honour thy father and thy mother* [m]; which alluded moſt likely to the patriarchal government; and an expreſs prohibition againſt curſing the rulers of the people [n]; whereas there are ſeveral very expreſs ones to reſtrain them from abuſing their power and oppreſſing their ſubjects. Of this nature are thoſe which exclude all ſtrangers from being raiſed to that dignity [o], that forbid a king of *Iſrael* to multiply horſes, wives (R), riches, and the like [p]; that oblige him to write a copy of God's law, to read and meditate upon, and to govern himſelf by it, without deviating from it to the right or left [q]; that enjoyn him to make choice of perſons of wiſdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and ſuch like [r].

Concerning kings.

HOWEVER, as they were accountable only to God for the breach of theſe laws, ſo none were reſtrained by them, but ſuch as feared him; as for the reſt, it is plain from their hiſtory, that they made no ſcruple of tranſgreſſing them in inſtances of the higheſt nature; and that their power was ſo great that none did dare to controul them, or even reprove them, except ſuch prophets as were commiſſioned by God for ſo doing. Their being anointed, at leaſt in the beginning (S), by ſome celebrated prophets, and appointed ſovereigns of a nation, which the

[l] Vide Judg. ii, & ſeq. † 1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19. [m] Exod. xx. 12, & alib. [n] Ibid. xxii. 28. [o] Deut. xvii. 14, 15. [p] Ibid. ver. 16, 17. [q] Ver. 18, & ſeq. vide & præc. negat. 221, & ſeq. [r] Deut. xvi. 18; & ſeq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & ſeq.

(Q) *Maimon* tells us, out of the laſt part of the *Miſhna*, that *Moſes* gave the *Iſraelites* three expreſs commands, namely, 1. To chuſe them a king. 2. To deſtroy *Amalek*. and 3. to build a temple, after they were poſſeſſed of the land of *Canaan*. The ſame we find likewiſe enjoyned in the 114, 115, and 116 affirmative precepts of their oral law, according to which that rabbi obſerves, that they choſe *Saul* for their king before they declared war againſt the *Amalekites*. But if this had been the caſe, there could have been no room for God's reſenting, and *Samuel*'s reproving them ſo ſeverely for it. *Maimon* doth indeed endeavour to wave this objection, by pretending, that what diſpleaſed God, was their coming, in a tumultuous and diſreſpectful manner, to *Samuel*, and aſking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of an itch to be like their neighbours; but this is neither agreeable to the text (46), nor to *Joſephus*, who imputes this deſire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of juſtice, through the baſeneſs and avarice of *Samuel*'s two ſons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (47).

(R) What the *Jews* underſtand by multiplying wives, is having above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than *David* had, who, they ſay, is recorded to have had but ſixteen; and by multiplying horſes, they underſtand having more than ſerved him and his retinue (48); but we ſhall ſhew, that if there was any ſuch oral law, *Solomon* made very light of it in either caſe, even from the firſt year of his reign.

(S) The *Talmudiſts* tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himſelf proclaimed king without unction, eſpecially in the family

(46) *Vide* 1 Sam. viii. *paſſ.* (47) *Ant. lib. v. c.* 6. (48) *Vide præc. neg.* 222, *& ſeq.*

the ſcripture calls a royal prieſthood [s], gave them a full power, not only in matters purely civil and military, but in eccleſiaſtical alſo. This is indeed denied by very many divines, who think, that they never exerciſed any authority in the latter as kings of *Iſrael*, but as prophets and inſpired perſons, ſuch as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformations and regulations which *Hezekias*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Joſiah*, and others made, who were neither prophets nor inſpired perſons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to conſult the oracle of *Urim*, and indeed they were commanded ſo to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or ſanhedrin over which they preſided, whenever they pleaſed to aſſiſt at it [t]. Thus we find, that *David*, after he had been anointed king, even in *Saul*'s time, did conſult the divine oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his undertaking *. They had likewiſe an abſolute power of life and death; and tho' according to the law of *Moſes*, no man was to be capitally puniſhed before he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at leaſt two or three witneſſes, yet we meet with frequent inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſole will of the prince. The ſame may be preſumed to have been with reſpect to property, by the inſtances of *Mephiboſheth* and his ſervant *Ziba* [u], and others of the like nature. From that of *Naboth* † we may likewiſe conclude, that, in ſome caſes, the eſtates of perſons condemned devolved to the king: but from the laws lately mentioned againſt oppreſſing the ſubjects, it appears, rather to have been a tyrannical uſurpation, than a command, or even permiſſion from God. What profound reſpect was paid to the regal dignity appears, both from the ſubmiſſive language with which they were addreſſed [x], and the humble manner of approaching them; inſomuch, that even queens and prophets did proſtrate themſelves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathſheba* did to *David* [y], though there is no doubt, but his ſon *Solomon* raiſed the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height. The *Jews* affirm, that even the high-prieſt was obliged to ſtand before the king, whereas the latter only ſtood before the high-prieſt, when he was conſulting God by *Urim* [z]. They add, that he alone was allowed to ſit down in the court of the temple, even in the moſt ſacred part of it, namely, that of the prieſts; provided he was of the lineage of *David*, whereas their ſenators were only allowed to ſit in that which belonged to the people [a]. The magnificence of their dreſs did not a little contribute to raiſe an awe in their ſubjects. It is true, that there is nothing preſcribed concerning it, either in the *Moſaic* law, or any other inſpired writer, and that we have no clear deſcription of it in the ſacred books; but it is plain from *Jehoſhaphat*'s going to fight againſt the *Syrians* in his royal robes, whilſt *Ahab* changed his own for a common dreſs [b], that there was a manifeſt difference between them, if not in ſhape, at leaſt in beauty and coſtlineſs, ſuch as jewels

[s] Exod. xix. 6, & alib. [t] HAIM. Halak Melakim, c. 2. * 1 Sam. xxx. 7, & 8. Vide BASNAG. ubi ſup. [u] 2 Sam. xix. 29. † 1 King. xxi. paſſ. [x] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & ſeq. & ver. 40. 2 Sam. xiv. paſſ. xxiv. 3, & alib. [y] 1 King. i. 16, 23. [z] MAIM. ubi ſup. [a] Id. Halak. Beth Habkir. [b] 1 King. xxii. 30.

family of *David*; and that the ceremony was only uſed when a younger ſon was preferred to the eldeſt, as in the caſe of *Solomon* (49). *Maimon* tells us, that the confection of this oyl, or royal ointment, was alſo preſcribed by God, and gives us the receipt of it; he adds, that it was hid with that of the prieſts, with the ark, &c. juſt before the captivity, and that it could never be found; but where he had all theſe particulars is hardly worth enquiring (50). The *Jews* obſerve further, that *Saul* and *Jehu* were annointed בפך השמן, *Bepak haſhemen*, *with a viol of oyl*, to denote the ſhortneſs of their reign; but that *David* and his poſterity were anointed בקרן, *Bekeren*, *with a horn of oyl*, to ſignify the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of it (51); but there ſeems to be more ſubtilty than truth in that remark. One thing is certain, that the cuſtom of conſecrating any thing to God by this profuſion of oyl is very antient, as appears from the inſtance of *Jacob*'s anointing of the pillar of *Bethel* (52). How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impoſſible to gueſs; but it is plain, that it became in uſe during the whole *Moſaic* diſpenſation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate ſervice of God. Of the firſt kind were the kings, prieſts, and prophets; and of the ſecond, all the ſacred utenſils of the tabernacle. But how far this ceremony was typical of *Chriſt*, who is emphatically called the Meſſiah, or anointed, or of the ſpiritual unction under the goſpel, is out of our province.

(49) 1 King. i. *paſſ.* (50) MAIM. *Halak Kele Hamikdaſh. c.* 1, *& alib.* (51) KIMCH. *Comm. in* 1 Sam. x. 1. *Vide* HOTTING. *in* GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* 1. *c.* 4. § 2, & 3. BASNAG. *in* CUN. *lib. i. c.* 14. (52) Gen. xxviii. 18, *& ſeq.*

2 jewels about their crown (T), the purple mantle, and the like. *Joſephus* tells us [c], that *Solomon* did uſually go clad in white, but this was a colour common both to the prieſts and nobles (V); ſo that the difference muſt be in the richneſs, whether of the linen or ſilk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied by the law to any dreſs, we need not to doubt, but they followed the faſhions of other countries, and were more ſumptuouſly clad upon ſome particular occaſions than ordinary [d]. The pſalmiſt has likewiſe given us a beautiful deſcription of the dreſs of queens [e], which was ſtill richer than that of kings; but we ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

Laws and cuſtoms relating to judges and courts of judicature.

Courts of judicature.

b WE need not ſpeak here of thoſe judges, emphatically ſo called, who governed *Iſrael* from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, theſe, being appointed from time to time by God himſelf, we find, were entirely governed by his laws, and in doubtful caſes by his ſpirit, with which they were endowed; they had the ſupreme authority during their life, and differed in nothing from kings, but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary; in all other caſes their power was the ſame. They could make peace and war, ſummon the tribes to arms, conſult God by *Urim*, and the like. They are ſaid to have judged *Iſrael*, and that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to adminiſter juſtice [f]; but whether this was c done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier reſort, or by way of conſulting them in doubtful caſes, is not eaſy to determine (W).

BUT beſides theſe, *Moſes*, and after him thoſe who were at the head of the *Iſraelitiſh* common-wealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and

[c] Ant. lib. viii. c. 2. [d] Vide 1 Sam. xxviii. 8. 1 King. xxii. 10, 30. JOSEPH. Ant. lib. vi. c. 10. & alib. RASC. & al. [e] Pſ. xlv. [f] Vide Jud. iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & ſeq. & alib.

(T) It is plain, that this ornament was ſo far from being peculiar to crowned heads, that the prieſts and perſons of high rank were allowed to wear them. Nay it ſeems from *Ezekiel*'s being forbid by God to take his own off his head, in token of mourning (53), that every private man did wear ſomething of the ſame nature. This ornament, which the *Hebrew* calls פאר, *Pheer*, is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of ribbon or fillet, which went round the head, and was wore, not only by the *Jews*, but by other eaſtern nations; from which thoſe of princes, though called by other names, are thought to have differed only in the richneſs of the materials, and of the precious ſtones that adorned them (54). Hence *David* calls his own עטרת פז, *Hattereth-phaz, a crown of the pureſt gold* (55). We read indeed of one which that monarch took from the king of the *Ammonites*, which is ſaid to have weighed a talent of gold (56). But we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, that it means not that it weighed, but that it was worth ſo much, by reaſon of the precious ſtones that were about it.

(V) Hence came perſons of high birth and rank to be called חורים, *Chorim, albati, preclari*, in oppoſition to thoſe of obſcure birth, who were called חשוכים, *Chaſhukim, tenebroſi, obſcuri*. To this diſtinction the apoſtle St. *James* ſeems to allude (57), when he ſays: *if a man come into your aſſemblies——in goodly apparel*, or, as the original has it, εν εθητι λαμπρα, *in a white* or *ſplendid robe*——and a poor man εν εθητι ρυπαρα, *in a dark or dirty one*. We read indeed in the book of *Eſther* of the royal ſcepter, crown, and princely apparel (58). But beſides, that theſe are of a later date, we do not know how far theſe ornaments were imitated by the *Jewiſh* kings. However, it is plain, that even in *Ahaſhuerus*'s court, neither the golden crown, nor the purple, or any other colour, were peculiar to the kings, ſince we find *Mordecai* adorned with them, as a reward of his merit (59); and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the crown was the diſtinguiſhing ornament of perſons in the higheſt rank, in the courts of all the eaſtern princes *.

(W) The latter however ſeems moſt probable, from the command of *Moſes*, that *in all doubtful caſes, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not eaſily determine, they ſhould apply themſelves to the prieſts and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whoſe judgment they ſhould ſubmit under pain of death* (60). The *Jews* indeed pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or ſanhedrim **, which they pretend to have ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of *Moſes*. But we have elſewhere ſhown, that the council which *Moſes* appointed laſted only during the lives of the elders, and that this ſanhedrim was a new inſtitution of a much later date †. So that, in all doubtful and diſputed caſes, no perſons could be more proper to be applyed to, than theſe judges, who were endued both with the ſpirit of God, and with the ſupreme authority, ſince even this latter was thought ſufficient afterwards in the time of their kings, as appears from very many inſtances, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61).

(53) *Conf.* Ezek. xxiv. 17, & 24. (54) *Vide* CALM. *Comm. in* Exod. xxiv. 17. & *aut. ab eo citat.* (55) Pſal. xxi. 3. (56) 2 Sam. xii. 30. 1 Chron. xx. 2. (57) Jacob. ii. 2. (58) Eſth. iv. 11. vi. 8. (59) *Ibid. c. viii.* 15. * *Vide ſup. p.* 465. *note* (R). (60) Deut. xvii. 8. & *ſeq.* ** *Præc. affirm.* 3. † *Vide ſup. p.* 525. *note* (H). (61) 2 Sam. xiv. *paſſ.* 1 King. iii. 16, & *ſeq.* 2 King. viii. 3, & *alib. paſſ.*

and magiſtrates in all cities, to adminiſter juſtice to the people in every tribe. a
Theſe were to be men of wiſdom and probity, well verſed in the law of *Moſes*, free from covetouſneſs and partiality; ſuch as would protect the innocent, the fatherleſs and widow, the helpleſs and ſtranger, and puniſh the guilty and wrongdoer [g] (X). We find likewiſe ſeveral denunciations againſt thoſe who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be bribed to act contrary to the ſtrict laws of juſtice; but as they were appointed by the kings, ſo their virtue did riſe and fall according to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of theſe. We may ſay more: *Samuel* was himſelf a moſt upright judge, and yet his two ſons, who acted under him, proved moſt unrighteous; *David* was likewiſe a pious monarch, and yet had there not crept a great deal of corruption in the courts of judicature, his ſon *Abſalom* could have had no b
pretence for wiſhing, that he had been a judge, that he might do juſtice to every one that applied to him for it [h].

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †; and became in time very conſiderable, but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each; whether their power was equal, or ſome ſubordinate to others, the ſcripture gives us no light into. We read indeed, that *Moſes*, during their abode in the wilderneſs appointed rulers over thouſands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens [i], and theſe were in all likelihood ſubordinate to one another, but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of *Canaan*, doth not appear. However we may ſuppoſe, that theſe courts conſiſted c
at firſt but of very few perſons, and that every thing was tranſacted in them with the utmoſt plainneſs and ſimplicity; neither were there then many kinds of offices or dignities, ſince we read but of four ſorts of officers, even in *Joſhua*'s time; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers [k]. It is impoſſible to determine what their offices were, only the laſt are ſuppoſed to have been a kind of beadles or executioners. In the flouriſhing reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, they increaſed very much [l], and in proceſs of time became ſo corrupted, that the prophets were obliged from time to time to exclaim againſt them. One of them having been ſent to *Jehoſhaphat*, to denounce God's heavy judgments againſt *Iſrael* for thoſe abuſes, wrought ſo upon that good king, that he d
immediately ſet about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, ſome of whom were of the tribe of *Levi*, and charging them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predeceſſors. He likewiſe appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jeruſalem*, the one conſiſting chiefly of prieſts and *Levites*, for matters of religion; and the other, which was moſtly made up of the heads of families, for matters of ſtate. In this condition they are ſuppoſed to have continued till the captivity, bating that as the princes became more and more wicked, ſo did the judges under them, till God was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can ſay upon that article, with any tolerable certainty. As for what e
Joſephus and the *Talmudiſts* do add concerning magiſtrates and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another, and as we are not ſure, but even the former doth rather deſcribe them as they were after, than before, the captivity, we ſhall
chuſe

g Exod. xxiii. 8, & ſeq. Deut. xvi. 18, & ſeq. xvii. 2, & ſeq. xix. paſſ. xxiv. 16, & ſeq. xxv. 1, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. Ezek. xliv. 24. præc. affirm. 97. 10. h 2 Sam. xv. 2. & ſeq. † Vide ſup. p. 432. note (F). i Exod. xviii. 24, & ſeq. k Joſh. xxiv. 1. l Vide 1 Chron. xxiii. & ſeq. paſſ.

(X) To thoſe excellent requiſites in the *Iſraelitiſh* judges, the *Talmud* has added a great number of others, ſome of which are impracticable, and others quite ridiculous. Such are thoſe which oblige them to be maſters of ſeventy two languages, that they may have no occaſion for an interpreter, in caſes wherein ſtrangers are concerned; that they be well verſed in the magick art, not in order to practiſe it themſelves, but to be able to judge rightly in all caſes of that nature. In this they ſeem even more cautious than *Joſephus*, who, though otherwiſe far from imitating them in their rabbinical fooleries, ſeems nevertheleſs to have a particular fondneſs for that pretended ſcience, making *Solomon* to have been the greateſt maſter of it, and to have left behind ſeveral noble ſecrets, by which ſome of his own countrymen made themſelves famous even in his days (62). The *Talmudiſts* moreover exclude from the courts of judicature all childleſs and ſuperannuated perſons, ſtrangers, and eunuchs. The former indeed is agreeable to reaſon, and the two latter are expreſly excluded by *Moſes* (63); but we dare not warrant the reaſon which they give againſt the laſt of them, *viz.* that their being eunuchs inclines them to cruelty. In other caſes their directions for the choice of theſe magiſtrates, as well as for their behaviour in that office, are very reaſonable and judicious (64).

(62) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.* (63) Deut. xvii. 15. & xxiii. 1. (64) *Vide præc. neg.* 194, & *ſeq.* & *affir.* 95, & *ſeq.*

a chuſe to ſubjoyn it in the margin (Y). Thus much we know concerning thoſe tribunals; that they took cogniſance of all civil and criminal caſes, even where the offence was of a religious nature; ſuch as idolatry, blaſphemy, witchcraft, ſacriledge, and the like, for which reaſon the prieſts and *Levites* were appointed to

(Y) Beſides the grand council of ſeventy mentioned above, to which they pretend all other tribunals throughout the land were ſubordinate; the *Talmudiſts* tell us, there were two other courts, the one conſiſting of three, and the other of three and twenty judges; and theſe, they ſay, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to ſome; or families according to others. The firſt of theſe courts were only choſen, *pro re natâ*, one by each party, and the third by the other two. Their cogniſance extended no farther than to ſmall matters, ſuch as ſervant's wages, petty larcenies, reſtitution, and the like. Neither could they inflict a heavier puniſhment than whipping. That of twenty three was allowed to judge all capital cauſes, and to condemn criminals to death. And if there aroſe any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority, for which reaſon they ſay their number was to be odd. But in caſes of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-prieſt was to be conſulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution. A cryer was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die for; to the end, that if any perſon knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a ſecond, and if occaſion offered, a third hearing. The ſame indulgence was to be allowed him, if he complained of being unjuſtly condemned, whilſt he went to the place of execution, in which caſe he was to chuſe two wiſe men to plead for him, and, if poſſible, to obtain a reverſon of the ſentence; but if in neither caſe he could prove himſelf innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witneſſes; for it is here to be obſerved, that if the crime was ſuch as deſerved hanging, the criminal was firſt to be ſtoned to death, and then hanged. But before execution, he was to be exhorted to confeſs his crime, and to pray, that his death might attone both for it, and for all his other ſins; which if he did, they gave him then a doſe of wine mixed with myrrh or frankincenſe to ſtupify him, after which he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in caſes of idolatry, blaſphemy, and ſuch like, they ſtayed till about an hour before ſun-ſet, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoiſted him up till juſt before ſun-ſet, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows, or tree, were buried with him (65). They except, however, out of the cogniſance of theſe courts of twenty three, all caſes whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-prieſt, to a whole tribe, and to falſe prophets, which they pretend were only to be tryed by the grand council (66). To this a learned author thinks that expoſtulation of *Chriſt* to allude (67), *O Jeruſalem! —thou that killeſt the prophets* (68). We own indeed this to have been the caſe of the ſanhedrim, in our Saviour's time, and even ſome time before, but not before the captivity; but how, or by what court, or judges, theſe extraordinary caſes were to be tryed, is impoſſible to ſay, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that it was done by a general aſſembly of the whole nation, or at leaſt of the heads of them, as we find it in ſeveral inſtances (69).

There are ſeveral other things mentioned in the *Talmud*, concerning all theſe courts, and the choice of their judges, which we ſhall not dwell upon, ſeeing neither the ſcripture nor *Joſephus* ſpeak of them; the reader may ſee them quoted in the margin (70). As for *Joſephus*, his account is different from them, and all that he ſays on this matter is, that *Moſes* ordered ſeven judges to be choſen in every city, men of known probity and learning, to which they ſhould add two prieſts or *Levites*, ſo that he reckons but nine judges in every court, *viz.* ſeven laymen and two *Levites* (71); and his teſtimony is moſt generally followed, becauſe he lived when the *Jewiſh* common-wealth was ſtill flouriſhing, whereas the *Talmudiſts* did not live till after the deſtruction of it.

We ſhall however conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty three judges, according to the *Jewiſh* doctors, becauſe it had a near reſemblance, not only to that of the ſanhedrim, but alſo to thoſe of other polite nations. They ſat in the form of a half-moon. In the center of it was the preſident, whom they call נשיא, *Naſſi*, or *prince*, having the אב בית דין, *Abbeth din*, or *father of the ſenate* at his right-hand; the reſt ſat on each ſide, according to their ſeniority or merit. At each end was a clerk or ſecretary, who took the depoſitions in writing. Some add a third, whoſe office was to gather the votes of the court. At the feet of the judges ſat their diſciples, in three rows or forms, whoſe buſineſs was to obſerve every thing that was ſaid or done; and theſe were choſen to ſucceed thoſe on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age or any other impediment. The accuſed perſon was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be eaſily ſeen by all, and the witneſſes ſtood fronting him. Theſe were to be diligently examined, and their character inquired into, and if any flaw was found in it, they were ſet aſide; and if any was found to have given falſe evidence, the *Talion* law was his portion (72); that is, he was condemned to the ſame puniſhment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוטרים, *Soterim*, that is, *the officers* or *executioners*, were alſo to attend the court conſtantly, with rods and leathern ſcourges in their hands, to execute the ſentence of the judges. The accuſed perſon was likewiſe allowed a counſellor to plead for him, who was called בעל ריב, *Baal-rib*, *the maſter of the proceſs*; and he ſtood on his right hand and pleaded for him. Many expreſſions there are in the *Pſalms*, in the prophets, and other places in the old teſtament, that ſeem ſo plainly to allude to one or other of theſe judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in uſe long before the captivity. After a full hearing the votes were gathered and examined, and according to them, the perſon was either abſolved or condemned in words to this purpoſe. *Thou* Simeon *art innocent: thou* Judah *art guilty*; and if the latter, and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioners hands, and led to execution: but if the crime was ſuch as only deſerved whipping, it was forthwith performed before the whole court (73).

(65) *Vide præc. aff.* 97, 98, & *ſeq. ad.* 111. (66) *Vide Miſhnah, Tract.* סנהדרין. *c.* 1. (67) Cun. *Rep. Hæbr. lib. i. c.* 12. (68) Luk. xiii. 34. (69) *Vide* Joſh. xxii. 11. & *ſeq.* Judg. xx. 1, & *ſeq.* xxi. *paſſ.* (70) *Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup.* Maim. *in loc.* & *alib.* Mos. Kotz Selden, *de Synedr.* Goodwin's *Moſ.* & *Aar. lib. v. cap.* 3, & *ſeq.* Lamy, Calm. *Diſſert. ſur la police des Hebreuxs*, & *al.* (71) *Ant. lib. iv. c. ult.* (72) Deut. xix. 18, 19. (73) *Vide de his Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. c.* 5. Maim. M. Kotz, & *al. ſup. citat. vide* & *præc. affirm. ſup. citat.*

to assist, if not to preside, in them. The next in authority to the magistrates were natural parents, and these were to be honoured and obeyed in a most particular manner [m] (Z). St. *Paul* observes, that this is the first command with a promise [n]; and the punishment of disobedient and wicked children was no less severe. It was death for any to curse or strike their parents [o], or even to continue in a stubborn disobedience to their commands. In this last case they had power to inflict any punishment but death upon them: and if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuse them before the judges, who upon full proof were obliged to condemn them to death [p], without mercy or delay. And now we are upon the subject of punishments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of those which were either appointed by the *Mosaic* law, or made use of at the prince's will, against obnoxious persons, before the captivity.

Punishments.

Of the first kind were the smaller sort of punishments, which were either b
1. Fines by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and the like: and in this respect the *Jews* were so strict, that if a man had built a house, in which there was but one single piece of timber or a stone that was stolen, they made no difficulty of pulling down the house, if they could not get it out without it, to restore it to the owner. 2. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for a wrong. 3. The *Talion* law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe*, and so on. Lastly, whipping, and this last was not to exceed forty lashes [q] (A). The capital punishments were of four kinds; namely, stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling [r]. 1. Stoning was the most usual, and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the kind, this was always understood to be meant by it *. Some modern *Jews* rather think, that it was strangling, because it was an easier death, and that in cases where the particular kind is not expressed, the most favourable is to be chosen [s]; but it is more probable from the case of adultery, that stoning was the punishment understood; for it is said in *Ezekiel* [t], *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers*, &c. and two verses after, *they shall stone thee with stones*——and it is plain, that the *Jews* understood it in that sense in our Saviour's time, by what they said to him, when they brought the adulteress before him [u]. The crimes which deserved this death were all kind of incest, sodomy, bestiality, ravishing a betrothed virgin, or her consenting to be defiled by another d man; blaspheming, sabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's seed to *Moloch*, and some others of the like nature. For some of these last, the criminal was likewise to be hanged, after he had been stoned to death, as we have seen in a former note, where we have also hinted something concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city,

as

[m] Exod, xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib. [n] Eph. vi. 2. [o] Exod. xxi. 15, 17. Levit. xx. 9. [p] Deut. xxi. 18, & seq. [q] Ibid. xxv. 3. [r] Ex. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. 1 King. xxi. 13. Vide sup. p. 557. note (F). * Vide Deut. xvii. 7. [s] Vide R. Salom. in Exod. xxi. 16. [t] Ch. xxvi. 38. 40. [u] John viii. 5.

(Z) The *Talmudists* observe, that the law lays a greater stress upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God, because we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our substance (74); whereas we are bound to honour the former, whether we have any substance or not, and to work in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the *Egyptians* seem to have been strangers, if what *Herodotus* says of them be true, that the sons were not bound to maintain their parents, unless they were willing, but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76). It likewise excelled that of the *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other polite people, in that it included both parents, whereas these only, or at most, principally the father. This appears by the *Persian* law mentioned by *Aristotle*, by the *Roman* digests, and institutions mentioned by *Epictetus*, *Simplicius*, *Philo de Josatione*, and others (77). We shall observe farther, that the words of the promise annexed to this command runs thus in the original: *that they may prolong thy days*, and so on; from which the generality of *Jewish* interpreters conclude the word *they* to relate to the father and mother so honoured, namely, that they might prolong by their prayers and blessings the life of their dutiful children. The words are indeed capable of either sense, but if the *Jews* had taken them in this last in our Saviour's time, they would not have met with so severe a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(A) In this last case the *Talmudists* say, the criminal was to be stripped down as low as his breast, or heart, though they were forced to tear his clothes for it. The executioner was to have a lash made of calves leather, of a convenient breadth, and long enough to go round his middle; and in cases where the utmost severity was to be used towards the criminal, he was to give him 39 strokes with all the strength he had (78).

(74) Prov. iii. 9. (75) *Rabb.* Simeon. *Vide prec. affirm.* 112, & 113. (76) Herodot. *lib. ii, c.* 35. *Vide* Carlet, *Harmon of N. and P. Jaws c.* 6. (77) *Idem ibid.* (78) *Vide prec.* 8. *affirm.* 105.

a as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderneſs. Here, after he had confeſſed his fault, the witneſſes came and laid their hands upon his head, and ſaid aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the firſt ſtones, and the reſt of the ſpectators helped to diſpatch him * (B). This, however, muſt be underſtood of regular caſes, for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to ſtone the criminal, ſuch as a blaſphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the ſpot, without further tryal. But theſe ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the ſpacious title of *judgment of zeal*, founded upon the action of *Phineas*, mentioned in another part of this hiſtory †.

2. BURNING. This puniſhment was uſed before *Moſes*, as appears by *Ju-*
b *dah*'s condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames [w]. Some interpreters indeed think, that he meant no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or ſtigmatiſed her for her incontinency; but without any probability. We ſhall not here repeat what we ſaid on that ſubject ‡. The *Moſaic* law condemned the daughters of prieſts to be burnt for incontinency [x]; and *Achan* was condemned to be ſtoned and burnt for ſacrilege [y]. Theſe are the only two places where that puniſhment is mentioned. The *Jews* tell us alſo of ſome other crimes which were puniſhed with it, particularly ſome kinds of inceſt [z]. They add, that it was twofold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat (C).

c 3. BEHEADING. This, the *Jewiſh* doctors ſay, was a puniſhment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry. But we find indeed nothing like it to have been practiſed before the captivity, in a judicial way. It is true indeed, that *Abimelech*, one of *Gideon*'s ſons, cauſed ſeventy of his brothers to be beheaded upon one ſtone at *Ophra* [a]; that the men of *Samaria* ſent the heads of the ſame number of *Ahab*'s ſons to the new king of *Iſrael* [b]; and that forty two of *Ahaziah*'s brethren were put to death, probably in the ſame way, by the ſame *Jehu*'s orders [c]; but it is plain, that none of theſe were done in a judicial way. We find likewiſe inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſword. Thus *Samuel* killed the king of *Amaleck* [d]; in the ſame manner *David* ordered the meſſen-
d ger of *Saul*'s death to be ſlain [e]: and *Adonijah*, *Joab*, and *Shimei* were killed by *Solomon*'s order, one of them at the very foot of the altar [f].

4. STRANGLING. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the *Talmudiſts* reckon ſix ſorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Thoſe that ſtruck their parents. 2. Men-ſtealers. 3. The prieſts that refuſed to conform to the determination of the court. 4. Falſe prophets, or thoſe who propheſied in the name of falſe Gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed, And 6. He that had criminal converſation with a prieſt's daughter. Theſe were executed as follows: they were immerged in dung up to the knees: two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twiſted it
e till he was quite ſuffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themſelves

* Deut. xvii. 7. † Pag. 536. a. [w] Gen. xxxviii. 24. ‡ Sup. p. 451. note (R). [x] Levit. xxi. 9. [y] Joſh. vii. 25. See before p. 557. note (F). [z] Vide Mos. Kotz. in Tract. Sanhedr. c. 1. GOODWIN's Moſ. and Aar. lib. v. c. 7. § 13. [a] Judg. ix. 5. [b] 2 King. x. 7. [c] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [d] 1 Sam. xv. 33. [e] 2 Sam. i. 15. [f] 1 King. ii. 25, 30, & 40.

(B) The *Talmudiſts* mention another kind of ſtoning, by precipitating a man from ſome conſiderable eminence, at leaſt of the height of two men. One of the witneſſes tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down; and if he did not die by the fall, they threw ſtones upon him till he was dead. The *Moſaic* law doth not indeed mention this kind of puniſhment, but we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (78). They add, that when the criminal was within ten cubits of the place of execution, in either way of ſtoning, they exhorted him to confeſs his crime; when within four cubits, they ſtripped him. R. *Jehuda* ſays, that a man's middle was to be covered before, and a woman's behind; others that the men only were to be ſtripped, and the women to die in their cloaths (79).

(C) The firſt they call *burning of the body*, and the other, *burning of the ſoul*. This laſt was the moſt frequent among them, and ſome of the rabbies acknowledge no other way but this to have been uſed, though the places mentioned above imply rather the former. The *Talmudiſts* do indeed condemn it, and think it unlawful to burn the bodies of their brethren to aſhes. They infer it from what is ſaid of the ſons of *Aaron*, who, though killed by a ſupernatural fire, yet remained unconſumed, ſince the text ſays (80). that *they were carried dead out of the camp, in their coats*; but rabbi *Eleazar* is ſaid in the *Talmud* to have diſallowed the concluſion, affirming, that he had ſeen a prieſt's daughter burnt to aſhes; to which, he is only anſwered, that her judges were ignorant *Cutheans*; that is, a mungrel kind of *Samaritans*, who knew nothing of the law (81).

(78) Luk. iv. 29. (79) *Miſhn. ubi ſup. c.* 6. § 1, & *ſeq.* COCCEIO *Interpret.* (80) Levit. x. 5. (81) *Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup.*

ſelves, and on the ſame day, together with the inſtruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out as much as poſſible the remembrance of it [g] (D). a

Excommunication.

BUT the moſt dreadful of all their puniſhments, tho' not a capital one, was excommunication; eſpecially that which they called *Shematta* (E), anſwering to the *Syrian Maran-atta* uſed by St. *Paul* [h], which ſignifies in both tongues, *the Lord comes*, or *is at hand*. *Enoch*, the ſeventh from *Adam*, is ſuppoſed the author of it, becauſe St. *Jude* quotes that ſaying of his, *behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints to execute judgment*; and ſo on [i], which muſt have been at leaſt owing to ſome tradition among the *Jews*. However, theſe fetch the original of it, both from thoſe frequent expreſſions in the *Moſaic* writings, *that ſoul ſhall be cut off from* Iſrael, and *thou ſhalt put away evil from the midſt of thee*; and more particularly from the words in *Deborah*'s ſong, *Curſe ye* Meroz, *ſaid the angel of the Lord, curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants of it* [k]. But without enquiring into the validity of theſe ſubtile etymologies, we find a more expreſs form of it in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* [l], who excommunicated all thoſe that refuſed to repudiate their ſtrange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The ſame account of it we find in *Joſephus*, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated perſon, were to be confiſcated to the holy treaſury [m]. It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt, but they had preſidents and laws for it before that time; for it is ſaid, that it was performed in a legal way, and c purſuant to the laws of God. As for the form and method of pronouncing it,

[g] Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup. [h] 1 Cor. xvi, 22. [i] Ver. 14. [k] Judg. v. 23. [l] Ezr. x. 7. & ſeq. Nehem. xiii. 25. [m] Ant. lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) To theſe we may add ſome foreign puniſhments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings; ſuch were thoſe which *David* cauſed to be inflicted on the *Ammonites* (82), and that to which *Manaſſeh* put the prophet *Iſaiah*, whom he is ſuppoſed, by ſeveral antient fathers (83), to have cauſed to be ſawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden ſaw, from the words of the apoſtle (84), ſome were ſawn aſunder. The difficulty here is about the wooden ſaw, how it could be fit for ſuch a purpoſe. But allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preſerved, we need but ſuppoſe the expreſſion to be an *Hebraiſm*, that is, a wooden ſaw, for a ſaw with which wood uſed to be ſawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expreſſion of cutting in two, and cutting aſunder is indeed frequent in the old teſtament, and in the apocryphal book of *Suſanna*. We omit ſome other puniſhments of the like nature, which would only fill our readers with horror. As for that of crucifixion, ſuch as *Chriſt* ſuffered, tho' ſome have fancied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy* (85), *if a man be hanged on a tree, his body ſhall not remain all night on it*, &c. yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a *Jewiſh*, but a *Roman* puniſhment, and ſo foreign to our purpoſe.

(E) The *Jews* reckon three kinds, or rather degrees of excommunication. The firſt they call נדוי, *Niddui*, from נדה, *Nadah*, to *ſeparate*, or *put from one*. So that this word was indifferently uſed, to expreſs thoſe that were ſeparated for any uncleanneſs, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication (86). The time of its laſting was limited to 30 days, and yet the delinquent could either ſhorten it by doing penance, or lengthen it by ſtubborneſs, even to the end of his life, if he perſiſted in it. In this laſt caſe, they refuſed to circumciſe his children, and if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a ſtone to be thrown into his coffin or bier, to ſhow, that he deſerved to have been ſtoned.

The ſecond degree they called חרם, *Cherem*, *anathema*, and this they pretend was more ſevere than the *Niddui*, becauſe it excluded the perſon from the ſynagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we have ſhewn elſewhere, that this word ſignified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or deſtruction (87); and our learned *Selden* has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the leſſer and the greater, and that the terms, *Niddui*, *Cherem*, and *Shematta*, were uſed indifferently (88).

The laſt however, according to them, was this, שמתא, *Shematta*, which they pretend was proclaimed by the ſound of 400 trumpets, as, they ſay, it was done at the curſing of *Meroz* by *Deborah*. A perſon ſo excommunicated was never to be received again into the congregation, and ſome pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reaſon they derive the word from שם, *Sham*, *there*, and מתה, *Mattah*, *death*. To which the expreſſion of St. *John* is ſuppoſed to allude; *there is a ſin unto death*; that is, according to them, a ſin that deſerves to be devoted to death (89). But all this is forced, and that which derives it from שם, *Shem*, *the name*, (which word they commonly uſe inſtead of any of the names of God, as we have ſeen elſewhere) and אתה, *comes*, or *is at hand*; ſeems to us the moſt rational, and anſwers to the *Syriac Maran-atta*, which bears the ſame ſenſe. As for the crimes to which theſe excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of abſolving theſe that had incurred them, we can affirm nothing certain; and ſo ſhall go no further with this point. The reader may conſult *Selden* and *Buxtorf* in the places above quoted, or the learned *J. Jam. Hottinger* (90), and others.

(82) 2 Sam. xii. *ult.* (83) JUSTIN MART. *Dialog. con. Tryph.* ORIG. *ex lib. apocr.* HIERON *in* Iſai. & *al.* (84) Hæbr. xi. 37. (85) Deut. xxi. 22. (86) *Vide int. al.* Ezek. xviii. 6. (87) *Vide* Levit. xxvii. 29. Joſh. vii. 11, & *ſeq.* *Vide ſup. p.* 630. b. *note* (O). (88) *De Synedr. vet. Hebr. lib. i. c.* 7, & 8. (89) 1 John v. 16. *Vide* BERTRAM, *de Polit.* Jud. *cap.* 2. (90) *De Bigam. Diſſ. Hiſt. Theol. de pœnitent. p.* 49, *& ſeq.*

a it, and in what caſes it was to be done, we cannot be certain. *Buxtorf* hath indeed given us a full account of it from the *Talmudiſts* [n], but, beſides that we dare not vouch for its antiquity, the form of it is ſo full of the moſt dreadful imprecations, that they cannot be read without horror. Some of them ſeem to have been taken from the 109th pſalm, and improved with all the dire curſes both of this world and the next. As excommunication paſſed from the *Jews* to the *Chriſtians*, St. *Paul* makes uſe of ſome other of their expreſſions, beſides that of *Maran-atta*; particularly that of delivering up to ſatan [o]; but it is plain, by what he ſubjoins immediately after; *for the mortifying of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord*, that it was not uſed by the primitive b church in that damning ſenſe, in which the *Jews*, and ſome modern churches, underſtand it.

Laws againſt murder.

Murder. MOSES tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murder could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer [p], whatever might be the puniſhment of it before that time. Under the law God ſeems to expreſs a much greater abhorrence againſt it; he not only forbad it in the decalogue [q], but appointed avengers to puniſh the guilty perſon wherever they found him [r], and permitted him to he torn from the moſt ſacred places of ſanctuaryſhip to condign puniſhment [s], as was lately hinted; and expreſly forbid both the avenger and the c judges to make any compoſition, or to accept of any other recompenſe for the crime [t]. Theſe laws extended equally to *Iſraelites* and to the ſtrangers that dwelt amongſt them [u]. The only caſes therefore in which one man might lawfully kill another were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a manſlayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother *Iſraelite*. And laſtly, an infant might likewiſe be deſtroyed to preſerve the life of the mother, but not *vice verſâ* (F). To theſe the *Jews* add that, which they call the *right of zeal*, hinted under the laſt head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a perſon, who was caught in any abominable fact, ſuch as blaſpheming, offering his ſeed to *Moloch*, and the like, and to kill him upon the d ſpot. Thus the *Levites* went out and killed three thouſand of the worſhippers of the golden calf; and *Phineas* puniſhed an abominable whoredom with death. We may alſo add another inſtitution, extremely proper to inſpire the people with an uncommon horror againſt wilful murder; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows. As ſoon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was neareſt to it, and to ſummon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring a heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley and there ſtrike her head off. Theſe and the prieſts were then to waſh their hands over her, and to profeſs, that their e hands had not ſhed this blood, neither their eyes ſeen it done; after which they were to pray to God not to lay it to their charge [w]. One may ſee by all this ſolemn ceremony, and by all the above-mentioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of ſhedding innocent blood. It was for this very reaſon alſo, that God gave them ſeveral laws, whoſe only tendency was to divert them from cruelty; ſuch were thoſe that forbad them to ſeeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk; to kill the damn and her young, both in one day; to catch the old birds and their brood together; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn; to refuſe to aſſiſt a neighbour's, or even an enemy's, beaſt, that ſunk under its burden; and many more

Uncertain murder.

[n] Buxt. Lex. Talmud. p. 828. [o] 1 Cor. v. 5. [p] Gen. ix. 6. See before p. 114. c. [q] Exod. xx. 13. xxi. 12. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & alib. [r] Num. xxxv. 19. [s] Exod. xxi. 14. [t] Num. xxxv. 31, 32. [u] Levit, xxiv. 22. [w] Deut. xxi. 1, & ſeq.

(F) The *Jews* add, that he that ſeeth his brother in danger of his life, as for inſtance, of drowning, of being killed by another, or by a wild beaſt, or of being unjuſtly put to death, when he could ſave his life, is guilty of wilful murder. This they infer from that prohibition of *Moſes*, *thou ſhalt not ſtand againſt the blood of thy neighbour* (91). The man likewiſe that ſwears falſely againſt another, in order to have him adjudged to death, was alſo to be deemed and puniſhed as a murderer (92).

(91) Levit. xix. 16. *Vide* Munst. *in loc. & præc. neg.* 164 & 165. (92) *Vide* Deut. xix. 19.

more of the like nature, all highly proper to inſpire them with ſentiments of humanity and good nature, which the ſlaughter they were going to make of ſo many nations, juſtly doomed to it for their wickedneſs, might otherwiſe have been apt to extinguiſh in them.

Laws againſt adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of ſexes. The tryal of adultery, or waters of jealouſy; concerning marriage and levirate.

Againſt adultery.

1. IT will ſcarcely be thought needful to enquire how far the words, *thou ſhalt not commit adultery* [x], excluded all other carnal gratifications, which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (G). It is ſufficient to ſay, that inceſt, rape, ſodomy, and beſtiality, are forbid by other expreſs laws, and made capital as well as adultery [y]. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in ſome caſes, yet was it forbid by ſeveral laws [z]. The difference was, that any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwiſe, was to be ſtoned [a]; whereas, if a man deflowered a virgin, he was to pay her fifty ſhekels of ſilver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life [b]. Adultery was puniſhable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman, but we cannot affirm the puniſhment of a married man to have been the ſame who committed adultery with an unmarried woman; for beſides that the crime was not alike, with reſpect to ſociety, it is plain, that *Moſes*, was forced to indulge them in ſome other particulars, as unjuſtifiable as this, ſuch as poligamy, divorce, and the like, which are juſtly condemned in the goſpel.

HOWEVER, with reſpect to their wives, as there was a neceſſity, that they ſhould be kept under ſtricter ties, to prevent ſtrange mixtures in families, ſo in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as perhaps to prevent thoſe that were innocent, from being unjuſtly ſuſpected, and ill treated by their jealous huſbands; *Moſes* was commanded to appoint the waters of jealouſy, with the promiſe of a conſtant miracle, by which the guilty ſhould be puniſhed in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent would be cleared with applauſe. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner [c].

Waters of jealouſy.

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a miſtruſt of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this caſe; namely, a cake made of barley meal, without oil or incenſe, and to put it into the hands of the prieſt. At the ſame time he brought his wife alſo, and declared what grounds he had for ſuſpecting her. The prieſt then took the accuſed woman before the Lord, either to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head (H), and put the offering into her hand, whilſt himſelf took ſome holy water, made bitter with ſome ſuch herb

[x] Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18. [y] Vide Levit. xviii. paſſ. ibid. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xxii. 25. [z] Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. [a] Deut. xxii. 20, 21. [b] Ibid. ver. 28, 29. [c] Num. v. 24, & ſeq.

(G) This is indeed the received opinion of many *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who by the word נאף, *Naph*, underſtand all kind of illicite coition and unnatural luſts (93). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that ſome of the antients on both ſides underſtood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly we find by *Philo* and *Tertullian*, that ſome of the *Greek* copies placed this law againſt adultery, before that againſt murder in the decalogue; and theſe two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to deſcribe the great hurt it doth to human ſociety; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, becauſe forbidden before murder (94). However, it is certain, that *Moſes* has no where given ſuch a weighty reaſon againſt that, as he doth againſt this, when he ſays, *for in the image of God created he man* (95).

(H) The *Jews* underſtand by it ſhaving her hair, or at leaſt cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to her breaſt, and tied them with a pack-thread, others ſay, that her cloaths were exchanged for a black ſuit, in token of mourning, and in this manner ſhe was expoſed to publick view. Theſe circumſtances, they tell us, had ſomething ſo dreadful to the *Jewiſh* women, eſpecially the chaſte ones, that they ſtudied nothing more, than to keep themſelves free from any ſuſpicion, which might expoſe them to that, which they eſteemed worſe than death. For this reaſon they did not ſuffer a woman to be brought to this tryal upon every ſlight ſuſpicion. The huſband was to bring ſome proofs, that he had forwarned her, more than once or twice, againſt being ſeen in ſuch a man's company, as he was jealous of, notwithſtanding which they had been found together in private, or in ſome remote place at leaſt, as long a time as a man might boil an egg and eat it †.

(93) *Vide* ABENEZER. *in* Exod. xx. & *Comment. ſer. cm. in loc.* (94) TERTUL. *de Pudicit.* *Vide* CARLTON, *Concord. c.* 7. (95) Gen. ix. 6. † *Vide* MUNST. *in* Num. v.

herb as wormwood, into which he put ſome of the duſt of the floor or pavement, a together with the words of the curſe written at full length, to this effect: that if ſhe had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, thoſe waters ſhould ſwell and burſt her belly, and rot her thigh; but if ſhe was innocent, they ſhould have no power to hurt her. Theſe words he firſt read to her aloud, and if ſhe perſiſted to go on with the tryal (I), ſhe anſwered, *Amen*. He was then to blot out the words of the curſe in the bitter water, they being, according to the *Jews*, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be eaſily waſhed away; after which he gave her the water to drink, whilſt he took the offering or cake of jealouſy off her hand, and waved it to the Lord, and burned part of it upon the altar. The conſequence was that if ſhe was guilty, the water did burſt her belly, and rot her thigh, and ſhe died ſoon after her drinking of it; but if ſhe was innocent, ſhe b not only came off unhurt, but, as a token and reward of her continence, ſhe became more healthy and fruitful, and the huſband was to take her home and cheriſh her the more, for having given him ſuch an eminent proof of her chaſtity. This is all that we find in the *Moſaic* law. The *Talmudiſts* have added ſeveral other circumſtances relating to this ceremony, which we ſhould be loath to warrant, both becauſe, by their own confeſſion, it had been diſuſed ſeveral centuries, before their time, ſince which adultery became more frequent; and becauſe neither the canonical nor apocryhal books, or indeed any of their writings that we know of, afford us one ſingle inſtance of its ever having been uſed before that time, whereby one might gueſs where they had them; for which reaſon we chuſe to give c them in the margin (K). For ought appears therefore, this ceremony might be inſtituted only *in terrorem*, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the huſbands from too lightly ſuſpecting them of a breach of it; eſpecially if another circumſtance, which the *Jews* tell us, be true, or was believed to be ſo, that theſe waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty ſoever, if the huſband had likewiſe been guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws of wedlock [d]. Whether the *Iſraelites* had ſeen any the like cuſtom in *Egypt*, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have ſomething among them in imitation of it, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almoſt every country ſince had a kind of tryal or ordeal, not only for caſes of incontinency, but al- d moſt for every crime.

3. MARRIAGE. We find but few laws concerning this inſtitution, beſides thoſe which we have mentioned under the laſt article againſt adultery (L). *Moſes* con- *Marriage.*

[d] SELD. de Synedr. & Uxor. Hæbr. BUXTORF. MUNST. in Num. v. BASNAG Rep. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 12. CALM. ſub voc. Adult. & al. mult. poſt rabin.

(I) Here they tell us likewiſe, that a great deal of pains was taken to perſuade her to confeſs her fault, if ſhe was guilty, rather than to expoſe herſelf to the dreadful effects of the miraculous water; and that they would even force her to walk ſo long and ſo faſt, till ſhe was quite tired, in order to extort a confeſſion from her, either through wearineſs, or ſhame of being thus expoſed to publick view. If ſhe confeſſed the fact, ſhe was not obliged to drink the water, but was immediately divorced from her huſband, loſt her dowry, and went and lived ſingle; but if ſhe ſtill inſiſted upon her being innocent, the prieſt was then to conduct her to the eaſt porch of the temple, where he told her aloud, that if ſhe was really ſo, ſhe had nothing to fear; but if guilty, ſhe muſt expect the puniſhment threatned by *Moſes* to fall immediately upon her.

(K) Accordingly they affirm, that if ſhe was guilty, ſhe had no ſooner drank the water, than ſhe began to look pale and ghaſtly, her eyes ſwelled out of her head, and ſhe loſt the uſe of them: her belly likewiſe ſwelled ſo viſibly, that they made all the haſte imaginable to convey her away, leſt ſhe ſhould defile the place by her death. They add, what is ſtill more remarkable, that the man who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very inſtant, and much in the ſame manner, how diſtant ſo ever from her, and ignorant of what was done. The time of this miraculous ceremony being ſet aſide is not agreed; ſome affirming, that it was diſuſed after the captivity, and others, that it continued till about an hundred years before the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. All own however, that the reaſon of its being ſet aſide was, that adulteries became, not only more frequent, which conſequently would have kept the prieſts and judges continually employed, but were likewiſe more publick, ſo that the tryal of clandeſtine or doubtful ones became uſeleſs, when men committed them ſo publickly, that all the world was appriſed of them (96).

(L) Tho' the *Moſaic* law doth no where oblige men to marry, yet the *Jews* have always looked upon it as an indiſpenſible duty implied in the words, *increaſe and multiply* (97); ſo that a man, who did not marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted acceſſary to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married, they had a proverb in the *Talmud*, *who is he that proſtitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man?* For this reaſon they uſed to marry them as ſoon as they came of age, which with them was at twelve; but if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it be parted from their huſband, if they did not like him.

(96) *Vide* SELD. BUXT. MUNST. LAMY, CUN. BASNAG. *& al. ſup. citat.* (97) Gen. i. 28. ix. 1.

contented himself with reſtraining the *Iſraelites* from marrying within certain degrees of conſanguinity which had till then been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations with whom they lived. This was the reaſon which *Abraham* gave for chuſing a wife for *Iſaac* from his own kindred [e], and his deſcendants for following his example [f]; but which was now entirely ceaſed, by their being ſo exceedingly multiplied. Theſe are therefore the degrees which that lawgiver forbad as inceſtuous, under pain of death: 1. To marry ones own father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 3. The brother or ſiſter of ones father or mother. 4. A grand-ſon or grand-daughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A ſon or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or ſiſters, by which the *Jews* underſtood thoſe only by the mother's ſide, becauſe they looked upon this conſanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief that the mother contributed moſt to the generation of the child †. 8. A brother or ſiſter-in-law. 9. The huſband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and ſon, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other [g]. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they ſeem rather to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs. Thus he forbids the firſt-born to be diſinherited, out of favour or affection to another wife, as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other. In ſuch a caſe it was not lawful for him to tranſfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the firſt-born [h]. This is in imitation of *Abraham*, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to *Iſaac* [i]. The only difference here is, that *Moſes* orders but a double portion to the eldeſt. Herein is alſo a ſecond law, tacitly implied at leaſt, for a man to have two wives: to which he adds a third, namely, that upon the marriage of a ſecond wife, a man ſhall ſtill be bound to continue to the former her food, her raiment, and the duty of marriage [k]. This laſt is alſo conformable to what *Laban* exacted of *Jacob*, when he married the ſecond ſiſter after the firſt [m]. Theſe laws are an imitation of the practice of ſeveral of the old patriarchs (M).

Levirate. THE ſame thing may be ſaid of that law which is called the *Levirate*, which obliged a man, whoſe brother died without iſſue, to marry his widow, and to raiſe up ſeed to his brother [n]; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in *Judah*'s time [o]. However, *Moſes* doth here leave it in ſome meaſure to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law or not; and in caſe of a refuſal, the widow could only ſummon him before the judges of the place, where, if he perſiſted, ſhe untied his ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, and ſaid, *thus ſhall it be done unto the man that refuſes to build up his brother's houſe, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whoſe ſhoe was unlooſed (N). In this number we may alſo

[e] Gen. xxiv. 3, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1, & alib. † Vide PHILO de Spec. Leg. CLEM. ALEX. Strom. ii. [g] Levit. xviii. 6, & ſeq. [h] Deut. xxi. 15, & ſeq. [i] Gen. xxv. 5, 6. [k] Deut. xxi. 17. [l] Exod. xxi. 10. [m] Gen. xxxi. 50. [n] Deut. xxv. 5, & ſeq. [o] Vide Gen. xxxviii. 6, & ſeq.

(M) The *Jews* did not content themſelves with this ſmall allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, and many others. But it muſt be obſerved, that they made a diſtinction between the wives of the firſt rank, and thoſe of the ſecond, the firſt they called נשים, *Naſhim*, and the others פילגשים, *Pilgaſhim*, which laſt, tho' moſt verſions render by the word *Concubines*, *Harlots*, and *Proſtitutes*, yet in none of thoſe places of ſcripture where that word occurs (which are about 36) is any ſuch ſinifter ſenſe implied. However, there is a twofold difference between theſe and wives of the firſt rank †; firſt, with reſpect to the manner of taking them, namely, the latter with the uſual ceremonies, and the former without; and ſecondly, with reſpect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing *Maimon* (98) tells us from the *Talmud*, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred, and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and ſtrength ſufficient for them all; the rule with reſpect to this laſt was, that he ſhould pay them the conjugal debt at leaſt once a week, and not run in arrear above a month with any one. But as to the concubines, they could claim no more than what the man was pleaſed to allow them.

(N) From the words here uſed by *Moſes*, *if brethren dwell together* (99), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for ſuch as dwelt ſtill in their father's houſe, which ſeems to have been the caſe of *Judah*'s three ſons, mentioned above. Accordingly the rabbies have underſtood this law in a very reſtrained ſenſe, both in this and ſome other particulars; ſuch as that of the eldeſt only of the ſurvivors was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married, in which caſe, they pretend, that it was left to his opinion. But if we look into the antient practices, in the times of the judges, we ſhall find, that *Boaz*, who was neither

† *Conf.* 1 King. xi. 3. & 2 Chron. xi. 21. (98) *Halak. Iſhoth. c.* 14. (99) Deut. xxv. 5.

a alſo add another law, which obliged the huſband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the *Jews* termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity [p]. Thus *Abraham* ſent his ſteward with a conſiderable quantity of riches to preſent his future daughter-in-law and her relations [q]: *Jacob* purchaſed his two wives at the price of fourteen years ſervitude [r]; and when *Hamor* came to aſk his daughter for his ſon *Shechem*, he bid him raiſe the price of her dowry as high as he pleaſed [s]. *David* likewiſe modeſtly confeſſing his inability to pay a dowry anſwerable to *Saul*'s daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the *Philiſtines*, and the prophet *Hoſea* bought a wife for fifteen pieces of ſilver and a ſmall quantity of barley [*]; ſo that a man might be truly ſaid to have purchaſed
b as well as to marry a wife. However, if we may believe the rabbies, they tell us, that the father generally accompanied the huſband's preſents with ſome of his own; ſuch as cloaths, and ſome money, not exceeding the ſum of fifty *ſuzims*, or about five and twenty ſhillings.

FROM theſe and ſuch like inſtances we may likewiſe conclude, what was their way of courtſhip, or rather of contracting and celebrating their marriages; the former was tranſacted by the parents or relations on both ſides, and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride: preſents were exchanged on all ſides, the contract ſigned before witneſſes, and after conſummation, the bride tarried ſtill ſome time with her relations, how long or how ſhort, we cannot exactly
c ſay (O); after which ſhe was ſent away to her huſband's habitation, with ſinging and dances at the ſound of ſeveral inſtruments. This laſt was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it [t]. It was likewiſe cuſtomary with them to contract theſe marriages whilſt their children were very young, and this was called eſpouſing; after which, both parties continued with their parents, till they were of age to conſummate it. As for the daughters, whether they were eſpouſed or not, they were kept very ſtrict and out of ſight by the *Iſraelites*, tho' this cuſtom ſeems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of *Jacob*'s daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no ſcruple to ſend theirs to feed and water their flocks; as we find it was done by *Laban*'s ſiſter and
d daughters as well by thoſe of *Jethro* among the *Midianites* [u]. From this privacy with which the unmarried damſels were kept, they came to be called *Alinah*'s, which ſignifies *hidden* or *concealed* (P). We have elſewhere taken notice of a law which forbad heireſſes to marry out of their own tribe [w], from which the reſt were exempted,

[p] Vide MAIM. in Iſhoth. c. 3. § 1. [q] Gen. xxiv. paſſ. [r] Ibid. xxix. 18, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. xxxiv. 12, & ſeq. [*] 1 Sam. xviii. Hoſ. iii. 2. [t] Matt. xxv. 1, & ſeq. [u] Vide Gen. xxiv. 13, & ſeq. xxix. 9 Exod. ii. 16. [w] Num. xxxvi. paſſ. Vide ſup. p. 537. b.

neither brother, nor neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, did yet think himſelf obliged to marry *Ruth*, upon the neareſt kinſman's refuſing to do it (100); from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther, and that where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the neareſt relation in courſe. However, it is plain from the caſe which the *Sadducees* put to our Saviour, about the ſeven brethren that had had the ſame woman ſucceſſively (1), that this law was not underſtood in that limited ſenſe which the *Talmudiſts* have ſince done.

(O) This interval is however ſuppoſed to have been a week, from the words of *Laban* to *Jacob*, *fulfil her* (Leah's) *week, and thou ſhalt have* Rachel *alſo* (2); but this is at beſt but a conjecture. The ſame may be ſaid of what ſome *Jews* tell us of the ſpace allowed between the betrothing and conſummation, which they will have to be about a year. This they gather from what *Rebecca*'s relations ſaid to *Abraham*'s ſervant, *let her tarry at leaſt ten days*, by which they underſtand ſo many months (3), but neither the original, nor *Septuagint*, admit of that expoſition; and it is more likely that it was left to the diſcretion of the parents.

(P) From the word עלם, *Alam*, or rather *Ghalam*, *to hide*. To this ſeems to allude that ſaying of *Agur* (4), if rightly tranſlated ——— *the way of the man*, בעלמה, *Behalmah*: that is, (not *with*, as our verſion hath it, but) *in the maid* or *virgin*. And here we beg leave to obſerve, that an anonymous *Engliſh* author took upon him, under the name of the famous Monſ. *Le Clerc*, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obſcene (5); whereas our verſion being the only one we know of that renders it *with a maid*, the objection could flow but from an *Engliſh* pen, and, we may venture to add, one that had but a ſuperficial knowledge of the original, which is not only capable of, but doth manifeſtly carry a much ſublimer ſenſe; we hope therefore the reader will not think amiſs if we take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the text, and its divine author, by ſetting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface in the four or five firſt verſes of this chapter, will eaſily own, that ſuch lofty expreſſions could only be deſigned to uſher in ſome ſublime myſtery; but who can find any ſuch in theſe words, whether we read them *in* or *with the maid?* that is, whether we underſtand them of *coition* or *generation?* Beſides, where is there, either the

(100) Ruth iv. *paſſ.* (1) Matt. xxii. 24, & *ſeq.* (2) Gen. xxix. 27. (3) *Vide* ONKEL. & R. SALOM. *Vide* MUNST. *in* Gen. xxiv. 55. GOODWIN's *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* vi *c.* 4. § 8. (4) Prov. xxxi. 19. (5) *Letters concerning Inſpiration.*

empted: but a man was left to his liberty, to marry not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with such nations as used circumcision [x], such as were the *Midianites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians* (Q). This law seems also founded upon what the subtile sons of *Jacob* said to the *Shechemites*, *it is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumcised* [y]. However, this must be understood of such only as were admitted into the *Jewish* religion; as for those that were not so, they were not so much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them, except in the case of an *Hebrew* soldier's having taken a *Gentile* captive, to whom *Moses* indulged the liberty of lying once with her, before the marriage was confirmed: this at least seems to be the sense of the words [z]; because if he did not like her, he might put her away; only he was to give her liberty as a recompence for her virginity. A maid-servant, tho' converted to *Judaism*, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilst her servitude continued; but if her redemption was paid, or she was manumitted, she might become a wife [a]. If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage seems to have been neither in force, nor absolutely void, because in cases of unchastity, she was not to be put to death, as the free woman were, but came off with a whipping [b].

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, *Moses* has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from scripture, and the rest from the rabbies. We do not find, that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony, such as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of sacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a priest; only from the examples of *Isaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude, that the parents and the rest of the company did pray for the prosperity of the new married couple. These nuptials were accompanied with feasting and mirth, which lasted a whole week: thus *Sampson*'s wedding is said to have lasted seven days [c]; and *Tobias* was desired by his father-in-law that his might last twice that space [d], probably because they were not likely to see one another after that time. What splendor did usually accompany these feasts, where their circumstances would admit of it, we may conclude from that beautiful comparison of the psalmist, of the glory of a rising sun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber [e]. He likewise describes in another psalm the richness of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the solemnity in most elegant terms [f]. The paranymph, or friend of the bridegroom (R), and the bride-maids are likewise mentioned here and in the *Canticles*.

Besides

[x] Compar. Deut. vii. 3. & xxiii. 7, 8. [y] Gen. xxxiv. 14. [z] Deut. xxi. 10, & seq. [a] SELD. Jus Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c. 17. Vide Jos. lib. iv. c. 8. CARLTON's Concord. pt. i. c. 7. [b] Levit. xix. 20. [c] Judg. xiv. 17. [d] Tobit viii. 19, 20. [e] Ps. xix. 5. [f] Ps. xlv. pass. vide & Isai. lxi. 10.

the analogy or climax implied in the beginning of the verse, *there are three things* too hard *for me, yea four*, or rather, a fourth, *which I cannot comprehend*; what anology doth the *way of a man*, whether *in* or *with* a *maid*, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ship in the midst of the sea, &c. or wherein is the former harder to be understood than the latter? But if we understand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words seem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or as the word גבר *Gebber*, imports, the *mighty man* in a virgin, continuing still such, will appear most fitly compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, &c. which leave no trace behind, and at the same time be most justly esteemed the hardest of all the rest to be accounted for. This text may therefore justly be looked upon as parallel to that of *Jeremiah* xxxi. 22. —— *The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman shall incompass Gebber, a man, or the mighty man.*

(Q) Accordingly we find, that *Moses* married a *Midianite*, *Boaz* a *Moabite* (or, *Nicaean*, *Abstalor* [illegible]. was the daughter of *Talmai*, king of [illegible] (r); *Jesse* was the son of *Jether*, an *Ishmaelite*, by [illegible], *David*'s sister (s); and *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, married *Pharaoh*'s daughter (9). Whenever therefore we find him and other kings blamed for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

(R) His office was to invite, and compliment the guests in the name of the new married, to preside over the solemnity, to see that nothing was wanting in the feast, to prevent confusion, and such like; for which reason he was called the בעל בשחוה, *Baal mishtah*, *ruler* or *master of the feast*; and is perhaps the same with the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, in the gospel, *John* ii. 9. But the *Jews* have added another part to his office, which was to watch over the wedding linen, that there might be no fraud or injustice in the tokens of virginity, spoken of by *Moses* (10); that is, to prevent the husband's suppressing them, in order to calumniate his wife, and the bride's substituting false, instead of true ones (11); but *Moses* seems rather in this place to assign that office to the parents, especially those of the damsel, whom it concerned most, that she should not be falsly accused, since it not only brought a scandal on her family, but, as we observed before, she herself was to be put to death, if those tokens could not be produced.

(r) Paul [illegible] 2 Sam. xxiii. (s) 1 Chron. ii. [illegible] (9) 1 King. iii. 1. (10) Deut. xxii. 13. & seq. (11) *Vide* GEMAR. *Hieros. Tract. Ketubith.* c. 2.

a Beſides theſe the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that aſſiſted during the whole feaſt. *Sampſon* is ſaid to have had thirty at his wedding [g]: however, we muſt not ſuppoſe both ſexes to have aſſiſted promiſcuouſly, the cuſtom of eaſtern countries did not allow of it; and it is much more likely, that they had ſeparate tables, apartments, and diverſions. Theſe laſt were ſinging, dancing, playing upon muſical inſtruments among the women; and ſome kind of manly exerciſes among the men. To theſe we may add the cuſtom of propounding riddles; and aſſigning ſome ſort of reward to thoſe that expounded them, as we find it was done at *Sampſon*'s nuptials [h]; and which, the *Talmudiſts* tell us, was uſually practiſed upon ſuch and the like feſtivals [i]. They add, that both the bride and bridegroom b uſed to wear a crown during the whole ſolemnity, until the deſtruction of the laſt temple; but that from that time that ornament was ſet aſide in memory of that cataſtrophe [k]. We read indeed of a nuptial crown made for *Solomon*, and preſented to him by his mother [l]; but nothing of any ſuch ornament for the bride. As for the other particular ceremonies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them, but that of the *Talmudiſts*, we ſhall chuſe to give them in the margin (S).

THEIR

[g] Judg. xiv. 11. [h] Ibid paſſ. [i] Pirke. Aboth. [k] Ibid. Vide SLED. Ux. Hæbr. lib. ii. c. 15. BUXTORF. Synag. & al. [l] Cant. iii. ver. ult.

(S) They had three ways of betrothing a woman 1. By a written contract. 2. By a verbal one accompanied with a piece of money. And 3. By carnal commerce. The written contract was conceived in words to this effect: *ſuch a day, month, and year,* A *the ſon of* B. *has ſaid to* D, *the daughter of* E, *be thou my ſpouſe, according to the law of* Moſes, *and of the* Iſraelites, *and I will give thee as a dowery for thy virginity the ſum of* 200 *ſuzims, as it is ordered by our law. And the ſaid* D. *hath promiſed to become his ſpouſe upon the conditions aforeſaid, which the ſaid* A. *doth promiſe to perform on the day of marriage. And to this the ſaid* A. *doth hereby bind himſelf, and all that he hath, to the very cloak upon his ſhoulders, engages himſelf to love, honour, feed, cloath, and protect her, and to perform all that is generally implyed in contracts of marriage, in favour of* Iſraelitiſh *wives. Witneſſes* (12).

The verbal contract was made in the preſence of ſufficient witneſſes, the man ſaying to the woman, *take this money as a pledge that I will take thee to be my wife.*

The laſt, by carnal commerce, which the *Talmudiſts* pretend to have been allowed by the *Moſaic* law, from *Deut.* xxiv. 1. they ſay, was afterwards forbid, as liable to many abuſes; ſo that the other two were the only ones which gave the parties the liberty of ſeeing one another, which was not permitted to them before. When the time agreed upon for the celebrating of the wedding was come, (the day of the week being generally *Friday* for a maid, and *Thurſday* for a widow) the contract of marriage was read and ſigned before at leaſt ten witneſſes, which muſt be free and of age; and the bride, who had taken care to bathe herſelf the night before, appeared in all her ſplendor, (but veiled in imitation of *Rebecca*, who threw a veil over her face as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of *Iſaac*). She, being attended with her bride-maids, was given away by the parents, in words to this effect, *take her according to the law of* Moſes, and received by her ſpouſe with much the ſame words. Some bleſſings were then pronounced to the new couple, both by the parents and the company, and the virgins ſung a kind of epithalamium to them. After the moſt ſumptuous repaſt that their circumſtances could afford, the company began a dance, the men round the bridegroom, and the women round the bride. This dance is pretended to have been of divine inſtitution, and an eſſential part of the nuptial ceremony.

But the main ceremony, which, according to the rabbies, did conſummate the marriage, and made the bride a perfect woman, was her being introduced into the nuptial chamber. Without this, all the others left it ſtill imperfect, but this compleated it; tho' ſome *Levitical* impediment (13) ſhould chance to hinder the conſummation of it according to our ſenſe of the word. But before ſhe was introduced thither, there were certain prayers and bleſſings to be ſaid or ſung by ſome proper perſons in favour of the married couple. They were generally couched in very pious terms, ſuch as theſe: *bleſſed art thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who haſt created man in thine own likeneſs, and haſt appointed the woman to be his partner and companion: bleſſed art thou—who filleſt* Sion *with joy, for the multitude of her children. Bleſſed art thou—who makeſt the barren womb to bear —who ſendeſt gladneſs to the bridegroom and his bride—who haſt ordained for them love, joy, tenderneſs, peace, and mutual affection—be pleaſed to bleſs, not only this couple, but* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *with ſongs of joy and praiſe, for the joy that thou giveſt them by the multitude of their ſons and daughters,* &c. They add, that the nuptial feaſt for a widow was to laſt but three days, and ſeven for a virgin; and that this laſt was ſo obligatory, that if a man married ſeveral wives in one day, or in the ſame week, he was to allow a feaſt of ſeven days to every one of them (14). We purpoſedly omit many other ceremonies and injunctions of their wiſe men, which are ſuperſtitious and ridiculous; ſuch as the ſituation of the nuptial bed; the choice of the proper hour for conſummation, for coition at all other times, in order to beget a ſon or a daughter, and many others of the like nature (15) which they either learned from other nations, or forged out of their own aſtrological brains. As to that law of *Moſes*, which interdicts the matrimonial commerce at certain periods, under ſuch ſevere penalties (16), and which has been ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved by them to this day, it is certain, that decency and cleanneſs were not the only reaſons for it, ſeeing the heat of thoſe climates would have made the breach of it very dangerous in ſeveral other reſpects, which are obvious to almoſt every reader.

(12) *Vide* SLED. *Ux. Hæbr.* BERTR. *ex Talm. Babyl.* BUXT. *Grammat. Chald. p.* 383. GOODW. *& al.* (13) *Vide* Levit. xx. 18. (14) *De his vide auct. ſup. citat.* (15) *Vide* MUNST. *in* Gen. ii. (16) Levit. *ubi ſup.*

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge or incumbrance on them, conſidering their ſimple way of living. The domeſtick affairs were their province, whilſt that of the huſband was the buſineſs of the fields and vineyards. Dreſſing of victuals, the care of children, ſpinning, carding, weaving, and the like are often mentioned in the ſacred books, as the womens occupation [m]; whilſt their huſbands choſe the more laborious works. However, at the worſt, *Moſes* had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of, a

Divorce. 4. DIVORCE. This was permitted to the *Jews* for the hardneſs of their heart, as our Saviour juſtly obſerves [n]; neither do we find, that it had ever been practiſed by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations. The words of the law, or rather permiſſion, runs thus [o]: "When a man hath b
"taken a wife, and married her, and it come to paſs, that ſhe find no favour in
"his eyes, becauſe he has found in her ſome uncleanneſs (V); then let him write
"her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hand, and ſend her out of his
"houſe. And when ſhe is departed———ſhe may go and be another man's wife;
"and if her ſecond huſband hate her, and write her a bill of divorce——or if he
"chance to die———her former huſband ſhall not take her again to be his wife,
"after ſhe is defiled; for that is an abomination to the Lord.——" The queſtion is here, what is meant by the words, *if he find any uncleanneſs*, *turpitude*, or *nakedneſs in her?* We have ſeen in the laſt note, how the *Jews* are divided in their opinion about it; the *Chriſtians* are no leſs ſo; ſome confining it to adultery, and c
others to all enormous crimes, ſuch as idolatry, apoſtacy, and the like, which the ſcriptures often call fornication, and is the word made uſe of by our Saviour for adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of theſe caſes to be meant by the words of *Moſes*, becauſe as theſe were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce againſt thoſe that were to be put to death. We rather think therefore, that it meant ſome unvoluntary uncleanneſs; whether natural or contracted, which rendered her loathſome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial conſorts, which *Chriſt* therefore diſcommends in the goſpel, not only becauſe it was become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occaſion [p]; but alſo to aſſure the people, that the marriage knot was not to be diſſolved, upon any pre- d
tence, except that of infidelity (W).

ONE

[m] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [n] Matt. xix. 8. [o] Deut. xxiv. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vide JOSEPH. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. & lib. de vit. ſua ad fin. & PHIL. de ſpecial. legib. præc. 6, & 7.

(T) The *Jews* pretend, that *Abraham* divorced *Hagar*, and *Moſes* either *Ziphora*, or *Tarbis*, the princeſs of *Ethiopia*, and that this was the reaſon of the quarrel which he had with *Aaron* and *Miriam* (17), and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date; but that it was lawful upon many other accounts beſides that of adultery. But as to *Hagar*, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her inſolence; it is plain, firſt that ſhe was no wife, but a bond woman, ſubſtitute to *Sarah*; and ſecondly, that her expulſion was not properly a divorce, becauſe ſhe was received again after the firſt fault, and that at the ſecond, it was her ſons behaviour, and not her own that ſent her away (18). And as to the caſe of *Ziphorah* and *Tarbis*, they are meer fictions, as we have ſhewn before †; ſo that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of *Moſes*; but afterwards they became ſo frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the *Jews* with it (19); and *Solomon* doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman, as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(V) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous *Hillel* has found out a way to evade it, in order, to make divorce lawful even upon the ſlighteſt fault, ſuch as ſpoiling his meat in cooking; or according to *Akkiba*, another of the ſame looſe principles, if he finds another that pleaſes him better, or is more handſome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If ſhe do not find favour in his ſight. And 2. If he find in her ערות דבר, *Harvath dabar*, or as the *Septuagint* render it ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα, he may then divorce her. But the more virtuous ſchool of his co-rival *Shammai*, juſtly condemns ſuch a perverſe reading, tho' he confines this caſe of turpitude, which *Moſes* aſſigns as the ground of the huſband's diſlike, to the caſe of unchaſtity; whereas that of *Hillel* extends it to all that he may diſlike in her (21). This laſt has been moſt followed by the *Jews*, and ſufficiently condemned by *Chriſt* (22).

(W) We may add, that the words (being ערות דבר, *Harvath dabar*, and not דבר ערות, *Debar harvath*, which laſt doth only ſignify the *caſe of turpitude*) may be more properly rendered, *for any turpitude or immodeſty of words, diſcourſe, or even behaviour*. So that this indulgence might have been deſigned to deter the wanton ſort of wives from ſuch immodeſt ſpeeches or behaviour, as might be apt to diſguſt a ſober huſband; and to inſpire them with ſuch chaſte deportment as could alone preſerve a true conjugal affection. According to this ſenſe alſo our Saviour's reflection will be very juſt; that it was the inſociable temper that extorted ſuch an indulgence from them, which was manifeſtly contrary to the original deſign and inſtitution of marriage.

(17) *Targ.* ONKEL. & *Hieroſ.* & *Rabin. mult. in* Num. xii. 1. & *ſeq.* (18) *Conf.* Gen. xvi. 1, & *ſeq.* & xxi. 9, & *ſeq.* † *Vide ſup. p.* 482. *not.* (O). & *p.* 489, *not.* (Y). (19) Mic. ii. 9. Malach. ii. 14, & *ſeq.* (20) *Vide Mainon.* c. 9. § 10. SELD. *De Uxor. Hebr. lib.* iii. c. 18. & (21) *Vide Gloſſ.* BAALHATTOR, הלכה בית חילל (22) Matt. v. 32, & *alib.*

a ONE thing, which ſhews that the nuptial breach was not thought the ground of a divorcement in *David*'s time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate thoſe concubines, or wives of the ſecond rank, whom his ſon *Abſalom* had publickly debauched; but contented himſelf with ſhutting them up for life [q]; and that the *Levite* did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after ſhe had played the harlot, and was run away from him; but went to ſeek and bring her home again [r]. The ſame may be ſaid of *Sampſon*, who went and demanded his wife, after ſhe had been given to another man [s]. To this we may add, that we do not find any inſtances, through the whole Old Teſtament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this or any other account, except thoſe who b put away the ſtrange women they had brought with them from the captivity [t]. However that be, 'tis plain, the *Jews* have underſtood it in another and more lax ſenſe. The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year, I ſuch a one, of ſuch a place, upon or near ſuch a river, do of my own free conſent and choice repudiate thee, ſuch a one, my late wife, baniſh thee from me, and reſtore thee to thy own liberty, and thou mayeſt henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou wilt; and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulſion, according to the law of* Moſes *and* Iſrael. *Signed by two witneſſes*; and delivered in the preſence of as many at leaſt [u]. From this time the wife was as much at her liberty as if ſhe had been a widow; only in both caſes ſhe was c obliged to ſtay at leaſt ninety days before ſhe was married to another, leſt ſhe ſhould prove pregnant by the laſt (X)

Laws againſt theft.

Theft. UNDER this head we ſhall include not only thoſe which are againſt taking away another man's property, whether privately or by open force; but alſo againſt every act of fraud and injuſtice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. 1. As to theft, we have already obſerved, that the *Jews* underſtood the words in the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal* [w], of menſtealing, and thought, that the other ſort of theft was implied in the laſt precept, *Thou ſhalt not covet* †. But we ſhall include them under the ſame head.

d THE ſtealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moſes* (Y); and whether the ſtolen perſons had been ſold, or were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the thief, he was to be put to death [x]. All other theft was puniſhed by reſtitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man that broke into a houſe in the night to rob, might be impunely killed, tho' not in the day time [y]. He that ſtole an ox was to reſtore five oxen; if a ſheep or a goat, four ſheep or four goats [z]; but if he had neither killed nor ſold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one [a].

In

[q] 2 Sam. xx. 3. [r] Judg. xix. 1, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. xv. 1, & ſeq. [t] Ezr. x. paſſ. Nehem. xiii. 23, & ſeq. [u] Vide Mos. Kotz, fol. 133. & Mos. Ægypt. pt. ii. fol. 59. Seld. Buxt. & Goodw. ubi ſup. [w] Exod. xx. 15. † Vide ſup. p. 516. ſub fin. note (X). [x] Exod. xxi. 16. [y] Ibid. xxii. 2. [z] Ibid ver. 1. [a] Ibid. ver. 4.

(X) Touching the controverſy, whether women might likewiſe divorce their husbands, upon the ſame grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only ſay, that we do not find any ſuch indulgence granted to them by *Moſes*, unleſs in the caſe of a virgin betrothed by her parents before ſhe was twelve years of age, who might then refuſe to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reaſon, than that ſhe did not like the perſon deſigned for her; but this cannot be called a divorcement, becauſe there is no marriage in the caſe. *Joſephus* therefore thinks, that a divorce was ſo far from being permitted to women, that if the husband forſook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till ſhe had firſt obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that *Salome*, ſiſter to *Herod the great*, was the firſt who took upon her to repudiate her huſband, whoſe example was ſoon followed by others, mentioned by the ſame author. (23).

We omit ſeveral very prudent regulations made by the *Talmudiſts*, relating to the drawing up of theſe bills of divorcement, to prevent, as much as poſſible, all abuſes, forgeries, and counterfeits, ſuch as the kind of parchment, letter, and ink, which were to be uſed, how many letters to each line, and the like, beſides a great many other formalities, examinations, and enquiries, deſigned on purpoſe to draw the matter to ſuch a length, that the parties might have time to cool, and, if poſſible, to be reconciled.

(Y) The *Jews*, however, confine it to the ſtealing of

(23) *Ant. lib. xv. c. 11. xviii. 7. xx. 15, & in vit. ſua.*

In caſe the thief had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction according to the law, it a
was lawful for the proſecutor, if he was an *Iſraelite*, to ſell him, but not if he
was a proſelyte of any kind, neither could the former ſell him to any but to
an *Iſraelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewiſe be ſold with
him, till ſatisfaction was made to the offended; at leaſt it ſeems to have been
ſo underſtood and practiſed by the *Jews* in caſes of debt, though *Moſes* men-
tions none here but the thief. This may be gathered from the words of the
prophet *Eliſha* [b] to the widow; and from the parable in the goſpel, where the cre-
ditor commands the wife and children, as well as the inſolvent debtor, to be
ſold, and payment to be made [c]. As ſoon as a ſufficient equivalent had been
made by ſervitude, they were to be reſtored to their freedom again, though by
another law [d] (Z): but if the thief was unmarried, and his maſter gave him a
wife during the time of his ſervitude, the children that he had by her were his
maſter's property: he could not demand them from him. From this law they
hammered another more inhuman, in order to ſhorten a married man's ſervi- b
tude, by allowing him to beget a number of ſlaves, for the benefit of his cre-
ditor, upon ſome woman whom his maſter gave him; with this pretended pro-
viſo however, that he ſhould not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due, or
that ſhe ſhould conſent to forego it, and that only one maid-ſervant ſhould be
conjoined to one ſuch man, not two or more. In caſes of petty larcenies the
laws ſeem ſtill more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous,
according to that of *Solomon*, *a thief is not deſpiſed that ſtealeth to ſatisfy his
hunger*; *but if he be found, he ſhall reſtore ſevenfold, he ſhall give all the ſub-
ſtance of his houſe* [e]; where the word ſevenfold means only more or leſs, accord-
ing to the theft, as far as his whole ſubſtance would reach. It is plain however, c
that the law of *Moſes* was far enough from countenancing ſuch kind of theft;
ſince it allowed a man in caſes of extreme want to ſell himſelf to ſome ma-
ſter for any term of years, even to that of the *Jubilee* [f]. He was even permitted
to ſell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer ſhould marry
her, or if he did not, that ſhe ſhould be redeemed by the higheſt bidder that
would [g].

WHEN a man was ſuſpected of theft, and the proſecutor had not ſufficient
proof againſt him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him,
and thoſe whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they ſwore
themſelves off, and could be afterwards proved forſworn, they were to be put to d
death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The ſame law reached alſo to the re-
ceiver, or concealer, of ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch [h]: that is, if
he was found out, he was fined as the thief, two, four, or fivefold; and being
examined

[b] 2 King. iv. 1. [c] Matt. xviii. 25. [d] Levit xxi. 3. [e] Prov. xxix. 34. [f] Levit. xxv. 29.
[g] Exod. xxi. 7, & ſeq. [h] Levit. v. 1.

of an *Iſraelite*, and not without ſome ground, be-
cauſe *Moſes* in another place (24) expreſſes it, *if a
man be found ſtealing any of his brethren of the chil-
dren of* Iſrael, which exception the *Targum* of *On-
kelos* (25) and *Septuagint* have added alſo to the text
in *Exodus*. *Abenezra* doth even underſtand it of
children that cannot ſpeak. As for the ſtealing of
ſtrangers, the offender was not to be put to death
according to them, but only to make reſtitu-
tion.

(Z) The *Talmudiſts* have made ſeveral exceptions to this law: they ſay for inſtance, that the thief, that was ſold as inſolvent, was not bound to ſerve till he had repayed the four or fivefold, but only the equivalent of his theft. The overplus was remitted till he was in circumſtances to pay it. Neither could he be ſold, according to them, unleſs the theft was of greater value than the thief. Thus if the latter was judged worth fifty ſhekels, and the theft not above forty, it was not in the plantiff's power to ſell him. A woman likewiſe that was guilty of theft, they pretend, could not be ſold, but yet they do not tell us what puniſhment was inflicted on her in caſe of inſolvency (26).

There are however ſome texts of ſcripture which ſeem to imply a further puniſhment, than theſe we have mentioned. *Jacob* tells *Laban*, that upon whomſoever his ſtolen gods were found, he ſhould be put to death (27); and *Solomon* ſays, that he who is a partner with a thief hates his own ſoul or life (28). This made *Eſtius* of opinion, that they were whipped at the ſecond, and put to death after the third offence. But as to the firſt text, it being before the law of *Moſes*, it is ſuppoſed by the rabbies, that theft was capital by the laws of *Noah*, and the puniſhment exchanged for a milder by *Moſes*. As to the other, the moſt that can be made of the words is, that he is in danger of being killed if he ſteals with them in the night, or elſe of being tempted to forſwear himſelf, if he ſhould be examined upon oath, in which caſe, if he be found out, he will be put to death. So that from the tenor of *Moſes*'s law it is plain, no theft but that of men was puniſhed with death.

(24) Deut. xxiv. 7. (25) *In* Exod. xxi. 16. (26) *Ita Rabbin. fer. omn.* (27) Gen. xxxi. 32. (28) Prov. xxix. 24.

examined upon ſuſpicion, he denied his having the goods upon oath, he was put to death likewiſe: for ſo they underſtood the words, *he ſhall bear his iniquity*. All theſe kind of matters were to be tryed before the judges of the place where the fact was done, and it was left to them in many caſes to appoint the fines and puniſhments of the offender, according to the nature and circumſtances of the fact: only the *Jews* add, that if the thief came and accuſed himſelf, and reſtored the ſtolen goods, he was not to have any further puniſhment, becauſe, ſay they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himſelf [i]. *Moſes* gave them alſo many other wholeſome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time, ſuch as cattle, houſhold goods, garments, and the like, in caſe they came to be loſt or damaged while they remained in that party's cuſtody; how far in ſuch caſes he was or was not obliged to make ſatisfaction [k]; which we ſhall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that in all caſes, where any ſatisfaction was made the perſon wronged, or his next heir, was the only perſon intitled to it, but if he died without heirs, then the prieſts might claim it as their due. He likewiſe forbad not only the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures [l], but alſo all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandiſing and all other dealings between man and man [m] (A). Even in bargains, the rule was, that if the price was above one ſixth part more or leſs than the true value of the thing ſold, the party wronged might make the other refund the overplus. All kind of uſury, whether of money, grain, or of victual, and apparel, was likewiſe forbid by the law of *Moſes*, in more places than one, from one *Iſraelite* to another; in which caſes the uſurer might be compelled by the judges to refund the ill gotten wealth. They were commanded, on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to ſupport and aſſiſt him with ſuch things as he needed, without propoſing to themſelves any other advantage by ſo doing, than the bleſſing of God attending it [n]. But of ſtrangers, that is, of the *Gentiles*, they were permitted to take ſome uſury [o]; yet ſo as not to oppreſs them by too great extortion, or indeed in any other way: for in ſuch caſes the ſtranger is put upon the ſame foot with the fatherleſs and the widow, whoſe protector God every where declares himſelf, with very ſevere threatnings againſt thoſe who were wanting in kindneſs and hoſpitality towards them [p]. The Oppreſſing of ſervants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining of their wages, tho' but one night [q], denying them neceſſary food and reſpite [r]; private miſchiefs, ſuch as miſleading of the blind, or even another's cattle [s], removing of land-marks [t]; digging of pits, and leaving of them uncovered [u]; and many more of the like nature were likewiſe reckoned enormous crimes; which, if found out, were cogniſable by the judges, who were impowered to cauſe ſuitable ſatisfaction to be made, if not, there were terrible curſes denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors by God, from whoſe all ſeeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whoſe juſtice they could not eſcape unpuniſhed. The taking of ſuch things in pledge from the needy, of which they ſtood in conſtant need, ſuch as their garments, their bed-cloaths, the nether or upper milſtone, and the like, was no leſs forbidden. The perſon ſo oppreſſed might appeal to the judge, and he cauſe them to be reſtored; but we do not find that any other puniſhment was ordained againſt the delinquent [w]. We omit ſeveral others of the ſame nature, which the reader may ſee among their negative precepts [x].

Injuſtice.

Uſury.

All kind of oppreſſion.

Laws

[i] Vide Maim. Tract. Genubah. lib. i. ex. Exod. xxii. 9. [k] Exod. xxii. 5, & ſeq. [l] Deut. xxv. 13, & ſeq. [m] Levit. xix. 11. xxv. 14, & alib. [n] Exod. xxii. 25, & ſeq. Lev. xxv. 36, & ſeq Deut. xxiii. 19. [o] Ibid. ver. 20. [p] Exod. xxii. 21. xxxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & ſeq. & alib. [q] Levit. xix. 15. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. [r] Ibid. v. 14. xxv. 4. [s] Levit. xix. 14. [t] Deut. xix. 14. [u] Exod. xxi. 33. [w] Deut. xxiv. 10. vi. 10, & ſeq. [x] Vide præc. 150, ad 196, & alib. paſſ.

(A) Here the *Jews*, from a particular fondneſs for their own nation, make a great difference between the ſtrict juſtice which was due to an *Iſraelite* and to a *Gentile*, as well as the puniſhment inflicted on either ſide for the breach of it (29). But the more honeſt part of them, founding the interdiction of fraud and injuſtice on the law of nature, affirmed, that a *Gentile*, ought not in any caſe to be defrauded or over-reached in negotiations, *&c.* becauſe, with reſpect to civil ſociety, he was to be accounted a neighbour, though not with reſpect to the privileges peculiar to the *Iſraelites* (30).

(29) *Vide Gemar. Babyl. Tract. Sanhedr.* Maim. גזילה ואבידה and גנובה (30) *Vide* Seld. *ubi ſup. lib. vi. c. 5. &c.*

Laws against false witness.

False witness.

THE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour* [y]; wherein we shall only observe, that the word, which our versions render *speak*, signifies, according to the original, to answer to an interrogation, such as the judges exacted from persons summoned to give evidence in any cases that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the testimony of two or three witnesses, especially in capital cases, a single one not being sufficient to condemn any man [z]. To deter men therefore, as much as possible, from giving false evidence, the law condemned a false witness to the same punishment which he would have inflicted on the innocent [a]; and if examined upon oath, and proved forsworn, he was to be put to death as was hinted before, let the case in question be what it would. It required besides of the judges, that they should be very strict in examining the witnesses [b] (B), their character, and the nature of the evidence, in order to prevent, as far as possible, the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent being condemned. The *Talmudists* have collected several laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie dispersed in the writings of *Moses*, and added several very judicious expositions, for which we shall refer the reader to the authors themselves [c].

Laws against coveting another's property.

THE tenth precept of the decalogue, *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, wife*, and so on [d], is justly esteemed by the *Jewish* doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the second table, and he that observes this, is in no danger of breaking the rest. Whether the antient *Jews* understood it in that strict and refined sense which the gospel doth, or only of such overt acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not easy to determine. The *Talmudists* however do condemn by it the very desire formed and indulged in the heart, tho' it doth not proceed to action [e].

An abridgment of some other mixt laws relating to food, raiment, planting, sowing, decency and cleanness, and of such diseases as excluded men from common society.

1. OF all the food that is forbidden by the *Mosaic* law, blood may be reckoned in the first place, because its prohibition was as old as the deluge [f]; when God having, immediately after it, given *Noah* the liberty of eating the flesh of animals, as is most generally supposed [†], forbad the eating of not only the blood itself, but of the flesh also mixed with it, that is, of any animal, either strangled or killed by any other way, than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (C), under very severe threatnings. Accordingly we find it no less expressly forbidden by *Moses* in several places,

Against eating of blood.

[y] Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. [z] Ibid. xvii. 1. [a] Deut. xix. 15, 16, & seq. [b] Ibid. ver. 18. [c] Tract. Sanhedr. MAIM. in eund. præc. neg. 194, ad 218. [d] Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21. [e] Vide præc. neg. 158. [f] Gen. ix. 4, & seq. [†] Vide sup. p. 108. c.

(B) The *Jews* excepted several persons from being witnesses, from a text in *Exodus*, (31), namely, persons under age, those who had committed any misdemeanour which deserved whipping, thieves, even after they had restored the stolen pelf, usurers, extortioners, and such like (32).

(C) The reason given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and design of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowledgment, that our priviledge for killing, and eating the flesh of those living creatures, is not derived to us from the law of nature, which seems rather to be against it, but from an express permission from the author of nature. And this seems to be the reason, why it was not only inforced by the *Mosaic* law, but also retained in the gospel, and enjoyned to its proselytes from *Gentilism* (33). This law, we are told by a modern traveller (34), is still strictly observed by some eastern churches, not, as our author says, by virtue of the law of *Moses*, but of the apostolic canon, which has been kept ever since by the eastern, and for several ages by the western church, and confirmed by several councils from time to time.

(31) Ch. xxiii. 1. (32) *Præc. neg.* 214. (33) *lib. iii. c. 1. num.* 51. *Vide* Acts xv. 29. (34) LUDOLPH. *Hist. Æthi p.*

places not only to the *Iſraelites*, but to the ſtrangers that lived among them [g]; even under pain of death. God ſeems even to put it on the level with ſacrificing one's ſeed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to *ſet his face againſt him that Tranſgreſſes* in either caſe, which expreſſion is not uſed in any other prohibition. Only under this typical diſpenſation, God is pleaſed to give a new reaſon for this interdiction, namely, that it is the blood (which is alſo called the life) of the victim that makes attonement for ſin [h] (D); purſuant to which, the tabernacle, with all its utenſils, were at firſt purified with it, the covenant between God and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there could be no remiſſion for ſin [i]; all which the apoſtle fitly applies to that of *Chriſt* under the goſpel [k].

Unclean meats.

NEXT to the blood, was forbidden likewiſe the fleſh of a conſiderable number of beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This diſtinction however of clean and unclean can hardly be ſuppoſed to have its origin from the *Moſaic* law, and to have been uſed proleptically, when the divine hiſtorian mentions it even before the flood [l]: but we ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid on that ſubject in another place [*]; neither ſhall we enter into a nice ſcrutiny about thoſe animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious reader to the learned Bochart's elaborate treatiſe on that ſubject [m], and mention only the general rule which *Moſes* has given to diſtinguiſh the clean from the unclean [n].

OF beaſts whatever did both chew the cud and divide the hoof was to be reckoned clean, and whatever did not both theſe, as the ſwine, which divideth the hoof but doth not chew the cud; or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud and do not part the hoof, was forbidden as unclean. Of fowl all carnivorous birds, ſuch as the eagle, vulture, and the like; all that had four feet and yet flew, as the bat. Of fiſhes all that had fins and ſcales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of inſects all that had wings to raiſe itſelf from the earth might be eaten, but whatever did only crawl on the earth was unclean. Laſtly, the fat of the clean beaſts was forbidden, not becauſe it was unclean, much leſs becauſe it is hard of digeſtion, which is the reaſon which ſome authors give for this, and blood, and ſwine's, and other fleſh, being alſo forbid, ſeeing their laborious life and healthy conſtitution made them more capable to digeſt them, than many, among us and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat them all without any inconvenience. But the reaſon is given in the text, namely, becauſe, in all ſacrifices, the fat was to be burnt on the altar, as appertaining unto God [o] (E). The fleſh

[g] Levit. xvii. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xii. 23, & ſeq. & paſſ. [h] Levit. ubi ſup. ver. 11. [i] Hebr. ix. 22, & paſſ. [k] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [l] Gen. vii. 2. viii. 1, & ſeq. [*] Sup. p. 108. [m] Hierozoic. paſſ. [n] Levit. xi. 1, & ſeq. [o] Vide Levit. iii. 14, & ſeq.

(D) The learned *Maimon*, not thinking theſe reaſons ſufficient, has fetched the origin of this proviſion from his old fountain of oppoſition to the *Sabians*, *Amorites*, and the other idolatrous nations, who, fancying blood to be the favourite food of *Demons*, contented themſelves with the fleſh of beaſts, and poured their blood into a veſſel, or a hole made in the ground, then ſetting and feaſting round it, imagined, that thoſe *Demons* would come and take their ſhare of the feaſt. From this familiar converſation with their gods, they hoped to procure ſtill a nearer intercourſe with them in their dreams, by which they ſhould gain an inſight into futurity: ſo that according to him, and thoſe that have followed him (35), the main end of this prohibition was to prevent the worſhip of thoſe demons. We need not to take notice how much more effectual the contrary method, that is, the allowing them to eat blood, would have been to have kept them from it; all that we ſhall obſerve here is, that, ſuppoſing this ſuperſtitious cuſtom and notion to have been as old as *Moſes*, it doth not appear to have been as old as the flood, or that any that came out of the ark were addicted to it, and yet it is to them that this prohibition was firſt made, if *Moſes* may be believed; and who knows how far it might in time contribute to this wild notion of the *Sabians* and *Amorites*, by making them fancy, that there was ſomething ſo ſacred in the blood of animals, that it was fit only for the gods?

(E) *Joſephus* however, and the generality of the *Jews* underſtand this, not of the fat of all clean beaſts, but only of oxen, ſheep, and goats, and this is not only conformable to what is ſaid in another place (36); but, as theſe three creatures were the only ones that were ſacrificed to God, the deſign of the prohibition, mentioned above, ſeems naturally to confine it to them only. What ſeems to confirm, that the fat of other clean beaſts was permitted, is what *Moſes* ſays elſewhere, that *the fat of a beaſt that dieth of itſelf, or is torn to death, may be put to any other uſe, but muſt not be eaten in any caſe* (37); which ſeems to imply, that that of thoſe which were duly killed might be lawfully eaten. Neither is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this prohibition extended to all the fat, for in ſuch a caſe a ſcrupulous *Jew* would ſcarce have found one bit in the whole beaſt that could be ſafely eaten; but only to that

(35) *More Nevoch*, p. 3. c. 46. SPENC. *de Leg. Ritual.* GREGOR. *in Oper. Paſt. vide* CARLET. *Concord. pt. i. c.* 11. (36) Levit. vii. 23. (37) *Ibid.* ver. 24.

flesh of beasts torn in pieces, or that died of themselves, was likewise forbidden p. a
All that needs to be further added, with respect to unclean animals, is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcases was; insomuch, that even the vessels and liquors into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away, the vessels, whatever they were, must be purified, and the person who touched them was to wash himself, and be unclean until evening. A well, however a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it, but only the person who took the unclean creature out of them q.

Raiment. RAIMENT. *Moses* hath left no positive laws relating to dress, except that which belonged to the priests, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and where he b
orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God r. As to those of the negative kind, the two most considerable are, those which forbid the promiscuous habit of both sexes s, and the weaving of two different stuffs, such as linen and woollen, in the same garment t; the first is, supposed to have been designed to prevent the shameful abuses which might attend such unnatural disguises (F), and the second to prevent confusion. To the same purpose are those which relate to sowing divers seeds, or planting divers kind of trees in the same field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of cattle, such as an ox and
Cleanness. an ass u. Cleanness and decency, though so necessary in hot climes, that there c
needs hardly any law to inforce them, are yet enjoined by *Moses* under severe penalties, as well as the neglect of those proper ceremonies, which he had enjoined to those who had laboured under any defilement, in order to their purification. We have already spoken of this latter under another head, and shall only mention the chief of the former; they were such as forbid all matrimonial commerce for a certain time after child-birth, during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakness of that kind; in men nocturnal pollutions, running sores, ulcers, gonorrheas, and such like; whatever was touched by any person so defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utensil, was also to be deemed unclean, and to defile those that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both sexes d
likewise the touching of a dead body, carcass, or any unclean thing, had the same effect. But of all diseases the leprosy (G) was reckoned the most defiling, for which reason those who were infected with it were forced to live separate from

p Exod. xxii. 31. Levit. xvii. 15. q Ibid. xi. 32, & seq. r Num. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xii. 12. s Ibid. ver. 5. t Ibid. ver. 11. u Ibid. ix. 10.

that which is separated from the flesh, such as that which covers the kidneys, and the bowels, the caul, *&c.* After all, we much doubt, whether even the interdict of this last extended farther than to that of victims offered to God. This seems at least probable, from what follows after the forbidding to eat the fat of either ox, sheep, or goat, where *Moses* adds, *whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord———shall be cut off*———(38).

(F) Interpreters fall into various other conjectures about the reason of this prohibition. Some think that *Moses* had an eye to some *Heathenish* ceremonies, used at particular festivals, in which the people dressed themselves in the habits of the contrary sex, such were for instance the *Bacchanalia* and the feasts of *Mars* and *Venus*. Such were also those of the moon, and of the *Cyprian* goddess, which the men celebrated in women's habits, and the women in those of men (39). Some have thought, that he meant to conceal under that prohibition an unnatural crime, which he was afraid to acquaint the people with, by calling it by its name, because he adds, that *such disguises are an abomination to God* (40); but yet it is plain that he forbad sodomy and bestiality in as plain terms, as those crimes could be couched in, and what other more abominable than these could be implyed by it we cannot guess. Lastly, a far more considerable number after *Josephus* understand it, not of an exchange of dress, but of occupations; that is, that the women should not play the *Amazon*, or handle the sword and spear, which do properly belong to men; and that these, on the contrary, should not busy themselves with such occupations as were fitter for women (41). The terms of the original, upon which they build this notion, runs literally thus: *The* כלי *Kele*, by which they understand, *weapons of a man, shall not be upon a woman, and the man shall not put on the habit of a woman.* But tho' *Kele* doth sometimes signify weapons, and, in its primitive sense, any kind of vessels and instruments used in any business whatsoever, yet since it doth sometimes signify dress and the ornaments of it, who doth not see, that the latter is an explication of the former, and consequently, that it is levelled against the promiscuous dress of sexes?

(G) *Moses* distinguishes three sorts of leprosy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houses. The first of these is a cuticular disease, not unlike an inveter-

(38) *Ibid.* ver. 25. *Vide præc. neg.* 138. (39) LUCIAN. MAIMON. JUL. FIRMIC. SERVIUS, & *al.* (40) ALBERIC. GENT. *apud* CALM. *sub voc. Habit.* (41) JOSEPH. *Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. Chald. Paraph.* AUGUST. *Quæst.* 32. N. DE LYRA VATAB. FAG. MUNST. TREMEL. & *al.*

1 from the reſt, till they had been cured of it; monarchs themſelves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the inſtance of king *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, as he is called in the *Chronicles*, who, being ſmitten with an incurable leproſy for intruding into the prieſtly office [w], was deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And indeed one kind of it was of ſo infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be uſed to prevent its ſpreading; inſomuch, that even thoſe that died of it were buried ſeparately from the reſt [x] (H); as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eyeſore than an infectious diſeaſe. The prieſts were the proper judges both of the diſeaſe and of the cure; concerning which *Moſes* gave them ſeveral plain directions,
b tho' we find not, that he perſcribed any remedy againſt it, becauſe, as the *Jews* think, it was an immediate judgment from God [y]. The ſame they affirm alſo of the leproſy of houſes and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the *Iſraelites* and to the land of *Judea* [z], becauſe God had promiſed to them, that whilſt they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houſes, and garments, ſhould be preſerved from that diſeaſe; but when they proved ſtubborn and rebelli-
ous, he would ſend it as a puniſhment upon them [a].

Leproſy.

WHEN the prieſt had pronounced a man infected with leproſy, he was not only ſecluded from the ſociety of clean perſons, but he was obliged to go
c bare-headed, with his cloaths rent, and his upper-lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting of others by his breath. But one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they had places in which they lived together and made a kind of community among themſelves. Accordingly we read of four of them

[w] Comp. 2 King. xv. 5. & 2. Chron. xxvi. 8, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. ult. [y] It. Rabin. ſer. omn. & Theodor. Quæſt. 18. in Levit. [z] Mos. Gerund. Racanat. Abr. Sepharad. & al. [a] Vide Munst. in Levit. xiii. note (i).

inveterate itch or ſcurvy, which cauſes a violent itching, and, whether cauſed by ſome prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corroſive vitrioline ſalts (tho' the former ſeems the moſt probable), will in time corrode the fleſh, even to the bone. We ſhall not diſguſt our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that diſtemper (42); nor with what other phyſicians have writ concerning it; but only obſerve, that it was of a much more corroſive and dangerous nature in hot climates than in cold ones. They obſerve three kinds or rather degrees of it. The firſt of theſe, namely, whilſt it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be eaſily cured: the ſecond, when it has communicated itſelf to the blood, cannot be maſtered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and phyſic: the laſt, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itſelf, and corroded the ſolid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, Monſieur *Tournefort*, who had ſeen it in the *Levant*, thinks it rather a kind of a venereal diſeaſe, and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the ſame method. And indeed the ſymptoms of this, of the leproſy, and of an inveterate ſcurvy are ſo alike, that unleſs a phyſician be very expert and cautious, he may eaſily condemn the innocent and abſolve the guilty. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leproſy muſt have been ſufficiently known by the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, ſince *Moſes* ſpeaks both of the diſeaſe and its marks, as of thoſe things which were plain and obvious.

The leproſy of the garments is ſuppoſed to have been owing to ſome defect in the management of the wool, ſkins, and ſtuffs, of which they were made; thoſe manufactures being then very imperfect, to what they have been ſince. The heat of the climate, and perhaps many other things, might contribute ſtill more towards it. *Moſes* has likewiſe deſcribed the marks of this kind of leproſy; they were ſpots either of a reddiſh or greeniſh hue, which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woollen, or of ſkins. In theſe caſes they were to be brought to the prieſts, and according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be waſhed and cleaned, or the ſpots to be cut out, and the reſt declared clean and wholeſome. This garment leproſy is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be a kind of worm which breeds in thoſe ſtuffs, occaſioned by the oils, greaſe, and other ingredients uſed in the dreſſing of them.

The ſame may be ſaid of the leproſy of houſes, in the mortar and ſtones of which another ſort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected, there were ſome others beſides, which were a kind of ruſt or ſcurf, that ſpread itſelf along the walls. In all theſe caſes, the prieſts were directed to ſhut the houſe up for a week, and it is probable, they made ſome kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it, elſe we cannot ſee how the bare ſhutting it up could contribute to the cure. If upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean, if not, they cauſed them to be ſcraped off every where, and the houſe to be ſhut up another ſeven days, and if that did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demoliſhed, and ſuch materials of it only to be preſerved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in ſome other place (43).

(H) At leaſt this ſeems to have been the meaning of the text, though the words in the original are not ſo clear and expreſs. It would otherwiſe have been needleſs to have added that reaſon, *becauſe he was a leper*: ſo that one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, that they buried him in ſome corner of the ground where his anceſtors were depoſited, though apart from the reſt.

(42) *Vide* Levit. xiii. *per tot.* (43) *Ibid. ver.* 47, & ſeq. & xiv. *per tot. Vide Journal des Scavans, ann.* 1668. Calmet, *Diſſert. præfix. at the head of his Comment on* Levit.

them that went together out of ſome quarter of *Samaria* into the *Aſſyrian* camp, when the famine raged in the city [b]; and of ten in the goſpel, who applyed themſelves in a body to *Chriſt* to be healed by him [c]. Perſons, garments, and houſes, being cured of this diſtemper, were to be further purified by the prieſt. We have already ſpoken of the ſacrifices, which were to be offered upon this occaſion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies which were enjoyned by *Moſes*, we ſhall refer our reader to the two afore-quoted chapters of *Leviticus*, where if he pleaſes, he may ſee a full account of them.

BUT here we ſhall beg leave to mention a ſtory, which *Manetho*, and ſeveral other *Heathen* writers after him [d], have advanced, with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, againſt the *Jews*; and which, though every one of them tells in his own way, doth in the main amount to this: that the land of *Egypt* being grievouſly infected with the leproſy, and the king *Bocchorus*, having conſulted the oracle, was adviſed to ſend all the lepers out of his dominions into a deſert place, where they might periſh with want. This was accordingly done, and they being come to the deſolate place, *Moſes* obſerved, by tracing the footſteps of a wild aſs, a ſpot where they might dig for water to refreſh their thirſt, and they, being revived with it, choſe him for their guide, and were by him conducted and ſettled in *Canaan* in the ſpace of ſeven days; in memory of which he ordered the ſeventh day to be a day of reſt, and forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, becauſe that creature is very ſubject to the leproſy. They add, that, in memory of their kind benefactor, the aſs who ſaved their lives, he commanded an aſs's head to be ſet up and worſhipped in their temple. This ſtory, which is falſe in every particular, is likewiſe ridiculous, and as ſufficiently confuted by *Joſephus*; and the care, which *Moſes* took with reſpect to this diſtemper, ſufficiently ſhews, that, at leaſt, the far greater part of the *Iſraelites* were free from it at their coming out of *Egypt*, elſe it would have been impoſſible to have ſegregated them from the reſt, and to have forced thoſe laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of thoſe who were free from it.

THIS body of laws, out of which we have omitted a conſiderable number of leſs moment, beſides ſeveral others, which we have avoided repeating here, becauſe they have been occaſionally mentioned in other places, is not only ſecured by a clauſe which expreſly forbids the adding or diminiſhing of any thing from it [e]; but their obedience to them is likewiſe enforced by the moſt cogent promiſes and threatnings, interſperſed though the whole, beſides the ſtrict charge to the *Levites* to inſtruct the people, and parents their children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

II. *Of the cuſtoms, learning, arts, and trade of the* Jews.

Ceremonies at circumciſion.

THEIR cuſtoms, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greateſt part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay here, eſpecially conſidering the barrenneſs of the ſubject, for want of books and authors of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered concerning their cuſtoms at weddings and feſtivals; we ſhall ſay now ſomething of thoſe that were uſed at births and feaſts; to which we ſhall add a ſhort account of ſome of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worſhip, of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies uſed at burials. It may be remembered, that circumciſion was not enjoyned by the *Moſaic* law, but by vertue of the expreſs command given to *Abraham*. But neither that nor this hath ordained any thing, either with reſpect to the perſon by whom, nor with what inſtrument, nor in what manner, the ceremony was to be performed, but only that the foreſkin ſhould be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himſelf, or to have ſome other perſon, whether a prieſt, ſurgeon, or any expert friend, to do it for him. And in this laſt caſe, it was always looked upon as a high compliment to be choſen to that office. The inſtrument was generally a knife or razor made of ſome kind of ſtone, as before was

[b] 2 King. vii. 3, 8. [c] Luke xvii. 12. [d] MANETH. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. TACIT. JUST. ex TROG. PLUTARCH. & al. [e] Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

leſs dangerous than thoſe of ſteel †; the uſe of which they might have learn-
a ed from the *Egyptians*, who opened thoſe bodies with them, which were to be embalmed [f]. They were not obliged to carry the child to the ſynagogue, much leſs to the temple, but had him circumciſed at home. Here the father, or ſome friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilſt the operator took the prepuce either with one hand, or with pincers made for the nonce, and with the other cut off the foreſkin, whilſt another held a porringer filled with ſand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood that dropped. He then applied his mouth to the place, and having ſucked the blood, which generally flowed plentiful-
ly, twice or thrice, and ſpit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw ſome ſtiptic
b powder upon the wound, and dreſſed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were uſed upon ſuch occaſions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we have had occaſion to mention it under a former article *, to which they added, no doubt, ſome prayers and bleſſings. At preſent, the operator, having dreſſed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing theſe words of the prophet, *live in thy blood* [g], repeats the 128th pſalm, and wiſhes his parents joy, and that they may thus aſſiſt at his wedding **. But how old theſe cuſtoms are we cannot warrant; all that can be added is, that this ceremony was uſually accompanied with great rejoicing and feaſting, and it was at that time, that the child uſed to be named by the parents in the preſence of the company [h] (I). Theſe
c names, how harſh ſoever they may ſound in our ears, were generally ſignificant of ſomething relating to the parents, or the child, or to ſome other circumſtances of time. We have already given ſome inſtances of it in thoſe of the patriarchs. The devouter part uſed to tack the names of God, *Jah* and *El*, to that of the child, thus, *Abijah* ſignifies *God my father*, and *Zechariah the memorial of the Lord*: *Uzziel* and *Daniel*, *the ſtrength* or *judgment of God*. Some had a quite different meaning, as *Iſhboſheth*, *the man of ſhame*; *Mephiboſheth*, *ſhame of the mouth*. Others were taken from liv-
ing creatures; *Tzipor*, *a bird*; *Rachel*, *a ſheep*; *Chamor*, *an aſs*; *Nachaſh*, *a ſerpent*; *Tamar*, *a palm-tree*, and the like; and *Eli*'s daughter-in-law called her ſon *Icabod*, *where is the glory*, when ſhe heard, that the ark was taken by the *Philiſtines* ††. As for daughters, as they were not circumciſed, ſo there was no other ceremony
d uſed, that we can find, than giving them a name, unleſs it were, that when the mother was purified, the prieſts did beſtow a bleſſing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is uſed to this day [i].

THEIR feaſtings (if we except thoſe that were commanded or permitted by the law, or uſed at births, marriages, and ſuch like occaſions) (K), were neither *At their feaſts.* many

† Vide ſup. p. 554. d. [f] HERODOT. lib ii. c. 86. * Vide ſup. p. 490. note (A). [g] Ezek. xvi. 6. ** De his vide FAG, in Deut. x. Mos. KOTZ, in Tract. de Circumciſ. fol. 115. MAIM. Tract. Circumciſ. c. 1, & 2. BUXTORF. Syn. Jud. c. 4, & alib. QUANDT. de Cultris Circumciſ. Hæbr. [h] Luke i. 59. †† 1 Sam. iv. 21. [i] LEO DE MODEN. Cerem. Jud. pt. iv. c. 8. GOODWIN's Moſ. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 1.

(I) The *Jews* did afterwards add ſeveral other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, ſuch as placing three ſtools, one for the circumciſer, the ſecond for the perſon that held the child, and the third for *Elijah*, who, they ſay, aſſiſted inviſibly at the ceremony (44); writing the words *Adam* and *Eve*; *Lillith*, *be gone hence*, upon pieces of parchment, and ſticking them to the four walls of the room, as alſo the names of three friendly angels, to preſerve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who, according to them, was *Adam*'s firſt wife, and being parted from him, uſed to vent her ſpleen againſt women in child-birth, and new born children, eſpecially males (45). They had likewiſe taken it into their heads to circumciſe children after their death, if they had not been ſo before, in order to avoid the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon *Moſes* at the inn (46); but they content themſelves now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave with the body. But theſe the wiſer ſort among them have long ſince diſuſed, as ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. The cuſtom of godfathers, or, as they call them, בעל ברית, *Baal-berith*, maſter of the covenant, has been of ancient uſe (47); his office was to hold the child, during the operation. They think that *Uriah* the high-prieſt, and *Zechariah*, the ſon of *Jeberchiah*, ſtood godfathers to *Iſaiah*'s ſon *Maher-ſhallat-haſh-baſh* (48). As for the operation, *Maimon* (49) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumciſed ſervant, or a woman, *&c.* in the abſence of a man, unleſs ſhe be a *Gentile*; though even if ſuch a one ſhould perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated. And *Moſes Kotz* adds out of the *Talmud*, that in caſe the parents neglected to circumciſe their children, the judges, as ſoon as they were informed of it, were bound to ſee it done; which if they did not, when the perſon came to age, he was to get it performed out of hand, becauſe every day he lived uncircumciſed from that time, he was a tranſgreſſor of the law (50).

(K) Their religious feaſtings were called חג, *Chagg*, from חגג, to *celebrate*; the others, if ſumptuous and ſplendid, were called משתה, *Miſhtah*, from שתה, *Shatah*, to drink or carouſe, and anſwered to the συμποσιον and συμποσιον of the *Greeks*, becauſe it was a main part of the banquet (51); but if it was only a moderate one, they called it ארוחה, *Aruchah*, that is, a *viaticum*, or way bit, from ארח, *Arach*, to journey (52).

(44) *Vide* CHRIST. CAST. *in* Malach. iv. (45) *Vide* LEO DE MOD. *ſt.* iv. *c.* 8. (46) Exod. iv. 24. *Vid. ſup. p.* 490. *note* (A). (47) *Vide* ELIA. THESBIT. *in* בנרק. (48) *Vide* JUN. & TREMEL. *in* Iſai. viii.

(49) *Tract.* מילה, *p.* 111. (50) *Ibid. fol.* 101. (51) *Vide* Gen. xliii. 33. (52) *Vide* Jerem. xl. 5. Prov. xv. 17.

many nor ſumptuous, becauſe theſe came ſo often about, and laſted ſo long, that they could hardly have time for more. As for the cuſtoms and ceremonies uſed at them, we ſhall only pick out ſuch as bear an analogy with any paſſages in the goſpel. Theſe were the ſaluting of the gueſts, waſhing of their feet, anointing with oyl, the grace or bleſſing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and diſmiſſing of the company. The firſt ſalutation was performed to ſuperiors, by bowing down to the ground, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did to their heavenly gueſts [k], or by a kiſs or embrace to a familiar (L). In the two former inſtances, we have likewiſe a form of invitation, and the ceremony of waſhing the feet, which *Joſeph* ordered alſo to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in *Egypt* [l]; and thus *Abigail* in her great modeſty anſwered *David*'s ſervants, who came to propoſe marriage from him, "Let the handmaid of my lord the "king be a ſervant to waſh the feet of the kings ſervants [m];" and to this cuſtom no doubt the pſalmiſt alludes, when he calls *Moab* his waſh-pot [n]. As for the ceremony of anointing the head, though it was common in all the eaſt, yet we find no inſtance of it before the goſpel [o], except in that alluſion of the pſalmiſt [p], *thou haſt prepared a table for me——thou haſt anointed my head with oil.*

Waſhing of the feet.

Bleſſing.

THESE firſt ceremonies being over, the maſter of the houſe began to crave a bleſſing, if there was no ſtranger, nor any perſon of a ſuperior rank [q], for in this caſe he complimented him with that office (M). He then took a cup full of wine, and having bleſſed the creator of the vine, he ſipped a little of it, and gave it to the next perſon, till it had gone round. This was called the ברכת היין, *Birkath hajajin*, *the bleſſing of the wine.* Our ſaviour is obſerved by St. *Luke*, to have began with it, and diſtributed it among the twelve, at his laſt ſupper [r]. From thence he paſſed to the bleſſing, and breaking of the bread, and diſtributing it to the gueſt. This is what *Chriſt* likewiſe did to the Apoſtles, and it was called the bleſſing of the bread [s]. As ſoon as they had done eating, the ſame perſon, who had craved the bleſſing, was obliged to give thanks, to which all the reſt joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called *the bleſſing of plenty.* Our ſaviour is ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the ſacrament in this laſt cup [t] (N). However, it is likely, that ſome of theſe laſt ceremonies were only uſed at ſome of their grand feſtivals, eſpecially that of the paſſover; though the firſt was ſeldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their cuſtom was to ſit at meat, or lie down, is a controverſy of more nicety than moment. However, to us the former ſeems moſt probable, at leaſt before the captivity. We read, that *Joſeph* made his brethren ſit down to eat with him [u], and *David* ſaid to *Jonathan*, *To-morrow——I ſhould ſit*, or as the original has it, *ſitting*, *I ſhould ſit down at meat with the king* [x]; though we own, that in our Saviour's time the cuſtom was altered into that of lying down (O).

Sitting down.

That

[k] Gen. xviii. 2. xix. 1. [l] Gen. xliii. 24. [m] 1 Sam. xxv. 41. [n] Pſ. cviii. [o] Matt. xxvi. 7 Luke vii. 44. [p] Pſ. xxiii. 5. [q] Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13. [r] Ibid. xxii. 17. [s] Vide DRUS. in Nov. Teſt. pt. ult. & GOODW. ubi ſup. lib. iii. c. 2. § 15. [t] Vide FAG. in præc. Hebr. [u] Gen. xliii. 33. [x] 1 Sam. xx. 5.

(L) Theſe two ceremonies were alſo uſed upon all other occaſions; thus *Nathan* and *Araunah* bowed to *David*, and *Obadiah* to *Eliſha* (53); and thus *Eſau* embraced and kiſſed his brother *Jacob*, and *Moſes* his father-in-law (54). Our Saviour alſo in the goſpel alludes to this and the other two ceremonies of reception, namely, waſhing and anointing, when he reproves the phariſee for having omitted them towards him (55); and himſelf we find waſhed his diſciples feet at his laſt ſupper (56).

(M) This was not to be refuſed upon any pretence, for they believed, that he who refuſed to crave a bleſſing ſhortned his own days. But the maſter of the houſe was allowed by way of civility to ſet even an inferior to perform that office (57).

(N) In this cup of thankſgiving they bleſſed God. 1. For the preſent refreſhment. 2. For their deliverance out of *Egypt*. 3. For the covenant of circumciſion: and 4. For the law given by *Moſes*. After this they prayed, that God would be merciful, 1. To his people *Iſrael*. 2. To his *Jeruſalem*. 3. To his *Sion*, the reſidence of his majeſty. 4. To the kingdom of *David*. 5. That he would ſend the prophet *Elijah*. And 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*. The ceremony ended with a pſalm proper to the occaſion. They have added ſince ſeveral other niceties not worth mentioning (58) It is plain however, that ſome of theſe ceremonies were added ſince the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to ſay, how many of the others were in uſe before that time; but we hope, the affinity they bear to ſome of the goſpel inſtitutions will be apology ſufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(O) The verb is ישב, *Jaſhab*, which is always uſed for ſitting at meat, on a throne, and the like, and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expreſſed by that of שכב, *Shacab*. As to their tables, they ſeem to have been of a round or oval figure, becauſe it is often joined to the verb סבב, *Sabaf*, to ſurround, to ſit or ſtand round.

(53) 2 Sam. xxiv. 21, 1 King. i. 22. xviii. 7. (54) Gen. xxxiii. 4. Exod. xviii. 8. (55) Luke vii. 44, & *ſeq.* (56) John xiii. 4, & *ſeq.* (57) JOS. KARO. *Shulchan haruk*, n. 201. (58) *Vide* SEB. MUNST. *in* Matt. xxvi.

a That of pulling off their ſhoes or ſandals ſeems implied in the command of eating the paſſover with them on. We ſhall only add, that upon theſe and all ſuch occaſions, hoſpitality and liberality had been ſo ſtrongly recommended to them by their Law-giver, and enforced by the examples of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and other patriarchs, and the many bleſſings attending it, that they became very conſpicuous for it, ſeldom, or never, failing, at ſuch times eſpecially, to make the *Levites*, the fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feaſt, or ſending them ſome portions of their good cheer.

High places.

THEIR high-places were of two ſorts, either thoſe where they only worſhipped the true God, by burning incenſe and offering ſacrifices to him; or ſuch in b which they ſerved ſtrange gods, and committed the moſt horrid wickedneſs in their worſhip. Both theſe became ſo common and univerſal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilſt many others, tho' otherwiſe commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed. The firſt of theſe, tho' leſs criminal, and ſeemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Eliſha*, and other inſpired perſons, were nevertheleſs expreſly forbidden by God, unleſs it were done by his own command, as we have ſeen elſewhere †: but as to the laſt, it is certain, nothing could be more expreſly forbid, or more ſeverely threatned, we may ſay puniſhed; not- c withſtanding which, *Joſhua* had been ſcarcely dead above twenty years, e'er they began to relapſe into it [y]. This defection began about the times of *Othniel* and *Ehud*, and increaſed ſo faſt, and ſpread ſo wide, that it would be endleſs to enumerate their falſe deities, and the places dedicated to their worſhip, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practiſed in them. But our deſign is not to dwell upon this ſubject, having already ſpoken of it in the hiſtories of thoſe nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be ſufficient to obſerve upon the whole, that they adopted the falſe gods of all thoſe nations, in the midſt of whom they lived, and ſet up altars and idols to them upon every hill and *high-places*, from which they came to be called by that name; that the ſun, moon and ſtars were of the number d of their deities, and that, as the rites of thoſe falſe deities became more and more ſhameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themſelves to ſet up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become uſeleſs in that helliſh commerce, finding out a way of proſtituting themſelves, as it were, at ſecond hand, by furniſhing the infamous votaries with all kind of conveniencies [z]. *Solomon* is juſtly branded in ſcripture for having brought this evil to its height, by the multitude of his ſtrange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Joſiah*'s reign, that is about 360 years after [a].

Divinations.

BESIDES theſe abominable idolatries, or rather in conſequence of them, they gave themſelves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practiſed among e the *Heathen*, tho' as expreſly and diſtinctly forbid by the law of *Moſes* as the former. Theſe were of various kinds. *Moſes* expreſſes them in the terms following [b], *There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his ſon or his daughter paſs through the fire, or that uſed divinations, or an obſerver of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a conſulter with familiar ſpirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (P). To theſe the prophets have added ſome few others, ſuch as conſulting by *Teraphims*, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beaſts [c], by ſtocks, and ſtaves [d], and ſuch like; ſeveral of which were even forbid under pain

† See before p. 662. note (H). 28, & ſeq. xiv. 23, 24, & alib. paſſ. 11. [c] Exek. xxi. 21. [d] Hoſ. iv. 12. [y] Vide Judg. iii. 5, & ſeq. [a] Comp. 1 King. xi. & 2 King. xxiii. [z] 1 King. iii. 2, & ſeq. xii. 13. [b] Deut. xviii. 10,

round. Thus it is ſaid by *Samuel* (59), לא נסב, *we will not ſit down till he come*; and the pſalmiſt ſays, *thy children ſhall be like olive-branches round about thy table* (60). We do not pretend indeed, that this argument is altogether concluſive, ſeeing the word סביב, *Saviv*, *round about*, is made uſe of by *Moſes*, where he ſpeaks of a ſquare table, as when he commands the prieſts to ſprinkle the blood of the victim round about the altar, though it was of a ſquare form (61).

(P) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the moſt inhuman of all was that of paſſing their children thro' the fire. This rite ſeems to have been peculiar to *Moloch*, who is therefore alſo called ענמלך, *Anamelech*, from ענה *Anah*, *to anſwer* becauſe he

(59) 1 Sam. xvi. 11. (60) Pſ. cxxviii. 3. (61) *Conf.* Levit. i. & Exod. xxvii. 1.

pain of death. But such was their invincible itch of prying into futurity, that they left none of them untryed: at least the prophets do generally upbraid them with resorting to those who practised them.

Games. GAMES may, for ought appears, be said to have been the only custom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours, at least, which they did not introduce into their common-wealth. They had not so much as a name for them, but what doth properly signify to laugh [c], play [f], toy [g], and such like innocent amusements. Even *Solomon* himself, who had imitated, or rather out-done, the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himself in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the sons of men [h], some of which were near of kin to these, as his singers and musicians of both sexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard, or of the theatre; the scriptures do no where speak of them (Q). It seems rather, that their solemn festivals served them instead of all such kind of spectacles and diversions; and indeed, if we consider the frequency and magnificence of them, especially after the building of the temple, we shall not need wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all that we meet with in the writings of the antient fathers, such as *Tertullian* [i] and St. *Cyprian*, both in his second epistle to *Donatus*, and in his book *De Spectaculis*, if that piece be really his, which is somewhat doubtful by reason of the difference of stile; all agree in this, that the *Israelites* never admitted any such games among them. It even appears from Mr. *Selden*, that games of hazard, such as dice-tables and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that resulted from a contract which depended upon chance. The same

[c] Vide Gen. xviii. 12, & alib. pass. [f] Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. [g] Gen. xxvi. 8.
[h] Ecclesiast. ii. 8. [i] Lib. de Spectac. & apolog. c. 38.

he gave answers to those who consulted him by this rite, either by his priests, or by dreams (62). We shall not attempt to describe those various kinds of divination, either from the text, or from commentators, but only observe in general, that the chief of them were performed, first, by consulting the stars, clouds, signs, tokens, and the like. This seems the meaning of the word מנחש *Menachesh* here, which is nevertheless sometimes used in a good sense. Thus *Laban* says to *Jacob*, נחשתי, *Nachashti, I have observed or experienced*, that God has blessed me for thy sake (63); *Joseph* makes use of the same verb, speaking of his divining cup (64); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of so favourable a sense. However, as the word נחש signifies properly *a serpent*; *Bochart* has also given us an account of several divinations that were performed by means of those creatures †. 2. Another way was by familiar spirits, which the *Hebrews* calls אובות, *Oboth*, such as the witch of *Endor* is said to have had, 3. דרש אל המתים, *interrogating the dead*, which the *Septuagint* render [illegible]. This is what the same witch did for *Saul*, from which one would be apt to conclude these two to be much the same. 4. The מכשף, *Mekasheph*, may be properly enough rendered by *Leger-de-main, one who deceives the sight, and imposes upon the beholders*; such are reasonably supposed those whom *Pharaoh* set against *Moses* (65), who are there called מכשפים, *Mekasephim*, and are said to have imitated some of his wonders בלהטיהם, *Belahatchem*, which word seems derived from להט, which signifies *a flame*, or *the glittering of a spear, or lance*, because it dazzles the sight. The *Septuagint* however have translated it [illegible], *Apothecaries*, from whence the *Latin, Venefica, Poisoner*. 5. The חובר *Chaber* may also be properly rendered a *Muttterer*, from חבר, *to gather, couple*, or *associate*, because he speaks with his lips joined (66), and is therefore rendered רטין by *Onkelos*. *Bodinus* doth indeed think it rather because such a one associates himself with evil spirits by compact (67), and he tells us accordingly in another place, that an infant, by pronouncing a certain verse out of the *Psalms*, shall prevent a woman's churning her butter, and, by repeating the same verse backward, shall cause it to come immediately (68). The learned *Maimon* (69) tells us of a great many other wonderful pranks that are done by these חברים, *Mutterers*, of whom however the psalmist says, that they cannot charm the deaf adder, though never so skilled in their art (70). The other kinds of prestigiators, being still more obscure and inconsiderable, we purposedly omit.

(Q) If we may believe the *Talmudists* and other *Jewish* commentators, all kinds of games, spectacles, *&c.* were not only forbid, but abhorred, by all good *Israelites*, by reason of the mischiefs which had befallen those who had ventured to be present at those of their neighbouring nations. The *Talmud* utterly condemns being present at any theatrical representations (71); they give several reasons which we shall omit because they are not over modest; and *R. Simeon Ben-paki* is there affirmed to have rendered the first words of the first psalm, *Blessed is the man who hath not set his foot in a theatre*, &c. The comment on the book of *Ruth* introduces old *Naomi*, dissuading her daughter-in-law from returning into the land of *Israel*, because it was not the custom of the daughters of it to go to the theatres and other spectacles of the *Gentiles* (72); and the large comment on the *Lamentations* introduces the *Jewish* church expostulating with God, that it had never entered into any such profane places (73).

(62) *Vide* MAIM. & ABARBAN. *in Leg.* 170. (63) Gen. xxx. 27. (64) *Ibid.* xliv. 5, 15. † *Hierozic. lib.* i. *c.* 3. *pt.* 1. (65) Exod. vii. 11. & *alib. pass.* (66) BEKER. *Monde enchanté* (67) *Demon. Magic. lib.* i. *c.* 6. (68) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 1. (69) עבירה נרה, *c.* xi. § 10, 11. (70) Ps. lviii. 5. (71) *Tract.* עבודה זרה, *fol.* 18. (72) MIDRS. *in* Ruth. *c.* 1. (73) איכה רב, *fol.* 5. *col.* 4.

a time they likewiſe affirmed of ſuch who made a gain of expoſing beaſts or fowls to fight one with another [k].

Diverſions. As to their diverſions, they ſeem to have conſiſted chiefly in eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic. At leaſt they are thoſe which good old *Barſillai* ſeems to bewail his incapacity for [l], and for the exceſs of which they were often blamed by the prophets [m]. The ſcriptures do often expreſs the ſimplicity of their happy lives, by ſitting, and eating, and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree. But even theſe diverſions could not be very frequent, unleſs it were upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions as we have mentioned before, or at their ſheep-ſhearing, harveſt, and vintage; becauſe they would elſe have had but little time b to have minded their country-affairs. Whether they uſed hunting, fowling, fiſhing, and ſuch like, by way of diverſion, or rather to furniſh their tables now and then with an uncommon diſh, and to preſerve their fields, orchards, and vineyards, from being ſpoiled by thoſe creatures, we will not pretend to ſay, but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, and ſuch like.

Diet. THEIR diet, except on feſtivals ſeems to have been very plain. *Boaz*, a mighty man, complimented *Ruth* with *drinking of the ſame water eating of the ſame bread and dipping her morſel in the vinegar with him* [n]. Even the preſent of victuals which were brought to *David* and his men, whilſt he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly ſeveral kinds of pulſe, ſome parched corn, bread, and flower, ſome c dried raiſins and figs, honey, butter, cheeſe, oil, and a few fatted beaſts [o]. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, ſome in ovens, ſome upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, ſome with, and ſome without, oil; they often uſed parched corn inſtead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciouſneſs [p], and the fleece of the flocks and the milk of the goats were thought by the wiſe man ſufficient for food and raiment, both for the maſter and his family [q].

Titles. HIGH titles were unknown amongſt them, unleſs thoſe which implied ſome office, ſuch as general, treaſurer, recorder, and the like. They valued themſelves more upon their genealogies, which is the reaſon why one man's name had five or d ſix of his anceſtors, and ſometimes more, tacked to it. Some regard was likewiſe had to the diſtinction of tribes or families; as for inſtance, to thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, upon a religious account, to that of *Judah*, by reaſon of the ſceptre being promiſed to it, and to that of *Ephraim*, out of reſpect to *Joſeph*'s memory. The ſame reſpect was likewiſe paid in every tribe to thoſe who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general. Next to theſe, old men, of what tribe or branch ſoever, were had in great veneration. The name of *old-man*, or *elder*, as our verſion renders it, ſeems all along to imply ſome thing of dignity in the *Moſaic* writings, and their experience and gravity ſeems to have intitled them to be the proper perſons to take cogniſance, and to judge of all important e matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the reſpect of the younger ſort upon that account. But this reſpect did not conſiſt in giving them, or indeed to any man, how great ſoever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a ſubmiſſive approach and behaviour, and in a reſpectful phraſe peculiar to the *Hebrew*; in which, though the ſecond perſon was always uſed even to a prince, yet the ſpeaker always expreſſed himſelf in the third, with the addition of *ſervant* or *handmaid*: *let thy ſervant ſpeak a word*, inſtead of, *let me ſpeak*——*behold thy ſervant or handmaid, for here am I.* The women, whether becauſe they were more baſhful and timerous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were ſtill more remarkable for the modeſt turn of their expreſſions, and the humbleneſs of their f behaviour [**].

THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulneſs of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vaſt number of thoſe diſeaſes, which have been ſince uſhered into the world by luxury and ſloth. It is for this reaſon, that we read of ſo few, if any, diſeaſes among them, much leſs of phyſicians, except ſuch as are now known by the name of ſurgeons, whom the antient *Greeks*, as well as the *Hebrews*, called *phyſicians* or *healers*. Thus the *Moſaic* law condemned the man

[k] Jus. Nat. & Gent. lib. vi. c. 11. [l] 2 Sam. xix. 35. [m] Iſai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 3, & ſeq. [n] Ruth ii. 9, 14. [o] 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28, 29. & alib. [p] Vide Pſ. xix. 10, & alib. paſſ. [q] Prov. xxvii. 26, 27. [**] Vide Ruth ii. 13. 1 Sam. i. 15, 16. xxv. 23, & ſeq. & alib.

man who wounded another to pay, amongſt other things, the ſalary of the phyſician. Such were thoſe whom king *Aſa* is blamed for his two great confidence in, when he labour'd with a diſtemper in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whoſe skill extended no further than outward applications; for we read nothing in the ſacred books of purges, ſweats, vomits, diet-drinks, and other ſuch evacuating medicines, though often of plaiſters, ointments, bandages, and ſuch like. This ſeems indeed the reaſon of their living ſo long, as well as of their being ſo healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

Mourning. THEIR mourning was either for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortunes, either publick or private; and was expreſſed in both caſes much after the ſame manner; not with ſuch formalities as are uſed among us, which hardly reach beyond the outſide; but by ſuch as expreſſed all the tokens of an inward grief, or at leaſt would be apt to cauſe a real one in thoſe, who were obliged to go through ſuch a ſeries of mournful ceremonies. The firſt fallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, ſmiting their breaſts, tearing their hair and beards, putting aſhes and dirt upon their heads, inſtead of perfumes (which were quite laid aſide all the time of mourning) going barefoot, putting on ſackcloath next the skin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like [r]. The neighbouring nations had ſtill more violent ways of expreſſing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and ſcarifying themſelves; but theſe were expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes* [s]. As ſoon as theſe firſt fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloaths for others that were ſtreighter, coarſer, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper-garment to hide their tears; they faſted till ſun-ſet, and then contented themſelves with the plaineſt diet; they kept a profound ſilence, which they never broke, but to utter ſome groans or complaints, or at moſt ſome doleful lamentation [t]. Some did even chuſe to lie in the aſhes, or on a dunghil, and to avoid the ſight of any light. This mourning laſted longer or ſhorter, according to the occaſion; and when it happened for the death of a conſiderable perſon, even a whole month, as was done for *Moſes* and *Aaron* [u]; but when it was for an ordinary perſon, or near relation, it laſted but about a week (R). In publick mournings, the people were wont to get up to the top of their houſes, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at leaſt it ſeems probable, that there was ſome ſuch cuſtom by what the prophet ſays, ſpeaking to *Jeruſalem*, *what aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the houſe-tops*, and ſo on [w]: and ſpeaking elſewhere of the *Moabites*, he ſays [x], *on the tops of their houſes, and in their ſtreets, every one ſhall howl and weep abundantly*.

Funerals. THEIR funeral ceremonies were no leſs mournful. As ſoon as a perſon was dead, all the near relations came to the houſe in their mourning habit, and ſat down upon the ground, with a mournful ſilence, whilſt another part of the houſe echoed with the voices of mourners, and the ſounds of inſtruments ſuitable to the occaſion, and hired for the purpoſe [y] (S) Theſe laſted till the funeral was over, when the neareſt relations reſumed their melancholy poſture, and continued in it all the time

[r] 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & ſeq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17. [s] Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. Vide FAG. in loc. [t] 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeq. [u] Num. xx. ult. Deut. xxxiv. 8. [w] Iſai. xxii. 1. [x] Ibid. xv. 3. [y] Jerem. ix. 17.

(R) The *Talmudiſts*, however, have abated much of theſe ſeverities, as being too often attended with great inconveniences (74); for which reaſon they allow the mourners their full ſwing of crying and all other expreſſions of the deepeſt ſorrow; but expect, that it ſhould abate every day after, eſpecially if it is to laſt a whole month, which, *Joſephus* thinks, is as long as a wiſe man would deſire to mourn for the loſs of the neareſt relation, or of the deareſt friend (75).

And here we cannot but take notice of an obſervation of a celebrated author, that the *Iſraelites*, and other ancient nations, were more plain and undiſguiſed than we. Their joy, ſays he, was accompained with ſongs and dances, and their grief with loud complaints: their fear expreſſed itſelf with cries, and their anger with ill language (76). The remark in fact is certainly juſt, and, with reſpect to the *Iſraelites*, very charitable; and an excellent pattern for thoſe of his church to copy after.

(S) As to the muſical inſtruments, we have no inſtance of their being uſed upon theſe occaſions in the old teſtament; only we find it practiſed in our Saviour's

(74) *Tract.* בבא בתרה, MAIM. *Tract.* אבל, *des Iſraelit. c.* 18. *c.* 1. (75) *Ant. lib.* iv. *c.* 8. (76) *Fleury Mœurs*

time of the mourning, eating, ſitting, and lying upon the ground, and never ſpeaking to any, unleſs ſpoken to. Their very food was unclean and defiled by thoſe that eat of it [z]. They neither made their beds, waſhed themſelves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abſtained from every thing that could yield them any delight. They made indeed a kind of banquet for the reſt of the mourners, called by the prophets, *the bread of men*, and *wine*, or *cup of conſolation* [a]; but even then their tables were only covered with wooden, or common earthen platters and trenchers; and for the ſame reaſon they were not allowed to drink above ten glaſſes of wine at it, namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, leſt any ſhould get drunk, and betray any token of mirth [b].

IN the mean time, there were proper perſons appointed to make ready the corps for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the neareſt relation preſent to cloſe the eyes of the deceaſed. This cuſtom is taken from God's promiſe to *Jacob*, that his ſon *Joſeph* ſhould perform that office to him [c]. If the perſon was of a conſiderable rank, they embalmed him, if otherwiſe, they contented themſelves with waſhing him (T). Sometimes they added a mixture of ſweet drugs and ſpices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This laſt is what we find was done at the funeral of *Aſa*, king of *Judah*, whoſe corpſe the text ſays, was laid upon a ſtately bed, which he had cauſed to be filled with coſtly perfumes made with great art, and with which they made a very great burning for him [d] (V). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince, but common to the kings of *Judah*, and as ſuch promiſed by the prophet to *Zedekiah* [e], and refuſed unto *Jehoram* [f]. How they dreſſed the corps, or how they conveyed him to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning theſe, or any other circumſtances relating to funerals; it is probable that cuſtom and the circumſtances of perſons made them more or leſs ſumptuous (W). The accompanying of the corps to the burying place was rather an office of civility than obligation

[z] Vide Hoſea ix. 4. [a] Ezek. xxxiv. 17. Jerem. xvi. 7. [b] In Tract. Abel. c. 4. [c] Gen. xlvi. 4. [d] 2 Chron. xvi. ult. [e] Jerem. xxxiv. 5. [f] 2 Chron. xxi. 19.

Saviour's time (77); and the *Talmudiſts* aſſure us, that it was not only an antient cuſtom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the pooreſt huſband could have no leſs than two of them for his wife (78). Theſe inſtruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, *flutes ſerve either for a bride or for the dead* (79). As for the hired ſingers, their office was to ſing ſome mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepeſt ſorrow. One of them is elegantly compriſed in few words by one of their rabbies, *Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead, for he is at reſt, and we in tears* (80).

(T) This ceremony of waſhing, was at leaſt practiſed in our Saviour's time (81), but how long before, is not eaſy to gueſs. The *Jews* indeed think it both antient and neceſſary; and add, that it was no ſooner performed, but they immediately ſtopped the main emunctories of the body, that no defilement might iſſue forth (82). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in ſpices, it is inferred from what is ſaid of *Jacob*, that—וַיְחַנְטוּהוּ, *Vajicanthubu* (83), the verb חנט, ſignifying, according to the *Talmudiſts*, *to anoint with a mixture made up of ſpices and other ſweet drugs*. This we find was done to our Saviour (74), and *Maimon* mentions it as a conſtant practice uſed among the *Jews* (85).

(V) From theſe places, and another ſtill more obſcure in *Amos*, ſome have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead had been adopted by the *Jews* (86). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any inſtance we can meet with in their hiſtory, doth countenance ſuch an opinion, which all the *Jewiſh* doctors do diſown; affirming, that nothing was burned at thoſe funeral obſequies, but thoſe ſweet perfumes above-mentioned. We may add, that *Joſiah*'s burning the bones of the prieſts of *Baalim* upon their idolatrous altars (87) implies, at leaſt, a kind of abhorrence againſt ſuch a practice, unleſs when it was done by way of puniſhment. Only *R. Solomon* adds, that they burned over thoſe royal bodies טחן וכלי תשמישן, their beds, and other *ſupellectilia veneris, ſive quicquid veneri inſerviebat* (88).

(W) The goſpel doth indeed give us ſome account of the manner of burying at that time, both by what we read concerning that of *Lazarus*, of the widow's ſon at *Naim*, and alſo by the ceremonies which were performed at that of our Saviour; but we cannot thence infer, that they are the ſame that were uſed before the captivity. *Maimon* tells us, that the richeſt perſons, even princes, were allowed but one *Zuz*, or *winding ſheet*, leſt it ſhould caſt a ſhame on the poorer ſort, who could afford no more. Neither was it allowed to be made of rich, or embroidered ſtuffs, becauſe ſuch pride did more become infidels, than the people of God. He adds, that they alſo covered the face of the dead, that it might not be diſcovered, when any died through poverty and want (89.)

(77) Matt. ix. 23. (78) *Miſhn. Tr.* כתובות, *c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. in eund. tract.* (79) *Tract.* בבא מציעא, *c.* 6. (80) *Bar. Abbin. ap.* Buxt. *in* Goodw. *lib. vi. c.* 5. *note* 12. (81) Act. ix. 37. (82) Maim. *in Trad.* אבל, *c.* 4. (83) Gen. *l. ver. ult.* (84) John xix. 40. (85) *Ubi ſup.* (86) Ch. vi. 10. (87) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 5. (88) *Vide* Munst. *in* Jerem. xxxiv. *ſub note* a. (89) *Ubi ſup.*

ligation, and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance assisted at it, a but even those who met the procession thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the priests were not to be present at it, unless it were a very near relation, as we have seen elsewhere. The funeral of *Abner*, one of *David*'s generals [g], doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's servants, with *Joab* at their head, were commanded to march before the corps in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with sackcloth, whilst himself followed the bier to *Heshbon Abner*'s burying-place. As soon as they were come to it, the king himself made a funeral oration in his praise, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilst they were depositing the body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far spent when they buried b that great general, because, when, upon their return home, *David* was entreated by his servants to take some refreshment, he answered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the sun was down [h] (X).

Sepulchres. They had such an extream abhorrence against having their own, or their friends bodies exposed after death, that they denied sepulture to none, but such as were guilty of self-murder, and not even to these, but till after sun-set. They had burying places for strangers, and for such who were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make sure of a sepulchre for their posterity, and several express threatnings in the sacred writings, made them esteem it as a severe curse from God, to be deprived of burial [i], and a blessing to be interred a- c mong their ancestors. For this reason, those who had inherited a burying-place were extreamly careful of preserving it to their posterity; and those who had not were no less sollicitous to provide one for themselves and their families: and as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, so they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, so they could but secure the possession of it. We do not read indeed of any epitaphs or monumental inscriptions being used among them, yet we may reasonably suppose, that every family at least set some particular mark upon their burying-place: they were even under an obligation to distinguish them from other places, by some peculiar mark, that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was d something still more particular to distinguish the graves of eminent persons, as we may infer from the instance of the man of God, who had foretold the destruction of the altar of *Bethel*, and whose grave was known by some inscription or mark above 300 years after, when *Josiah* was fulfilling his prediction [k]. The sepulchres of the kings of *Judah* were in that part of *Jerusalem* where the temple stood [l]. *Ezekiel* seems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he says, that the Lord's holy hill should be no more defiled by the carcasses of their kings [m]. All his descendants are said to have been buried in the same place, except *Manasseh*, who was buried in the garden of *Uzzah*, adjoining to his own house [n]. Whether the sepulchre of *David* was built, or only begun by him, and finished by *Solomon*, or e any of his successors, is not certain, but it is still to be seen at this day, without the walls of the present *Jerusalem*, though some think it more likely, that it stood at first within the walls of the old. It is a most stately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that antient city. We have given a description of that surprising fabric in another section †, to which we have nothing to add on that head.

A late modern *Jewish* traveller [o] has added several other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not insert, nor give credit to. However, it was in this place, that *Josephus* tells us [p], *Solomon* did lay up an immense treasure, which was

[g] 2 Sam. iii. 31, & seq. [h] Ibid. ver. 35. [i] Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19. Eccles. vi. 3, & alib. [k] Comp. 1 King. xiii. 1. & seq. & 2 King. xxiii. 17. [l] 1 King. ii. 10. xi. 43, & alib. pass. [m] Ch. xliii. 7, 9. [n] 2 King. xxi. 18, 26. † See before, p. 589. b. [o] Benj. Tudel, & al. [p] Ant. lib. vii. c. 12.

(X) It appears from the examples of *Tobit* and of the *Maccabees*, that they used moreover to lay some kind of victuals over the sepulchres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the soul of the deceased, for whom they used also to offer sacrifices, that they might be absolved from their sins, and be at peace (90). But these, especially the last, seem rather to have been works of supererogation, being no where commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books, and, in all likelihood, never practised till after the captivity.

(90) *Vide* Tobit. iv. 17. *vide &* Eccles. xxx. 18. 2 Maccab. xii. 42, *& seq.*

a was not diſcovered, or at leaſt broke in upon, till thirteen hundred years after, when, the city being ſtreightly beſieged by *Antiochus*, *Hircan* the high-prieſt had recourſe to the tomb, and drew three thouſand talents out, and bought off his enemy with a good part of it. He adds, that *Herod* did likewiſe find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treaſure, but that neither he nor any ore elſe could ever diſcover the bones of *David*, his tomb being ſo artfully contrived, and ſo deep in the ground, as to elude the moſt curious ſearch. Something like this Mr. *Jay* has given us in his polyglot, out of an antient *Arabic* manuſcript, but whether either of theſe had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition they do not tell us. The burying places of the kings of *Iſrael*, after *Je-*
b *roboam*'s revolt, were in *Samaria*; but we cannot ſuppoſe them to have equalled thoſe of *Judah*, both becauſe they were inferior to them in riches, and becauſe the crown never ſtayed in one family above three or four generations. Thoſe of private families were in all likelihood more or leſs ſumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were however curious to have them, if poſſible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in ſuch a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud* [q], which probably took them from the form of the antient ſepulchres that were built before the captivity, ſix cubits long, four in breadth, and ſeven in height. Round theſe there were like-
c wiſe to be little nitches or cells for the repoſiting of the dead bodies, to the number of eight according to ſome, or thirteen according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large ſtone, which they called *Gallal*, from rolling it upon the cave. This ſtone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that paſſengers might ſee it at a diſtance, and the ſame was done at leaſt to thoſe monuments which were erected for conſiderable perſons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing, the hypocritical *Phariſees* to them [r] ſufficiently ſhows; and if thoſe that are ſtill extant under the names of the tombs of *Abraham*, *Rachel*, *Abſalom*, *Eliſha*, and others, be really theirs, which is much to be queſtioned, it muſt have required no ſmall pains and coſt to keep them ſo long in repair (Y).

FROM theſe houſes of the dead, we gladly paſs to thoſe of the living; and here we obſerve in the firſt place, that they were plain, low, and flat, ſuitable
d to the climate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the ſame ſtile, chimnies, ſaſhes, and caſements were needleſs, where they were forced to ſtudy coolneſs and freſhneſs; for the ſame reaſon tapeſtry was of no uſe but upon the floor, to ſit, eat, or ſleep upon; and if they uſed any bed-curtains, they were made of ſome fine gauſe, to keep off knats and other inſects, whence comes the name of *canopy*. Their beds ſeem to have been at ſome conſiderable height from the ground, from their common phraſe of climbing up to them ††† The prophet *Amos*, c. vi. 4. doth upbraid the effeminate with lying upon

[q] Tract. Bava. Batra, c. vi. 2. Vide Gloſſ. BARTEN. ad Tract. Mohed. Katon. c. i. [r] Matt. xxiii. 27. ††† Pſ. cxxxii. 3. 2 King. i. 16.

(Y) The *Jews* called theſe burying-places *the houſes of the living*. The *Talmudiſts* pretend, that *Jeruſalem* had this peculiar privilege above other cities, that it had but two tombs, namely, that of *David*, and that of the propheteſs *Huldah*, which they pretend had been built by the old prophets; and that when a corps was to be tranſported from one place to another, it was not lawful to go through the city, tho' it was in their way, leſt it ſhould be defiled by it (91). We find a ſtrange opinion among the *Jews*, how old it is we cannot affirm, that thoſe who die out of the land of *Canaan* ſhall be excluded the reſurrection, unleſs God be pleaſed to afford them a ſubterranean way, by which their ſouls, after a long tumbling, or volving about, may at length happily reach it. This notion is partly owing to that extreme ſollicitude, which the old patriarchs, eſpecially *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, ſhewed, to have their bodies buried there, and partly to an exceſſive fondneſs themſelves have for the land, not only upon account of its fancied holineſs and excellence above all others, but more particularly, becauſe they think, that it will prove the ſcene of the reſurrection. This laſt they infer from a miſtaken place in *Ezekiel* (92), which, if rightly underſtood, rather implies, that God would riſe his people out of their graves, and bring them from the lands in which they died, into their own land, (that of *Canaan*); as one of their own rabbies has plainly ſhewn againſt them (93). However, this is one of the three reaſons which the others give for *Joſeph*'s exacting an oath of his brethren to carry his body into *Canaan*. The ſecond is, that he foreſaw that the duſt of *Egypt* would be turned into lice, which would have been a diſcredit to his aſhes; and the third, leſt the too great veneration of the *Egyptians* for his memory, ſhould, inſenſibly, have drawn them into the worſhip of his relicks (94)

(91) *Vide* BASNAG. *H. Jud. lib. i. c. 7.* (92) *Ezek.* xxxvii. 11, 12. (93) *Vide* KIMCHI *in loc.*

(94) *Vide R.* SAL. JARC. in Gen. xlvii. 20.

on beds of *Ivory*, and upon their ſoft couches; and the harlot in the *Proverbs*, vii. 16. ſpeaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which ſhe has decked her own; and no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by *Solomon*'s wives, and was imitated by the ſofter; but it is plain, that lying hard muſt have been more ſuitable to the heat of the country, as well as the ſimplicity of their forefathers, and upon both accounts preferred by the wiſer ſort. If we might gueſs of the reſt of their furniture by that which the *Shunamite* put into the prophet's chamber, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they did not value themſelves upon the richneſs or ſuperfluity of it. And we may here obſerve in general, that there is more frequent mention made in the ſacred books of veſſels of wood and earth, than of thoſe of more coſtly ſtuff.

FROM this prophet's chamber and furniture, we beg leave to make two remarks; the firſt is, that bed-chambers were raiſed at ſome diſtance from the ground, becauſe they are called by a name that implies *an aſcent*, and might be as properly rendered *an upper room*. Perhaps the reaſon of their being thus raiſed was, to avoid the dampneſs of the earth, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed greater and more dangerous, eſpecially to thoſe who did lie upon the ground, within than without doors. The other is, that tho' they did not turn ſo much of the night into day as we do, yet they made uſe of artificial light, which was that of on oil-lamp, and this had more or fewer branchers, according to the work that was done by it. Thus *Solomon*'s houſe-wife is repreſented in the *Proverbs*, riſing whilſt it is yet dark, and diſtributing her work among her ſervants; where there is alſo a beautiful deſcription of a well-regulated family. As to the largeneſs of their houſes, and number of their apartments, we may ſuppoſe them to be anſwerable to the richneſs and numerouſneſs of the family. The women had their ſeparate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eaſtern nations, and for legal infirmities, which ſecluded them from the reſt of the family for a time; during which none muſt make uſe of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utenſils. All the females of a houſe were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the pooreſt ſort were not exempted, tho' it could not fail of putting ſuch to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as ſome others, they were likewiſe forced to have places for bathing in every houſe. Their laborious life, the heat, and drineſs of the country made waſhing likewiſe neceſſary, and as it is apt to dry the skin too much, they uſed to anoint themſelves, either with oil, or with ſome other ointments, more or leſs coſtly according to their circumſtances, but generally perfumed.

Their arts and trades.

THE arts in which the *Iſraelites* did chiefly diſtinguiſh themſelves were thoſe of war, huſbandry, poetry, and muſic. The firſt of theſe was in a manner natural to them. We ſhall not venture to ſay how much they, eſpecially *Moſes* their leader, had learned of it in *Egypt*; but whoever obſerves the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and ſuch like, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in another place †, muſt allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in it as any of their neighbours.

War.

We need not to remind our reader here, in how ſhort a time, not above ſix years, they conquered the greateſt part of *Canaan*, in ſpight of all the natural and artificial ſtrength of that country, and the united oppoſition of its warlike inhabitants. Nor was it poſſible for them to forget it at any time afterwards, becauſe they were continually engaged in ſome war or other with their neighbours, from the days of *Joſhua* to the reign of *Solomon*; inſomuch, that it is recorded in one place as a kind of wonder, that the land had reſt forty years [s]. A late author [t] has moreover been at the pains to prove the antient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many inſtances of their proweſs mentioned in holy writ, but likewiſe from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of thoſe books, which manifeſtly ſhow them to have been very well verſed in the military art. We ſhall refer our readers to the author himſelf for thoſe curious remarks, and only obſerve here, that the writers from whom he took them were neither given to flattery, or partial fondneſs for their own nation, but related theſe facts with the candour and ſimplicity which became inſpired penmen. As to their generals, whether judges or princes, or officers who acted under them, their warlike deeds will

† Vide ſup. p. 541, & ſeq. [s] Judg. v. ult. [t] FOLARD, Differt. ſur la Tactique des Hebreux.

a be mentioned in their proper place, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and as to the people, tho' their courage was not always proof, but wanted often to be ſupported by art, yet we may ſay, that their men were all trained up to war, at leaſt till *David's* reign, for we do not read of any regular troops till that time. Till then, as ſoon as their rulers had reſolved upon a war, whether offenſive or defenſive, the ſummons were ſent to every tribe, upon which, all that were fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms and proviſion for a month; and there a certain number was drawn out according to the preſent exigence, and the reſt ſent back to their own home, and as ſoon as they had atchieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home [u]. This did happen very b often on the very day on which they ſet out; the country being ſmall, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to ſally out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the ſame, or at moſt on the next, night. It was eaſy for their army to be ſubſiſted, when their greateſt marches did not exceed two or three days journey: the whole people of *Iſrael* may therefore be looked upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, were either appointed over them by God, as *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Sampſon* [w] and others, or choſen by the people, as *Jephtha* [x], or by treachery and cruelty, as *Abimelech* [y]. Theſe however, eſpecially the two laſt, were not univerſally obeyed, but by thoſe only who c had choſen them, which occaſioned ſuch commotions amongſt them, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of having a king to prevent all further diſputes, and to be ready upon all occaſions againſt their enemies,

Arms. THEIR arms were, like thoſe of other antient nations, either offenſive or defenſive; the former were ſwords, ſpears, javelins, bows and arrows, and ſlings. Their ſwords were ſhort, crooked, broad, and ſharp, which they girded upon their thigh [z]; we read alſo of two edged ſwords [a]; as for their javelins, they ſeem rather to have been a kind of ſhort pikes, ſuch as that which *Saul* drew at *David* [b]. They were likewiſe very expert at ſlinging of ſtones, witneſs *Daivd*'s killing of *Goliah*, and the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, who are recorded to have hit within a d hair's breadth [c]. The expreſſion often uſed, *gird every man his ſword*, and even by *David* in his fugitive ſtate [d], when he was expoſed to continual dangers, ſhows the cuſtom of wearing of ſwords, at any time but that of action, not to have been known, even to the *Jewiſh* warriors. *Saul* is the only perſon who is obſerved to have had his javelin or ſpear always about him [e], and this perhaps not till his ſuſpicion and rage againſt *David* made him think himſelf unſafe without it. Their defenſive arms were, the helmet, ſhield, breaſt-plate, coat of mail, and target: ſome wore even greeves, to ſave their legs. We find a deſcription of a compleat armour in that of *Goliah* [f]; but it is probable, that all theſe were more common among their neighbours than among the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt before *David*'s reign; e for we find, that in *Deborah*'s time there were found neither ſhield nor ſpear among the forty thouſand that fought againſt *Siſera* [g]; and that when *David* came to be dreſſed *cap-a-pie* in *Saul*'s armour, he was ſo little uſed to that kind of incumbrance, that he could not ſtir in it, and was forced to pull it off [h]. This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only ſtripped of all their old weapons, but likewiſe hindred from making new ones; inſomuch, that the text tells us, that on the day of battle there was neither ſword nor ſpear found among *Saul*'s army, except thoſe which himſelf and his ſon *Jonathan* had [i]. This indeed is very ſurpriſing, conſidering that the preceding chapter mentions one ſignal victory, which that new monarch had got f over the *Ammonites*, in which they might have furniſhed themſelves with the arms of the ſlain, and of thoſe that run away; to ſay nothing of the impoſſibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unleſs they had had a conſiderable quantity of their own: ſo that unleſs we ſuppoſe, that there is an accidental tranſpoſition of the chapters and facts, or that the words muſt not be underſtood to mean more, than that there was a greater ſcarcity of them than the army would

[u] 1 Sam. xi. paſſ. xiii. 2, & alib. [w] Judg. iii, iv, & vi, paſſ. [x] Ibid. xi. 6, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. ix, paſſ. [z] Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Pſ. xlv. 3. lv. 4. [a] Pſ. cxlix. 6. [b] 1 Sam. xviii. 11. [c] Judg. xx. 16. [d] 1 Sam. xxv. 13. [e] Ibid. xviii. 11. xxvi. 7. [f] 1 Sam. xvii. 5, & ſeq. [g] Judg. v. 8. [h] 1 Sam. xvii. 38, & ſeq. [i] Vide ibid. xiii. 19, & ſeq.

would require, we ſhall be at a loſs to gueſs, how the *Philiſtines* could, in ſo ſhort a time, ſtrip them of all their arms. But however that be, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had recovered their liberty under *David* and *Solomon*; and in proceſs of time, *Uzziah* is ſaid to have provided a ſufficient quantity of all theſe kinds, to furniſh his army with, tho' it conſiſted of upwards of three hundred thouſand men [k]. Theſe arms were commonly made of braſs, ſometimes alſo of iron, ſteel, and other materials [l] (Z). *Job* ſpeaks of weapons of iron and bows of braſs [m], and this laſt is likewiſe mentioned by the pſalmiſt [n], though our verſion tranſlates it bows of ſteel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewiſe of ſhields of gold and of braſs, but theſe can only be ſuppoſed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of ſome light ſort of wood, elſe they muſt have been rather a burden than a help to thoſe that wore them. From the prophet's expreſſion of anointing the ſhield [o], ſome authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather or raw hides [p], but thoſe that were covered with braſs might want oiling, as much to keep them bright, as thoſe of leather, if any ſuch there were, to preſerve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of ſkirmiſhing, than cloſe and regular engagements, we find, that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the uſe of thoſe weapons which hurt at a diſtance, ſuch as were the bow, the ſling, and the javelin.

THE heat, narrowneſs, and mountainouſneſs of their country rendered cavalry altogether needleſs and uſeleſs, for which reaſon they never incumbered themſelves with any, that being only neceſſary in cold and ſpacious countries, where marches are long, and the ways leſs difficult. *Abſalom* was the firſt we read of, that made uſe of them in his revolt againſt *David* [q], but his ill ſucceſs and loſs of the battle ſhew, that they were of no other ſervice to him, than to facilitate his flight [r]. *Solomon* did indeed ſend for a conſiderable number of horſes from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots [s]; but ſome think, that he did it rather for grandeur than uſe: and indeed the expence did ſo far outweigh their ſervice, that his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence; inſomuch, that *Rabſhaketh* made their want of them a pretence for taunting king *Hezekiah*, that if he ſhould lend him two thouſand horſes, none of his ſubjects were capable of riding them [t]. From all which it appears, that the *Iſraelites* did not much regard either chariots or horſes. And yet, as to the former, it is certain, they had not only ſeen them in *Egypt*, where they were in great plenty; but that the *Canaanites*, againſt whom they were at continual wars, brought an almoſt incredible quantity of them to the field. *Siſera* we read had nine hundred of them in his army [u]; but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that thoſe which the *Philiſtines* made uſe of againſt *Saul* are ſaid to have amounted

[k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14. [l] Vide CALM. Diſſert. ſur la Milic. des Hebr. [m] Job xx. 24. [n] Pſ. xviii. 3. [o] Iſai. xxi. 5. [p] CALM. & FOLARD. ubi ſup. [q] 2 Sam. xv. 1. [r] Ibid. xviii. 5, & ſeq. [s] 1 King. x. 26, & ſeq. 2 Chron. i. 14. [t] 2 King. xviii. 23. [u] Judg. iv. 3, 13.

(Z) Some interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, think, that the coat of mail which *Saul* died in, was made of ſome kind of linen, ſo woven as to be impenetrable (95). They render the words, which the young *Amalekite* makes *Saul* to ſay, *I am intangled in this coat of linen* (96) inſtead of *anguiſh or terror is come upon me*, and ours, and other verſions have it. The truth is, the word שֶׁבֶץ, *Shebetz*, here in queſtion, doth properly ſignify *a ſling*, or *a kind of net work*, ſuch as was ſhewed the curtains of the court of the tabernacle to have been made of †, and the ſame word is uſed by the pſalmiſt, when he ſpeaks of the queen's veſture (97). Our verſion renders it barely, *of wrought gold*; but might be more properly rendered *veſte ocellata*, *a garment full of eylet-holes*: if there had therefore been any truth in what the *Amalekite* told *David*, the words אחוני שבץ, *Achazani ſhebetz*, would be more properly rendered, *I am entangled*, but it might be ſtill as well underſtood by his enemies, as by his armour. However, there appears nothing like ſuch an impenetrable coat, ſince, in fact, *Saul*, having in vain deſired his armour-bearer to run him through with his ſword, did put an end to his life, by falling upon his own (98).

We may obſerve here alſo, that the original has no leſs than four different names for what ours, and other verſions render a *ſhield*, namely, מגן, *Magen*, צנה, *Zinnah*, סוהרה, *Socherah*, and כדון, *Kidon*, but whether they all ſignified the ſame kind of defenſive weapon, and only diſtinguiſhed their various ſhapes and the materials they were made of, or otherwiſe, we dare not ſay.

(95) *Rabb.* LEVI, MUNST. *&c. in* 2 Sam. i. 9. CALM. *ſub voc. Arma*. BUXTORF, *ſub voc.* שבץ. (96) 2 Sam. *ibid.* † *Vide ſup.* p. 659. c. (97) Pſ. xlv. 13. (98) 1 Sam. xxxi. 4.

ed to about thirty thouſand [w]: a prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept ſome error into the text; and ſuch as one would ſcarce think their ſcanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed ſmall, being juſt fit to contain one or two men at moſt; ſome of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horſes [x]. The text calls them chariots of iron, becauſe their poles, wheels, and axles, *&c.* were armed with ſharp ſithes. We are told, that they hindered, at firſt, the tribe of *Judah* from conquering thoſe cities that were in the plains [y], becauſe they do moſt execution there. Beſides the terror they were apt to inject on the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and ſometimes of putting the adverſary to a total rout; ſo that there was no way of preventing it, but by either ſtopping their carreer, by killing the horſes before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a paſſage to them. It is likely, the *Iſraelites* were very well ſkilled in both, ſeeing they ſo often engaged them, and ſtill came off with victory, without oppoſing the ſame kind of deſtructive engines.

Standing army.

We hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before *Saul*'s time; and he is mentioned to have had but few ſtanding troops, ſcarce a handful, in compariſon to that prodigious number which *David* did raiſe them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thouſand (A), beſides the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, which were ſtrangers, and kept alſo in pay by him [z]. All theſe were not only continued on foot by his ſon *Solomon*, but an addition was made to thoſe forces, of a prodigious number of horſes and chariots; inſomuch that he is recorded to have had forty thouſand ſtalls for his chariot horſes, beſides twelve thouſand horſes for his cavalry, or life-guard [a], and fourteen hundred chariots of war [b]: It is certain alſo, that the hiſtory of his ſucceſſors doth frequently mention ſuch numerous armies as would ſcarce be credited in a prophane author. Such were thoſe of *Abijah*, king of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam*, the new king of *Iſrael*; the former of which conſiſted of four hundred thouſand men, and the latter of double that number, and of which five hundred thouſand were killed on the ſpot, by the army of *Judah* [d]. Such was alſo that of his ſon *Aſa*, which conſiſted of almoſt ſix hundred thouſand, with which he diſcomfited that of *Zerah*, king of *Ethiopia*, which conſiſted of a million of men [e]. But the greateſt ſtanding army of any of the *Jewiſh* kings, that we read of, was that of *Jehoſhaphat*, which is ſaid to have amounted to eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, beſides thoſe which he kept in his garriſons throughout the kingdom [f]. To theſe we may add, that *Uzziah* introduced in *Jeruſalem* a new invention of engines, which being ſet upon the walls and towers of it, did caſt arrows, and other offenſive weapons, and great ſtones at a conſiderable diſtance [g].

Art of war.

We find nothing in the ſacred books that can give us an idea of their forming ſuch numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment from ſome ſcripture phraſes, ſuch as *joining in battle*, *ſetting the battle in array*, *engaging army againſt army*, and the like; or from their exact and regular diviſion; 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of theſe into thouſands, or regiments; 3. Into hundreds, or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into threes, every one having a proper officer ſet over them; but above all, from their admirable method of marching and incamping, mentioned elſewhere †, we may venture to affirm, that they obſerved no leſs regularity in their diſpoſition of the order of battle, in their onſets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military motions. If we may believe the *Jewiſh* authors, they ranged their army into one ſingle line of a conſiderable depth, ſometimes between twenty and thirty deep. On the front of theſe, they placed their light armed men, that is, their moſt expert archers, ſpearmen, and ſlingers, who began the onſet with a warlike ſhout, and

[w] 1 Sam. xiii. 5. [x] Vide Strewch. in Veget. de Re Militar. [y] Judg. i. 19. [z] 1 Chron xvii. ult. xxvii. 1, & ſeq. [a] 1 King. iv. 26. x. 26. [b] Ibid. x. 26. [c] 2 Chron. xiii. 3. [d] Ibid. ver. 17. [e] Ibid. xiv. 8, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. xxvi. 15. † See before, p. 541, & ſeq.

(A) The book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that he had 24,000, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their reſpective officers (99), which being therefore multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

(99) 1 Chron. xxvii. 1, & ſeq.

and with ſending thick ſhowers of arrows and ſtones upon their enemies front, in order to inject terror and confuſion, and to ſtop the ruſhing in of their chariots upon them, by wounding both the horſe and the driver. This is indeed probable enough, ſeeing that method was common to all the *Aſiatic* nations. We read, that *David* entertained a conſiderable number of theſe troops, who are ſaid to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aſpect, and ſwift of foot [h]. But what they add ſeems more peculiar to their nation, namely, that they placed behind the ranks, ſome of the ſtouteſt ſubalterns, armed with ſithes and axes, to cut in pieces thoſe that offered to give ground. We are ſtill to ſeek how they diſpoſed of their cavalry, after it became in uſe among them: probably after the manner of the *Egyptians*, from whom they had it; that is in large ſquadrons of ſix or eight hundred horſe, placed on the two wings [i]. One thing is certain, that, whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy, but endeavoured at once to open themſelves a ſwift paſſage through it, as the ſureſt way to gain the victory: and this is the reaſon why we find them ſo ſeldom diſcomfited, and ſo often victorious over their enemies, tho' ſuperior to them in this and many other reſpects.

THE method of attacking the enemy in ſeparate bodies was as antient, we find, as *Abraham*, who divided his little army of 318 domeſtics, and diſcomfited that of the four confederate kings [k]. It was afterwards followed by *Abimelech* againſt the *Shechemites* [l], and by *Saul* againſt the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead* [m], with good ſucceſs. We ſhall paſs by ſome other warlike cuſtoms which they had in common with other nations, ſuch as the uſe of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their uſual harangues before they entered into action, and ſome others, which have been hinted at already under ſome former heads.

Wars. THEIR wars were of two kinds, either ſuch as GOD had obliged them to, as thoſe againſt the *Amalekites*, and the ſeven nations of *Canaan*, or ſuch as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occaſion, whether offenſive or defenſive. The *Moſaic* law had left theſe to their diſcretion; ſo that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any juſt grounds. we have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offenſive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refuſal of which was interpreted as a declaration of war [n]. When it was reſolved upon for the recovery of any loſt territories, they generally made a demand of them, and when they were attacked by enemies, they likewiſe ſent to expoſtulate with them *. However, this was not always the caſe, and a war was ſometimes reſolved upon, without any viſible ground, and the chartel ſent in theſe few words, *Let us look one another in the face*, and returned in terms equivalent [o]. The challenge of the king of *Aſſyria* to that of *Judah* was ſtill more haughty; *Thy ſilver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou haſt are mine* [p]. The text obſerves in both caſes, that theſe proud meſſages proved fatal to the ſenders. It was the conſtant cuſtom of the *Hebrew* kings to command their armies in perſon, if they were able; and the people were ſo uſed to it, that when *Ahab* was mortally wounded by the *Syrians*, ſome of his ſervants were forced to ſtay him up in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and as ſoon as it was diſcovered by the bloodineſs of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his hoſt, to diſmiſs every man to his city and country; tho' *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his confederate in that war, did likewiſe command there in perſon [q]. In the beginning of the *Jewiſh* monarchy their kings uſed to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at leaſt we do not read of any horſes or chariots uſed by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their riſe from thoſe alliances which the kings both of *Iſrael* and *Judah* were often forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other nations, and which put them under a neceſſity of appearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur anſwerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head, or general of the army (B); 2. The princes, or generals of each

Alliances.

[h] 2 Chron. xii. 1, & ſeq. [i] Vide FOLARD. ubi ſup. [k] Gen. xiv. 13, & ſeq. [l] Judg. ix. 34. [m] 1 Sam. xi. 11. [n] Deut. xx. 10, & ſeq. Vide ſup. p. 531. note (P). * Judg. xi. 12. & ſeq. [o] 2 King. xiv. 8. [p] 1 King. xx. 2, & ſeq. [q] 1 King. xxii. 34, & ſeq.

(B) This officer was called שר צבא, *Sar tzaba*, *Saul* (100), *Joab* under *David* (1), and *Banajah* or *prince of the hoſt*, ſuch as *Abner* was under under *Solomon*.

(100) 2 Sam. ii. 8. (1) *Ibid.* xxiv. 2. (2) 1 King. ii. 35.

a each tribe. 3. The commanders of thouſands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. (C). 8. Their ſcribes, or muſter-maſters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms under their diſtricts. 9. Laſtly, Their *Soterim*, or inſpectors, or, as others think, a kind of provoſts or miniſters to inflict puniſhments on all delinquents. *Officers.*

THE *Moſaic* law was certainly the beſt calculated to make a people happy, by making every man live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and at once free from the danger of being totally ruined, and from the temptation of becoming exceſſively rich by thoſe two vices, or from too great deſire after change and novelty. Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard, and *Agriculture.*
b could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the ſword and bow, as occaſion required, but preferred ſtill a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is what their lawgiver inforced, not only by the example of the old partriarchs, but much more by the bleſſings which were promiſed to their obedience; theſe were to be neither gold, ſilver, nor precious ſtones, ſtately houſes, or ſumptuous furniture, but the former or later rain, regular ſeaſons, plenty of corn, wine, and oyl, increaſe of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their ſoil, proved ſuch powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is ſcarce
c any known people that gave itſelf more entirely and univerſally to it than the *Jews*. Accordingly, from the moſt opulent families of the tribe of *Judah*, to the moſt indulgent of that of *Benjamin*, from the oldeſt to the youngeſt, we find them either plowing, or ſowing, or reaping, at the threſhing floor, or feeding their numerous herds (D); at leaſt till *Solomon* introduced commerce and luxury, and with it a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations (E).

THUS then every one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had aſſigned to his anceſtors at its firſt diſtribution, and to maintain himſelf and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony, which he could not change for another, or alienate without injury to his children and diſgrace to himſelf.
d The judges and the very kings themſelves did both practiſe it themſelves, and encourage it in others; all the difference there was between them and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds. Thus *David*, tho' he heaped immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, yet in the liſt of his riches, mention is made of his arable and paſture grounds, of his ſtore-houſes for corn, wine, and oyl, of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, ſheep, and aſſes. [r] His ſon *Solomon* not only multiplied them in proportion to the great conſumption which the vaſt number of his wives, concubines, and ſervants required; but tells us likewiſe, what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegancy of them [s]; where it is
e to be obſerved, that his fine gardens and orchards were chiefly ſtored with ſuch fruit-trees, plants, and herbs as were more for uſe than ſhew. How he commends the diligence of the huſband-man, and expoſes the ſtupidity of the ſlothful, every

chapter

[r] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, & ſeq.

[s] Eccleſ. ii. 5, & ſeq.

(C) Theſe are called שלישים, *Shaliſhim*, and mentioned after the decurions, from which it is concluded, that they were inferior to them; but what their office was, is not eaſy to gueſs.

(D) Thus we find *Gideon* threſhing when he received his commiſſion, and *Boaz* at his harveſt when *Ruth* came thither to glean. *Saul* tho' anointed king, was at his plow when he received news of the diſtreſſed *Gileadites*, and *David* returned to feed his flocks after *Samuel* had anointed him king; and when he was come to the height of his grandeur, his ſons uſed to feaſt one another at their ſheep-ſhearing (3). We omit many more examples of the like nature, with which the ſacred hiſtory abounds.

(E) Whoever conſiders, how many curious manufactures were employed in the fabricature of the tabernacle and all its ſumptuous utenſils, and that thoſe arts were rather ſubſervient to luxury than to the neceſſities of life, ſuch as were the caſting of metals, engraving and cutting of precious ſtones, weaving of tapeſtry, embroidery, and many more, will be apt to conclude, that other more uſeful trades and manufactures were already in much greater perfection among the *Iſraelites*, and conſequently, that they could not chuſe but bring and cultivate them in the land of *Canaan*; but whether they, eſpecially their maſter-artificers, had learned all thoſe fine arts in *Egypt*, or were miraculouſly endowed with them, as the text doth rather intimate, yet it doth not appear, that any of them were afterwards uſed among them till *Solomon*'s time; and even he was forced to ſend for his artificers from abroad; probably, becauſe the *Philiſtines* in *Saul*'s time had deprived them of their workmen in iron (4), without which few trades could be carried on.

(3) 2 Sam. xiii. 23, *& ſeq.*

(4) 1 Sam. xiii. 19, *& ſeq.*

chapter almoſt of his proverbs is a witneſs; however he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were built upon the moſt ſolid reaſon and trueſt policy. a

FOR whoever conſiders the ſmall extent of *Canaan* and the numerouſneſs of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain ſuch incredible multitudes, tho' cultivated with all the care and induſtry they were capable of (F), eſpecially conſidering that it was to reſt every ſeventh year; and yet it is plain, that it had more than ſufficed them, ſeeing they exported great quantities of corn, oil, honey, and other proviſions to the city of *Tyre*, both for the ſervice of the king [t], and for the merchants who came thither for it from other parts [u]. Beſides theſe, they had great quantities of rye, barley, and other grains, variety of herbs and roots, and eſpecially of fruits fit for food; ſuch were their olives, dates, figs, pomegranates, and many more. Their very vines, which were very numerous, and of whoſe extraordinary fertility the ſpies brought ſuch a noble ſpecimen [w], did afford them food as well as drink. For, as wine was not drank in ſuch plenty, as it has been ſince, their dryed grapes were not only in great plenty, but were juſtly eſteemed an excellent food. To all theſe we may add the multitude of cattle, which they not only bred themſelves, but which they had from other neighbouring countries. For we have ſeen before, that *Meſha* king of *Moab* payed a tribute to *Ahab* king of *Iſrael* of a hundred thouſand lambs, and as many rams with their wool [x]. *Jehoſhaphat* drew likewiſe a conſtant ſupply of ſmall cattle from the *Arabians* [y]; from which we may conclude, that all thoſe nations, that were tributary to the *Jews*, paid their tribute in ſuch commodities as their country abounded moſt with, whether for food or raiment. It muſt be likewiſe remembred, that the country had no woods, parks, or any waſte grounds. The antient *Canaanites* were already too populous and ſtreighten'd to leave any part of the land uncultivated. Their houſes were not more ſpacious than their families required, and their gardens and orchards did equally afford them nouriſhment with their fields and vineyards; ſo that tho' the *Jews* had doubtleſs loſt, in a great meaſure, their ſkill in agriculture, as well in *Egypt*, where they were otherwiſe employed, and where the lands were manured in a manner peculiar to itſelf, as during their abode in the wilderneſs; yet coming into a country ſo well and ſo thoroughly cultivated, neceſſity alone would have obliged them to imitate the diligence and induſtry of its old inhabitants (G). b c d

AFTER

[t] 1 Kings v. 11. [u] Ezek. xxvii. 17. [w] Num. xiii. 13, & ſeq. [x] 2 Kings iii. 4. vid. ſup. p. 290. d. [y] 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(F) The reader may eaſily form a judgment of their numerouſneſs, by the computation we made of thoſe that came out of *Egypt*, whom we ſhew'd to have amounted to near three millions †; and by that which *David* cauſed to be made a little before his death, the ſum of which was thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men, which being above double the number of thoſe who came out of *Egypt*, we muſt conſequently allow, with the ſame proportion of young and old men, wives, ſervants, and ſlaves, to have been at leaſt ſix millions; a prodigious number ſeemingly to be all fed out of the product of ſo ſmall a country, tho' far enough from impoſſible, if we conſider it, not as it is now, laid waſte and depopulate by the *Turk*, but as it was at that time, fertile, populous, cultivated, and improved *.

(G) There will be nothing ſurpriſing in all this, if we remember what has been obſerved concerning the populouſneſs of *Egypt*, eſpecially the upper one called *Thebais*, and of its metropolis, which could ſend out 10000 men and 200 chariots out at each of its gates at one and the ſame time ‡; and of what *Tacitus* tells us of that province, that it furniſhed 700,000 fighting men (5), tho' the ſoldiery were here ſcarce a fourth part of its men, where there were ſo many trades and manufactures which excluded them by the laws from bearing arms, whereas, in *Judea*, the ſoldiery made near one half of its male inhabitants. *Livy* tells us, that *Rome*, 188 years after its foundation, had 800,000 citizens fit to bear arms (6); and yet, as a judicious author obſerves (7), they could only ſubſiſt from the territories that were about it, which are now altogether barren and uncultivated, and extended at moſt but about half a degree, or 30 miles. We may add, that when it was at the beſt, it was not half ſo fertile as *Paleſtine*, whoſe extent was five degrees, that is ten times as much every way, as is plain by the geography we have given of it; ſo that even allowing them to be both equally fertile, populous, and cultivated, the latter muſt produce 99 times as much proviſion as the former, and conſequently be able to maintain 99 times the number of people. Suppoſing then theſe *Roman* citizens to have made up one third part of the inhabitants, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, the whole will amount to 240,000, which being multiplied by 99, the ſum of thoſe of *Judea* will be 23,760,000 ſouls, which is above three times as many as we need ſuppoſe to have been in *Iſrael*, from the largeſt account that the holy writ gives us of them. However, leſt this ſhould not ſatisfy every reader, unleſs it can be proved that the land was capable of maintaining ſuch a number, the author above quoted has taken the

† *vid. ſup. p.* 473. a. b. & *p.* 506. *not. P.* * *ibid. p.* 581. ‡ *ſup. p.* 175. 200. f. *paſſ. & alib.* (5) *Annal. lib.* 2. (6) *lib. i. c.* 24. (7) FLEURY *Mœurs des Iſraelit. c.* 7.

Trades and Manufactures.

a AFTER what has been obſerved, here and in a former note, we muſt not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before *David* or *Solomon*'s time, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary; and even theſe were carried on in a different way from other great nations: they built their own houſes, their wives and ſervants ſpun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dreſſed their meat, and, in a word, ſupplied the buſineſs of cloth-workers, taylors, ſhoe-makers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainneſs of their food, their cloathing and houſhold furniture, ſome few utenſils excepted, rendered thoſe trades unneceſſary, till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them. We have already ſpoken of all the other particulars except their cloathing, and this was b plain and artleſs enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It muſt not, however, be expected here, that we ſhould give an exact deſcription of their dreſs, becauſe we have no paintings or ſtatues of them, as we have of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but from what we find in the ſacred books, it appears, that they had a long looſe tunick and drawers, made of linen, next to their body, and a looſe garment, ſomewhat like a cloak, of light woollen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (H). The beauty of them conſiſted either in the fineneſs of the cloth, or the richneſs of the dye, ſuch as purple, ſcarlet, *Dreſs.* blue, and yellow; but the plaineſt and the moſt commonly worn was the white, becauſe it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more eaſily waſhed; c upon which account it is much recommended by *Solomon* [z], it being highly neceſſary in hot countries to ſhift frequently. Accordingly we find it was uſual among them to make preſents of changes of raiment [a]; tho' probably ſome of them might be richer than others, both as to the ſtuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and theſe might be reſerved to be worn on their ſolemn feſtivals and other publick occaſions. As to the youth of both ſexes, it is probable, they did wear their ſtuffs ſtriped or flowered with various colours, ſuch as was that of *Joſeph*, ſuch as we find was alſo that of *Tamar*, and of all *David*'s other unmarried daughters [b]. We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dreſs, except

z Gen. xxxvii. 3. a Gen. xlv. 22. 2 Kings v. 5. 23. b 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

the pains to compute what portion of land will maintain one man, and from the extent of the whole country, to make an eſtimate of the number of people that might conveniently ſubſiſt in it. We ſhall follow our author, or the ſubject, no farther: every reader that underſtands figures, may eaſily convince himſelf, by comparing the number of acres, which a country five degrees ſquare may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to contain, with the largeſt number of its inhabitants, that we find upon record at any time.

(H) The ſcripture, at leaſt, mentions only theſe two, the one under the name of כתנת *Ketoneth*, or *coat*, and the other under that of מעיל, *Mebil*, or *upper garment*. The former, being next to the ſkin, is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of linen, as the propereſt wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and looſe, but when they went about any buſineſs, they tyed it about, whence that expreſſion of girding oneſelf is ſynonymous to getting oneſelf in readineſs. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without ſhaping or ſeam: as for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the prieſts, but are probably enough ſuppoſed to have been worn by the reſt for decency ſake; tho' if we were allowed to gueſs at the reaſon of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abſtracted from that given in the text, we ſhould be apt to think, that they were deſigned to keep the garment cloſe to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind or any violent motion throwing them up. As to the coat of many colours ſpoken of immediately after, we have followed our own and the generality of interpreters, tho' it is much diſputed whether the original word פסים, *Phaſſim*, doth really ſignify any ſuch thing. Some think it was a robe with a long train; but tho' that might have fitted young princeſſes, yet it is ſcarce credible, that *Jacob* would have ſent his ſon *Joſeph* on ſuch a journey with ſuch a cumberſome garb. Others think the word to ſignify a wide kind of ſleeve, narrow towards the ſhoulder, and widening towards the wriſt, ſuch as the *Arabians* uſed to wear. There is no being certain which of theſe three verſions is right, only ours is confirmed by the *Targums*, the ſeptuagint, and vulgate, which may eaſily outweigh all that is urged on the other ſide, were the ſubject of more moment than it is.

What we have advanced of the *Iſraelites* being able to ſupply their own wants without the help of artificers, during ſo many centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to thoſe, who are acquainted with *Homer*'s writings, and remember, that he makes *Eumeus* make his own ſhoes, and build himſelf ſtately cots for his numerous herds (8), and *Ulyſſes* to build his own fine houſe and ſhip, whilſt his wife's loom ſupplied the houſe with hangings and carpets, and the family with cloaths (9). So that the *Hebrews* were not the only people who affected this ſimple way of living, and thought it an inſtance of great wiſdom to be able to ſupply their own wants without the help of other hands. Neither need we go to *Plato*'s common-wealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, ſince there is ſcarce a polite nation in antiquity which did not live up to it as much as the *Jews*; witneſs the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, &c. witneſs alſo *Homer*, *Magon*, *Cato*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, and other authors, who have either writ upon, or in commendation of it.

(8) *Odyſſ. xiv. & xxiii.* (9) *Odyſſ. v.*

except that of the fringes, which were faſtened to a blue ribbon, and ſewed round the border of their garments; and even theſe were ordained only as a memorandum, that their happineſs depended upon their obedience [c]. Some covering they wore upon their head, but the faſhion is not to be gueſſed at; they wore likewiſe ſhoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of ſtockings, but how, and what they were made of, we are equally to ſeek; only their ſhoes, or rather ſandals, ſeem to have been a ſole, whether of wood, ſkin, or ſome other material, tyed to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the waſhing of the feet ſo frequent among them. All theſe might be eaſily made without artificers.

THE dreſs of the women, eſpecially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, becauſe they beſtowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was ſtill within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and ſilver, but a great deal of that finery was brought at firſt from *Egypt*, and more might be eaſily added unto it, as they enlarged their conqueſts, without entertaining any artiſts to ſupply them with it, becauſe their faſhions did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable, that they had ſome of theſe, as well as ſeveral other rich ſtuffs and linnen from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; eſpecially after *Solomon*'s time, when pride and luxury grew to ſuch a height, that *Iſaiah* ſpent almoſt a whole chapter in enumerating the coſtly ornaments with which that ſex uſed to deck itſelf in his time [d]; but concerning which it were impoſſible to frame any tolerable idea, becauſe the terms there uſed are unknown to us. One thing may be obſerved from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet, and that they wore ſome kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a muſical cadence to their ſteps. *Judith*'s ſandals are particularly taken notice of to have raviſhed *Holofernes* [e], and the richneſs and elegancy of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a compleat *Jeweſs*'s dreſs, were we ſure, that they had not by that time mixed ſome of the *Babyloniſh* faſhion with it. However, we have a more authentick deſcription of the female garb in the prophet *Ezekiel* [f], where the *Jewiſh* nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpleſs woman, whom God, out of pity, and huſband-like kindneſs, cloathed and girded with ſilk and fine linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, ſuch as that of *Judith*, and put a jewel upon her fore-head, a coſtly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wriſts, ear-rings in her ears, and ſandals upon her feet. To all theſe we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in ſcripture, and was very neceſſary in thoſe countries, both to preſerve the complexion and the character of women, it being eſteemed highly immodeſt for them to appear without it; but whether they were made of ſome ſuch tranſparent ſtuffs as our gauſes, ſo as that they might ſee their way through them, and at the ſame time give ſome glimpſe both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwiſe, we cannot determine.

IT doth not appear, however, that they fell into this exceſs of finery 'till about the latter end of *David*'s life; 'till then a wonderful œconomy ſeems to have reigned in every family, under the wives at home, and the huſbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs and ſurpriſing exploits, for which the ſcripture doth ſo highly extol them, eſpecially *David*'s worthies [g] and excellent troops [h]. But the immenſe treaſures which that monarch had heaped up, having inſpired him with a deſire of conſecrating ſome part of it to God, by building a ſumptuous temple to him, ſoon introduced a number of artificers (I), ſuch as carvers, maſons, carpenters, joiners, gold and ſilver-ſmiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and ſtone; and theſe brought on a number of others, without which they could not ſubſiſt. His ſon *Solomon* built himſelf ſome ſtately palaces, as well as the temple,

[c] Num. xv. 37. [d] Ch. iii. 16, & ſeq. [e] Judith xvi. 9. [f] Ch. xvi. 10, & ſeq. [g] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. ad fin. [h] ibid. xvii. 8, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

(I) It is ſaid in two places, that *Solomon* ſent to king *Hiram* for ſome of his beſt artiſts in metals, ſtone, and wood, becauſe he had none ſo skilful among his own ſubjects (10), and preſently after, that he raiſed a levy of thirty thouſand men out of all *Iſrael* to carry on the work (11); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that the former were only deſigned by that politic prince to inſtruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were neceſſary to execute his noble deſigns, as the most curious part was actually done upon the plain of *Jordan* (12).

(10) 2 Chron. ii. 3, *& ſeq.* 1 Kings v. 6 (11) *ibid. ver.* 13, *& ſeq.* (12) 2 Chron. iv. 17.

a temple; and this probably gave his ſubjects ſuch a reliſh of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied ſtill more. The diviſion of the two kingdoms increaſed the miſchief. *Jeruſalem* and many other places muſt be fortified; chariots, and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all ſorts became neceſſary, which required a ſuitable number of artificers; inſomuch, that we read in the *Chronicles* of a valley belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, called by the name of the valley of *Charaſhim*, or *artificers*, becauſe it was inhabited only by ſuch [i]. In a word, one may gueſs at the increaſe of them by the number which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away captive out of the bare city of *Jeruſalem* [k], tho' it is plain at the ſame time, that the *Jews* did never neglect the cultivation of their b lands for the ſake of theſe. On the contrary, it is only the product of this laſt, that is ſaid to have been exported [l], whereas that of their other manufactures ſeem to have been all conſumed within themſelves. *Solomon* himſelf, who opened ſo wide a door to commerce and luxury, was ſo far from thinking it beneath his care, that he not only cultivated it himſelf, as was hinted before, but did alſo earneſtly recommend it to his people, as the beſt means of growing rich, preſerving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; inſomuch that there is ſcarce a chapter of his proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of theſe advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his moſt favourite projects, ſubſervient to the promotion c of agriculture. But as thoſe did in a manner riſe and ſet with him, we ſhall ſuſpend all further account of them, till we come to ſpeak of his reign; the peaceſulneſs of which may alſo, in all probability, be the reaſon, why we read of ſo few *Jewiſh* worthies and brave generals in his days, in compariſon of thoſe, which his warlike father had during his whole life (K).

Poetry. Poetry is perhaps the only art in which the *Hebrews*, at leaſt ſince *Moſes*'s time, have excelled all other nations, we had almoſt ſaid, that have been even ſince. It has indeed this great advantage above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inſpired, ſeem to have conſecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted it to the ſervice of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their great d law-giver, but their monarchs, judges, prieſts, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by ſome excellent performance in this kind: witneſs the two inimitable ſongs of *Moſes* mentioned elſewhere, thoſe of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Pſalms*, the *Canticles*, the thankſgiving of *Hezechias*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Iſaiah*, and the *Lamentations*; not to mention ſome other prophets, who are likewiſe ſuppoſed, by the loftineſs of their ſtile, to have writ at leaſt part of their prophecies in verſe; concerning

[i] 1 Chron. iv. 14. [k] 2 King. xxiv. ib. [l] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

(K) The valiant men of *Judah* are moſt beautifully deſcribed in the 87th *Pſalm*, under the figure of *Sion*, which is commonly uſed to ſignify that tribe*; but it has happened in this, as in many other *Pſalms* and poetical pieces of the ſacred books, that not only the beauties and energy, but even the ſenſe, has been entirely loſt, and another ſubſtituted which ſcarce will bear that name. We ſhall therefore beg leave to ſubjoin a new and even more literal, or at leaſt idiomatical verſion of this *Pſalm*, that our readers may ſee a ſpecimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the verſions we have hitherto met with. The elegancy which they have overlooked here, is in the oppoſition between the pronoun זה *Zeh*, which is commonly uſed to expreſs an inconſiderable perſon; and the word איש *Iſh*, which ſignifies a conſiderable one, in oppoſition to אדם, which is uſed to expreſs thoſe of inferior rank; according to which the ſenſe will run thus:

She [*Zion*] or the tribe of *Judah* is founded upon the holy mountains.

The Lord has more love for her gates (or places of reſort) than for all the dwellings of *Jacob*.

Glorious things ſhall be ſpoken of thee, O city of God.

In mentioning, among my acquaintance, either *Rahab* (*Egypt*) or *Babylon*, or here *Philiſtia*, *Tyre*, and *Ethiopia*, (the phraſe is) *Zeh*, this inconſiderable perſon was born there, or it has given birth to ſuch a one.

But of *Sion* it is, or ſhall be ſaid, *Iſh ve iſh*, this or that great perſon owes his birth to it, ſeeing he, who is the moſt high, is to eſtabliſh her; and ſo on.

We ſhall not go about to juſtify this new verſion; thoſe who are maſters of the *Hebrew* will eaſily ſee that it is not only more natural and agreeable to the original, but alſo freer from theſe expletives which are forced in to make it ſpeak ſenſe; and criticiſms of this nature would be needleſs to thoſe who are unacquainted with it. This *Pſalm* we take to be parallel with the 48th, which abounds with ſublime expreſſions in praiſe of *Sion*, but ſuch as can hardly be reached by any tranſlation.

* *Vid. int. al.* Pſ. lxxviii. 68.

concerning which it is univerſally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more a
majeſtick or more ſurpriſingly ſublime; whether we conſider the variety of action, the greatneſs of the ſentiments, the richneſs of the figures, and imagery, or the ſtrength and beauty of the expreſſions. To all theſe we may add, that a ſtrain of the moſt ſeraphick piety, and of the moſt excellent morality, runs through the whole; which conveys into the reader's mind the moſt important truths, the nobleſt precepts and inſtructions, that can, poſſibly, frame and fit it for all ſtages and conditions of life; whilſt the expreſſions and figures, ſtrong and lofty as they be, are no leſs adapted to the reach and underſtanding of the young and illiterate, than they are to raiſe the deepeſt attention and admiration in thoſe who are b
the ableſt maſters of it (L). And yet it is certain, that, like all antient works of that kind, it frequently alludes to things, cuſtoms, and ſayings, to which we are utter ſtrangers at this diſtance of time, tho' they were then perfectly known; and that it abounds with words and idioms, whoſe true meaning we are left to gueſs at, for want of ſuch parallels as might determine it to us. From theſe, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may eaſily gueſs how ſhort all tranſlations muſt come of the beauty and energy of the original; ſo that we may be really ſaid to gueſs at it, as much from the thickneſs of the medium through which we behold it, as from the amazing luſtre, it is ſtill able to caſt through it. This is evident from the character which Mr. *Gildon*, after many others, has gi- c
ven of it: that *there is nothing ſo ſweet, ſo tender, and pathetick, and at the ſame time nothing ſo grand, ſo majeſtick, ſo terrible, and ſo harmonious, as the poetick part of the* Bible, *to which all the heathen verſe is low and flat.* We may add, that nothing can be juſter than this character, tho' both he, and the far greateſt part of thoſe who have ſo highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the verſions they had read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

But tho' there be nothing more univerſally agreed on, than the excellency of this antient *Hebrew* poetry, above all others, in all the above-mentioned reſpects, yet there is ſcarce a point more debated, or leſs poſſible to be determined, than the nature, meter, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very ſignal diſcoveries in this intricate province, but they have either d
had

(L) Such are theſe expreſſions of *Moſes*, *The heavens and the heaven of heavens are the Lord's thy God* (13). *I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as braſs. Ye ſhall be terrified at the ſound of a ſhaken leaf. You ſhall flee when none purſueth* (14). *One ſhall chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight*, &c. Such are likewiſe theſe of Iſaiah: *To whom will ye liken the Lord, who meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and the heavens with a ſpan; who weighs the mountains in the ballance? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of water that ſticks to the bucket, and as the ſmall duſt that remains in the ſcales.* (15). Or thoſe of the pſalmiſt: *The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped at the preſence of God. The mountains skipped like rams, and the vallies like young ſheep* (16). *Who ſtretcheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the ſtars, and calls them by their names* (17). *He bowed the heavens and came down; darkneſs was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubins* (18). *He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind* (19). We ſhall go no further with inſtances which are innumerable, but obſerve here, that ſome of them have ſuch a complicated beauty, that the beſt part of it may be eaſily loſt to any but an attentive reader, who is likewiſe a good judge of poetry. Of this kind is the laſt expreſſion we inſtanced in, of *walking upon the wings of the wind*; for as a modern author juſtly obſerves (20) wind is generally uſed to expreſs the velocity of any thing; and here the *wings of the wind* carry with them an idea of the utmoſt fierceneſs of that velocity; ſo that we cannot imagine the ſerene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the moſt unconceiveable ſwiftneſs, without being filled with the deepeſt wonder and abaſement. And yet this inimitable beauty has paſſed unobſerved by many, otherwiſe learned, tranſlators and commentators, who have choſen to render it, *who rideth upon the wings of the wind*; as if riding upon the wind, which is common to feathers, ſtraw, duſt, &c. conveyed a more natural or ſublimer idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.

This is one of the reaſons why the *Pſalms*, the book of *Job*, and ſome other poetick pieces of holy writ, loſe ſo much of their beauty and energy in all verſions (21). However, there is this difference between theſe two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal tranſlation; whereas thoſe of the former, which have followed the original cloſeſt, have ſucceeded beſt; ſuch are in particular the *Latin* ones of *Caſtalio*, *Buchanan*, and *Jenſon*. This laſt is indeed the moſt literal, and wonderfully diſplays the elegancy of the *Hebrew*. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in exameters and pentameters, which takes off a great deal of its majeſty; whereas had it been all in exameters, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one in all other reſpects extant, that we know of.

(13) Deut. x. 14. (14) Levit. xxvi. *paſſ.* Deut. xxxii. 30. (15) Iſai. xl. 12, & *ſeq.* (16) Pſ. lxviii. 8. cxiv. 4. (17) civ. 2. cxlvii. 4. (18) Pſ. xviii. 7, & *ſeq.* (19) civ. 3. (20) Aar. Hill *Not. in Gideon.* (21) *Vid.* Pineda Dieg. de Stunic. & *al. in* Job; Bugenhag. Bucer, Buchan. & *al. in* Pſal.

a had the modeſty to conceal them from the world [m], or thoſe who have ventured to publiſh them, have only provoked ſome learned antagoniſts to expoſe their weakneſs and vanity [n]. The truth is, that thoſe who have made any attempts in this way have been forced to ſhift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and ſometimes the very ſenſe, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almoſt in every verſe, in a diſſertation writ on purpoſe, to prove that *Hebrew* poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the *French* and other modern nations [o]. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes and ſyllables, as he thinks fit, without obſerving any other rule or proportion in them than the jingle of the laſt words; inſo-
b much that there is not, we will not ſay with *Calmet* [p] any of *Tully*'s orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the old teſtament, which may not by the ſame method, be reduced into rhyming verſe. He had more need have ſaid, that the rhyme in thoſe poetical works, was not only altogether accidental, but almoſt unavoidable, unleſs the authors had made a reſolution againſt it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to ſhun it. Thoſe that are ever ſo little acquainted with the *Hebrew* Grammar know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the poſſeſſive pronouns to both of them, are ſo alike and uniform, that it would be vaſtly more difficult to write a poem in blank verſe in that
c tongue, than to have it all in rhyme. And yet it muſt be owned, that he has diſplayed a great deal of learning in it, and that ſeveral eminent men have embraced his opinion [q], tho' there is one objection againſt it which ſeems almoſt inſurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acroſtick or alphabetick pieces we have left, ſuch as ſeveral *Pſalms* [r], the *Lamentations*, and ſome few others, where the length of the verſe is determined by the firſt letter of it, and where conſequently the liberty of tranſpoſing and alter-
ing the meaſure is quite taken off. Our author doth indeed tell us, that theſe were not deſigned for rhyme but blank verſe; but this is ſaid gratis; and what is more, ſome of them have a greater number of hemiſticks rhyming to one another,
d than thoſe which are pretended to be written deſignedly ſo; as the reader may ſee by the ſpecimen in the margin (M).

The

[m] F. Vatabl. ap. Mercer in Job iii. Meibon. vid. Journal des Sçavans, 1699. & al. [n] Fr. Goman Lyra David. Th. Herbert. Vid. Capell cont. Goman. Bedford cont. Le. Clerc. [o] Bibliot. Univerſ. May, 1688. [p] Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib. [q] Bern. Lami. Carofalo & al. [r] Pſ. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxix, & cxlv.

(M) We ſhall inſtance only in the 34th *Pſalm*, and omit all the blank verſes in it; and here the reader will ſee by the interlineal verſion of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in thoſe that chance to have it.

Ver. I ſought the Lord, and he heard me:
4. *Daraſhti eth Adonai vehanani:*
And from all my troubles he delivered me.
Umiccol megurothai itzillani.

5. They looked unto him and were inlightened:
Hibittu elaw venaharu:
And their faces were not confounded.
Uphnehem al jechpharu.

9. Fear ye the Lord, ye ſaints of his:
Iereu eth Adonai kedoſhaw:
For no lack (is) to them that fear him.
Ki aen machſor lireaw.

10. Little lions lack and hunger:
Kephirim raſhu veraheu:
They that ſeek the Lord ſhall not lack
Vedoreſhe Adonai lo jachſeru
any good.
col tof.

12. What man deſireth life:
Mi haiſh hachaphetz chajim:
Loveth days
Ohef yamim
to ſee good.
lireoth tof.

13. Keep thy tongue from evil:
Netzor leſhoneka merah:
And thy lips from ſpeaking guile.
Uſphateka midabber mirmah.

Theſe are in the very order we find them in all *Hebrew* Pſalters, without any tranſpoſition or change. But did the alphebatical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acroſtic pſalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. *Le Clerc*'s method.

We hope there is no neceſſity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic pſalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet ſucceſſively, either in every verſe, as in the 25th, 34th, and 145th; or every other verſe, as in the 37th; or in every hemiſtick or half verſe, as in the 111th, 112th, and 113th. The 119th doth ſtill differ from all theſe, becauſe every verſe of a ſtanza begins with the ſame letter of the alphabet; ſo that it has 22 ſtanzas, anſwering to the 22 letters of it. Thoſe who deſire to ſee a more ſuccinct confutation of this notion, may read our learned Mr. *Bedford*'s treatiſe concerning the temple muſick, where he will find a ſhort but full confutation of *Le Clerc*.

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that antient tongue, a which, for ought appears, has been loſt ever ſince the captivity, makes it morally impoſſible to determine any thing about it with any tolerable probability; becauſe without it, we never can be ſenſible of the length or ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, or of the harmony of words and verſes, in which a great part of the poetick beauty conſiſts. Had we indeed the ſame helps in this, as we have in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, we might perhaps have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and meter, and of the conſtruction and cadence of its verſe; and tho' it is probable, we might not have found it ſo elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet ſhould not we have fallen into that ſtrange notion of ſo many learned moderns, that it was written without meaſure, form, or regularity. b Surely one would think, that *Scaliger* had never heard of any modern *Hebrew* poetry, how common ſoever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the *Syriack*, nor the *Arabick*, were capable of ſuch a conſtraint [s]; for it is plain, even from thoſe ſpecimens which *Buxtorf* has given us [t] out of ſome of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regalar as any we have either in *Greek* or *Latin*; and conſequently, that the *Hebrew* is as capable of the ſtricteſt poetick rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the ſyllables. We may add, that they have been ſo far from thinking meter and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheleſs a confinement, tho' not ſo great in the *Hebrew* as it is in other c tongues, for the reaſons alledged a little before. Beſides, it appears further, that the antient *Hebrew* poetry was confined to ſome certain rules and reſtraints, tho' unknown to us, becauſe, in many of thoſe works, we find ſome letters retrenched, and others ſuperadded, in order to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes or the ſyllables, or to give a ſweeter cadence to them.

ON the other hand, to hear ſome antient authors, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, ſuch as *Joſephus* and *Philo*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*, expatiate on this ſubject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preſerved to their time, they give us ſo ſuccinct an account of every poetical piece of the old teſtament. Thus, d according to them, the two ſongs of *Moſes* were written in heroick verſe: the *Pſalms* were of a mixt ſort, trimeters, pentameters, and others exameters [u]. St. *Jerom* has ventured to be ſtill more particular [w], and to tell us, that the ſongs of *Moſes*, the books of *Iſaiah*, *Job*, and ſome others, were exameters and pentameters; that the *Pſalms* were ſapphick, iambick, and alcaick, after the manner of *Horace*, and *Pindar*; that the *Lamentations* were of the ſapphick kind; and in his preface to the book of *Job* he ſays, that from the third verſe of the third chapter, the verſe is moſtly exameter and pentameter, conſiſting of dactyls and ſpondees; tho' he adds, that it is here and there intermixed with ſome other foot or e feet; and that ſome verſes, tho' ſtill more irregular, do yet preſerve ſuch a cadence and harmony, as never fails of pleaſing thoſe who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with reſpect to *Moſes*'s ſong in *Deuteronomy*, he ſeems either to have forgot, or to correct himſelf in another place [x], and ſays, that it was wrote in iambick verſe of four feet. The ſame he ſays alſo of the 119th, and ſome other pſalms; concerning which we own ourſelves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can ſay of him and of theſe learned ancients, is, that they give us their bare word for what they ſay, for none of them has ventured ſo far as to give us any proof or example of it; ſo that the reader is at liberty to take it or not. But, upon the whole, the greateſt part of them, even thoſe two ſolemn ones of *Moſes*, were certainly of the lyrick kind, compoſed and ſet to muſick, ſung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the ſound of divers inſtruments, and with dances ſuitable to the muſick, as we ſhall ſhew under the next head.

IN the mean time, tho' we willingly excuſe ourſelves from entring into the merit of the cauſe, whether or not the *Hebrews* were the firſt inventors of poetry; becauſe

[s] Vid. SCALIG. Animadv. in chron. Euſeb. p. 7. EGUBIN. L. CAPPEL MAR. MARTIN. VASMUTH. PFEIFFER. GROT. in LUC. i. 46. CALM. Diſſert. & al. [t] Theſaur. ling. Sanc. ad fin. [u] Joſeph. Ant. l. ii. c. ult. l. iv. c. ult. vii. c. 10. Phil. in vit. Mos. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. Orig. ap. Euſeb. præpar. l. xi. c. 2. [w] Epiſt. ad Paulin. & præf. in chron. Euſeb. vid. & comment. Ezek. c. xxx. [x] Vid. Epiſt. 135. ad Paul. Urbic.

a becauſe we cannot tell how much they might have brought of it out of *Egypt*; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the *Greeks*, who attribute the lyric kind to *Orpheus*; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the *Jews* at the time of the *Exod*, from that excellent piece which *Moſes* compoſed immediately after their paſſage through the *Red-Sea*, which was upwards of 200 years before *Orpheus*, ſince he is ſaid to have gone a ſtripling to the *Argonautic* war; that is at ſooneſt about *Gideon*'s time y. We ſhall willingly allow them the invention of dramatic poetry; which, conſiſting only in imitation, and being calculated to make inſtruction go down, for the ſake of the diverſion that it is interlarded with, ſuited their rough and unpoliſhed genius, ſuch as it b was at that time and ſince, much better than that of the *Hebrews*, who, for ought appears to the contrary, never admitted it amongſt them. For though the author of *Job*, and *Solomon* in his *Canticles*, introduce divers ſpeakers, yet it is plain their deſign is rather to expreſs their ſentiments in a more lively and pathetic manner, than to repreſent any action ſuch as uſually come into a dramatic piece. Whereas the lyric which conſiſts of muſical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worſhip of God, was the moſt proper to inſpire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calcula-ted for that end by its firſt *Hebrew* authors, and has continued in the greateſt vogue and admiration amongſt them ever ſince, inſomuch, that it ſeems c to have been in ſome manner peculiar to them. Again, if *Homer* and *Virgil* are ſo juſtly admired for their judicious choice of ſuch words and phraſes, as carried a ſtrong idea of the action in their very ſound, thoſe who have but the leaſt knowledge of the *Hebrew*, and will but make ſome attention to this particular beauty, will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line (N); and yet without that air of affectation

y See USHER's Annals. Sir Is. NEWT. BEDFORD's Chronol. &. al.

(N) We ſhould be glad to give ſuch of our readers as are unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, ſome faint idea of this; but unleſs they can forget for a moment their leſs maſculine pronunciation, 'tis to be feared our labour will be loſt. However in hopes that it may excite a curioſity in thoſe that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we ſhall venture to ſubjoin the few inſtances following out of the *Pſalms*.

Let the ſea roar, and the fullneſs of it.
Jirham haiom umelo-o. Pſ. xcviii. 7.
Let the floods clap their hands.
Neharoth jimkhau caph. ib. ver. 8.
The Lord alſo thundered from heaven, and the moſt high gave his voice.
Vejarghem baſhamajim elohim, vchelion yiten colo. xviii. 13.
The waters ſaw thee, O God, the waters ſaw thee; they trembled and the depths quaked.
Raùka mayim elohim, rauka mayim; yakhilu, aph yirghezu tehomoth. lxxvii. 16.
Mountains ſkipped like rams, vallies like young ſheep.
Heharim rakkedu ke-elim, gebaghoth kibne zon. cxiv. 4.
For God is high, the proud afar off he beholdeth.
Ki rom Elohim, geboagh mimerkhak yiedagh. cxxxviii. 6.
All the horns of the wicked will I break.
Col carne reſhaghim agadeagh. lxxv. ult.
And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.
Veghatta pettukhiah jakhad bacaſhill vekalaphoth gahalomun. lxxiv. 6.
Chariot and horſe are caſt into a deep ſleep.
Nirdam varrekeb vaſſus. lxxvi. 7.
And in my God I will knock down an ox.
Ubelohai adaleg ſhoor. xviii. 29.

The reader will eaſily judge of the reſt by theſe few, the three laſt of which are well worth, at leaſt, that ſo much admired one of *Virgil*, *Procumbit humi bos*; or any other of that poet, or of *Homer*.

But not to dwell longer on this elegancy, it will ſuffice to ſay upon the whole, that whoever makes any tolerable attention to the beautiful choice of words, where-ever the ſubject is of the ſame nature with the inſtances given above, he will find them fall with a ſuitable force and rapidity, like the cataracts of the *Nile*; and where the ſubject is of a contrary nature, he will diſcover in them the moſt ſurprizing ſmoothneſs and harmony that can be imagined. But of this laſt it will be ſtill more difficult to give our *Engliſh* readers any tolerable idea; becauſe an unknown language, tho' it were the *Italian*, will always carry a diſtaſtful harſhneſs to the ear, which nothing can overcome but a knowledge of at leaſt the meaning of the words. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with giving them the two or three following inſtances:

Hearken my people to my law; incline their ears to the words of my mouth.
Haazina hami thorati hattu oſneckem leimre phi.

affectation and ſtudy, which viſibly appears in thoſe two poets, eſpcially in the latter. We may here add, that if the moſt beautiful figures and the ſtrongeſt metaphors and allegories, be a ſign of a poetic tongue, the *Hebrew* exceeds both the *Greek* and all others that we know of, in this particular alſo. a

Muſic. WHAT their muſic was, with which they uſed to accompany and enliven their poetic performances, we know little of but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it, that can aſſure us that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one from that of the other, and if the moſt elegant and harmonious words and phraſes, compoſed upon the ſublimeſt ſubjects, could inſpire a muſical perſon with a ſuitable melody, it will be abſurd to ſuppoſe their muſick to have been otherwiſe than ſweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, tho' attended with a noble gravity anſwerable to the grandeur of the ſubject and occaſion. Muſic and poetry are juſtly obſerved to be twin-ſiſters; they both ſpring from the ſame liberal faculty. To imagine therefore any ſuch an inequality between them, would be to ſuppoſe, that it requires greater talents to form a good muſician than a good poet; which is far enough from being the caſe. However, were we to judge of the latter by what ſome learned commentators have conjectured, concerning both it and the muſical inſtruments of the *Jews*[z], one would rather think them antipodes. Indeed, nothing can be more oppoſite than the ſuppoſition of their having ſo exquiſite an ear for poetry, and ſo dull a one for muſic. For ſuch we muſt ſuppoſe theirs to have been, if we can perſuade ourſelves that they admitted ſuch dull and inſipid inſtruments into their conſorts (O); inſtruments which were only fit to grate the ear, and ſpread the harſheſt diſcord b c

[z] See LE CLERC's Eſſ. RHEINFERD, CALMET, & al.

O that my people hearkened to me; that *Iſrael* would walk in my ways!
Lu hami ſhomeagh ly, Iſrael bidrakai hallaku.
But my people would not hear my voice; *Iſrael* would not acquieſce in me.
Velo ſhamagh hami le coli, Iſrael lo abba li.
How amiable are thy tabernacles, O God of Hoſts!
Mah yeddidoth miſhkenotheka, Elohe zebaoth.
My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lillies.
Doddi li vaani lo, harogheh baſhoſanim.
His eyes are like doves by the rivers of water.
Henaiv keyonim hal apphike mayim.

Theſe will ſuffice to ſhew the vaſt diſparity of ſounds in thoſe two ſubjects, which is all that we could pretend to. Thoſe who underſtand the original will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line of the ſacred poets; as for thoſe who are unacquainted with it, even the *Canticles* of *Solomon*, the ſofteſt and moſt harmonious piece, for ought we know, extant in any language, would loſe the greateſt part of the laſt beauty we have been ſpeaking of.

(O) That *Le Clerc* has taken ſome pains to prove, that the צִלְצְלֵי *tzilzele*, which our verſion after the ſeptuagint renders *cymbals*, were only a couple of hollow demi-globes of braſs or ſome other tinkling metal, and about ſix inches in diameter, which they uſed to ſhake one againſt another, like a pair of caſtanets †; becauſe we find ſome ſuch inſtruments to have been in uſe among the antients, and becauſe the root *tzalzal* doth often ſignify *to tinkle*. Etymologies are at beſt very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. Might we not juſtly laugh at a foreigner who ſhould pretend to give ſuch an awkward deſcription of a *baſs-viol*, as he found them under thoſe two words in his *lexicon?* We own, that ſuch tinkling inſtruments were uſed among the antients; but the diſtinction which the pſalmiſt makes of *tzilzele ſhamagh* and *tzilzele terughah* (22), and the other inſtruments which he joins with them, do at leaſt imply ſomething more muſical, warlike, and maſculine, if not more melodious, than two ſuch demi-globes.

The ſame may be ſaid of the עוּגָב *hugab*, which we tranſlate *the organ*, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of ſix or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by paſſing them ſucceſſively under the upper lip (23). According to this deſcription it muſt have been incapable of any regular harmony; tho' in its etymon it ſignify *a lovely inſtrument*, from עָגַב *hagab*, *to love* or *delight in*, *to doat upon*. But not to inſiſt upon the name, it is plain, this inſtrument was known before the flood (24), and it is ſcarcely credible it ſhould have received ſo ſmall an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and muſic had been ſo highly cultivated.

The שלשים *ſhaliſhim*, one of the inſtruments with which the women came to meet *Saul* (25), and which the ſeptuagint tranſlate *cymbala*, St. *Jerom ſiſtra*, and our verſion, *inſtruments of muſick*; is ſuppoſed to have been of a triangular figure, like the △, through which were ſtrung a parcel of rings, ſo that the inſtrument being ſtruck with a ſtick, or ſhaken by the hand, made the rings ſtrike both againſt it and one another, and cauſed a moſt inharmonious jarring. But if it muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been triangular, becauſe the word שלישׁ implies the number *three* (tho' it might as reaſonably be ſuppoſed to mean an inſtrument of three ſtrings, and a very muſical one too), we ſee no reaſon why its triangular form might not be deſigned

† *See his Eſſay on* Heb. *poetry in Bibliot. Univerſ. Tom. ix. ad fin. & alib.*

(22) Pſal. *cl.* 5.

(23) *Ib.* ver. 4.

(24) Gen. iv. 21.

(25) 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

a diſcord through the beſt compoſitions. It appears, on the contrary, that thoſe inſtruments which were moſt in vogue amongſt them were really muſical and harmonious. We read of eight and ten-ſtringed inſtruments; of the *nebel* and *kinor*, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp, and from which the *Greeks* had their *naba* and *cinyra*. They had likewiſe ſeveral kinds of wind inſtruments, ſuch as the trumpet, flute, and what ſeveral antient and modern verſions call the organ, whatever reſemblance it might have to ours. To theſe they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the inſtrument ſpoken of in the laſt note), eſpecially when their muſic was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and theſe if artfully touch'd, could not but give a wonderful

b cadence to them.

But if we may judge of the excellence of the *Hebrew* muſic from its wonderful effects, ſuch as we find it had upon *Saul* in his moſt melancholy and diſtracted moods [a], and in calming the ſouls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inſpiration [b], which is no more than the *Greeks* tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of antient authors; we ſhall be forced to own, that it was vaſtly more moving than any thing we have now. And, indeed, what wonder is it, that it ſhould have attained to ſuch perfection, if we conſider the great diſtance of time between its firſt author *Jubal* [c], and *Moſes*? and that, from the latter's time downwards, it was in conſtant uſe, both

c in their worſhip, in their religious and civil feſtivals, in their public and private rejoycings, and even in their mournings; witneſs that which *David* compoſed on the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* [d], and the lamentations of *Jeremy* at the death of king *Joſiah*. But what improvement it may have received from *David*'s time may be eaſily gueſſed, if we conſider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good muſician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. What progreſs then may we not ſuppoſe was made to it, by thoſe 288 4000 *Levites*, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of excellent maſters, with *Aſaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun* at their head [e]? The law

d had already provided for their maintenance another way; and the addition which their merit could procure, joyned to the natural deſire of excelling, was ſpur ſufficient for men, who having nothing to take them off from it, to beſtow their whole time and application upon ſo delightful and ſo profitable an art. Beſides theſe, who aſſiſted conſtantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, but in much greater number at all ſolemn feſtivals, we read likewiſe of women, who applied themſelves to muſic both vocal and inſtrumental: ſuch were *Heman*'s three daughters [f], and thoſe which are mentioned by the pſalmiſt [g]. Their kings had alſo their own muſicians of both ſexes [h]. Some of the *Pſalms*, eſpecially the 20th, 21ſt, and 72d, are ſuppoſed to have been compoſed in order to be ſung on the day of

[a] 1 Sam. xvi. 23. vid. & xix 23. & ſeq. [b] 2 Kings iii. 15. [c] Gen iv. 21. [d] 2 Sam. i. 17. & ſeq. [e] 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. xxv. 7. & ſeq. [f] Ibid. ver. 5. 6. [g] Pſ. lxviii. 25. [h] 1 Chron. xxv. 2. 2 Sam. xix. 25. Eccleſ. ii. 8.

deſigned to contain a ſet of ſtrings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with ſticks as our old dulcimors, or with the fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the *Jewiſh* writers give of theſe, and ſeveral other muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, it is ſtill more pitiful. But this is not ſo much to be wondered at; their muſical, as well as their poetic, genius has left them long ago; but if thoſe who are judges of either can ſuppoſe ſuch a vaſt diſparity between them to be poſſible, and that the dulleſt and moſt muſical inſtruments were uſed to enliven the harmony of the moſt ſublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that tho' it be never ſo impoſſible to come at any notion of the nature and ſymmetry of thoſe inſtruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they muſt have been vaſtly more ſuitable to it, than any of thoſe which our moſt diligent ſearchers have yet been able to diſcover.

It would be loſt labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, which the *Jewiſh* rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of ſeveral pſalms, ſuch as *Miktan*, *Sigaion*, *Shemineth*, &c. for particular inſtruments on which theſe pſalms were to be played. But ſetting even theſe aſide, there will be ſtill at leaſt twenty different ſorts left, which we ſhall however forbear mentioning, becauſe we know ſo little of them, and have ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conjectures of commentators about them. All that we ſhall ſay further is, that they were of three kinds, namely, 1. wind-inſtruments, ſuch as the ſeveral ſorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ; 2. ſtringed inſtruments, of this kind were the harp, lute, inſtruments of three, eight, and ten ſtrings; and 3. ſuch as were beat either by the hand, or with a ſtick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and ſuch like. To go further upon the ſubject would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee a fuller account of them in *Calmet*'s diſſertation quoted in the next page.

of their inauguration. The 45th and the *Canticles* are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-day. We have seen likewise that they had proper psalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great festival, and other public occasions, but also at their private feasts, such as weddings, circumcisions, and the like. In a word, no nation seems to have been fonder of music than the *Jews*; insomuch that tho' the *Babylonish* captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows; yet at their return we find they brought back a troop of 200 musicians of both sexes [i].

a

FROM all this the reader may easily judge, whether it be credible, that an art of so long standing, so much admired, encouraged, so universally practised, and capable to cause such wonderful effects, could be so rude and plain, as to consist only in the variety of voices and instruments, playing all to the same notes, without any combination of even bass and treble, much less of the other parts, which make up the soul of music [k]; and that chance, at least, should not have led them to observe the harmony of some, as well as the harshness of other compound notes, so as to point out this improvement to them, in so long a time, and among such variety of voices and instruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the surprizing effects we read of it, from bare simple tunes, how fine and melodious soever. One thing seems more than probable from the stile of several of the psalms, and the frequent transition from the first to the third person; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus answering to the other at proper stanzas and divisions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals [l]. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not so easy to guess at, as how, and when, they might be lost.

b

c

IT is indeed generally objected, that the roughness of the *Hebrew*, its abounding with consonants, gutturals, and monosyllables, makes it so unfit for music, that it would be even madness to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have said on the other side; but we hope we have already sufficiently shewn the contrary, in those few instances we have given in the former note. We may even venture to affirm, that some pieces of *Hebrew*, which we have set to suitable music, would easily convince any impartial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and springs partly from the want of due attention on that neglected tongue, and partly from our present unaccountable fondness for the modern *Italick* taste, rather than from any inharmonious roughness in the *Hebrew* numbers. It is even certain, from the excellent compositions which have been made in our own native *English*, tho' in most respects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from unmusical) the most like the *Hebrew* of any modern language, that the perfection of music doth not consist in that smooth sinking softness we are now so taken with. We are well satisfied, on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine that our age hath raised music to its zenith, would be strangely surprized to find, by comparing its most admired performances with those of two, three, or more centuries past; some of its noblest beauties and excellencies quite lost, not to be recovered again to the world, till it has recovered its genuine taste, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth (P).

d

e

This is certainly true, at least with respect to divine music, how much soever it may be thought to have been improved by art. And a music master, in the height of pleasure and good humour may as well pretend to direct my heart and voice how to express my anger and resentment, as to compose, for instance, a *Te Deum* which shall inspire its hearers with the highest sense of gratitude to the divine goodness, unless he be in the same temper as the royal musician, when he said, *My heart is ready, I will sing* —— [m].

f

WHAT

[i] Ezr. ii. 65. [k] See CALMET Dissert. de Music Heb. [l] BEDFORD's Discourse on the same. [m] Ps. cviii. 1.

(P) This reflection is not designed to affront the present age, but partly to excite some able judges to recover, if possible, vast numbers of inestimable pieces in this kind, and to revive the memory of their worthy authors, who now lie shamefully buried in oblivion; and partly to prevent the dangerous effects of the taste now in vogue: For if it be undeniable, that music is capable either of softening the roughest tempers, or of inspiring the soft and debonnaire with more heroic and noble sentiments according as it is skilfully managed by a good master; we need not say which of the two this age stands most in need of; and experience shews, that the hardest metals, as well as roughest tempers, may be softened so long, and so much, as to become quite useless.

a WHAT has been ſaid of the *Hebrew* muſic may be alſo ſuppoſed of their dances, namely, that thoſe that were of a religious nature, were generally more grave, ſolemn, and ſuitable both to the muſic and words, and to the occaſion, than their other ſorts; but whether confined to any rules as ours are, or rather directed only by cuſtom and imitation; whether circular, as is generally ſuppoſed, or of any other form, we can only gueſs by thoſe of other antient nations. But even this being all conjecture, and the ſubject not worth a further enquiry, we ſhall now paſs to another, which is ſomewhat better known to us. As to the *Hebrew* poetry, muſic, and dances, the reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

b *Of the language, writing, and learning of the* Jews.

THEIR tongue was the *Hebrew*, ſuch as we have it in the writings of *Moſes*, and other ſacred authors. We have elſewhere given the moſt probable etymology of that name †, ſo that we are far from thinking, that it was called ſo from *Heber*, in whoſe family alone it had been preſerved in its purity, as the parent of all the reſt, as ſome authors have imagined [o]. What we have ſaid formerly, both about the confuſion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother, much leſs the original, tongue, doth ſufficiently expoſe the fondneſs of ſuch a notion. We ſhall not therefore repeat what has been ſaid already *, but confine ourſelves to was there promiſed; namely, to give ſome further account of the genius, and of thoſe particular excellencies of the *Hebrew* tongue, c for which it is ſo generally ſuppoſed to have been the mother of all others. But without engaging ourſelves too far into the merit of the cauſe, we do willingly give up the conceit of ſome antient fathers [p] who, from the words of the pſalmiſt [q], *when he* (Iſrael) *came out of* Egypt *and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined, that to the many favours, which God ſhewed to that people at their deliverance out of *Egypt*, he added this one, of inſpiring them with an immediate knowledge of the ſacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by ſome critics, that we find in it the greateſt number of the apteſt etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the ſame has been alſo urged in favour of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Æthiopic*, *Armenian*, and almoſt of every eaſtern tongue; yea, and we d need not wonder much at it, ſince a modern author has even found this mother tongue in the *Fleming* (Q). But tho' we do allow the preference to the *Hebrew* in this reſpect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon; if therefore this laſt has any advantage over the reſt, with reſpect to its being the mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it muſt be upon the account of its ſimplicity, its pureneſs, energy, fecundity of meanings and expreſſions, notwithſtanding its natural barrenneſs of words; over and above its great affinity, to all theſe tongues, which it ſeems to excel in all theſe particulars. To this may be alſo added the ſignificancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to expreſs their nature and proper- e ties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to inſiſt on the antiquity and venerableneſs of its writings above all others; all which ſeem to ſpeak much more in its favour than of any other. From all this we may reaſonably conclude, that if we could know it as well and as fully as it was in *Moſes*'s time, we might find ſtill greater arguments on its ſide (R).

Hebrew tongue.

BUT as far as we underſtand, and are able to judge of it at this great diſtance, and from thoſe few books we have left of it, this will be hardly conteſted, that its genius

[n] Vid. MERCEN. SKIKARD, MEIBON, GOMAR, LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. † Vid. ſup. p. 421. not. A. [o] Vid. Auct. ſup. Citat. ſub. litt. f. g. p. 152. * Vid. ſup. p. 149, & ſeq. [p] ORIGEN lib. 3. cont. Celſ. GREGOR. NYSSEN. Orat. 12. cont. Eunom. Theodoret quæſt. 61. in Gen. & al. [q] Pſal. lxxxi. 5.

(Q) This is what a *Flemiſh* antiquary has endeavoured to do (26) from a conſiderable number of etymologies of primitive names, as of *Adam* from *Haas-dam*, *Eve* from *Ev-vat*, *Abel* from *Haas-belg*, *Cain* from *Quaat-ende*, and many others, which are ſo forced and unappoſite, that one would have rather took it as a burleſque upon etymologiſts, than for a ſerious piece, had he not taken ſuch pains to tell his readers that he was in very good earneſt.

(R) It muſt be owned, however, that ſeveral learned critics have obſerved ſeveral defects in it, as we have it now in the ſacred books, which plainly

(26) GOROP. BECAN. *Origin. Antwerp. lib.* 5. *paſſ.*

genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native simplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs ; its words are concise yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied composition of the *Greek* and *Roman*. It has the happiest and richest fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern, which arises from the variety and significancy of its conjugations, some of which do even imply a whole phrase, and cannot be well expressed in any other without paraphrasing. Thus, for instance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love one-self, are expressed by the same verb with a small variation, in some only of the points, and in others of one or at most two letters. Thus again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb express a contrary sense or action, as to bless and curse, honour and dishonour, to root in, or cause to take root, and to root out utterly (S). Pronouns and prepositions are only single letters, but the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is simple, easy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is absolutely necessary to express gender and number, and their cases are distinguished by articles, which are only single letters at the beginning of the word. The same simplicity runs through all the moods and tenses of their verbs, and indeed throughout their syntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition, without suspending or clogging the sense by long-winded periods, so that their style could not but be extreamly free and clear whilst it continued a living tongue ; and if in some cases it appears otherwise to us at this great distance, it is owing either to its frequent allusions to customs and things, then universally understood, and since lost, or to our being in the dark about the true meaning of a great number of words and proper idioms, which we are forced to seek for in the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*, tho' often without success, and seldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of speaking there are likewise which seem to us flat and and uncouth, which will upon due examination, appear not only the most natural and exact, but argue perhaps a clearer and more solid judgment in those that used them. Of this nature is their introducing persons, in their narrations, speaking their own words instead of affecting to repeat them in their name ; it is, for instance, the common style of the divine writers to express themselves thus, *And God said to* Abraham, *I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward*, instead of *God told* Abraham, *that he was his shield. And* Abraham *said, O that* Ishmael *might live !* instead of *he intreated God for* Ishmael's *life.* This every one knows, is the constant language of all the writers of the old testament ; but whether or no it will be allowed to be the most natural and exact way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the plainly shew, that, if it was the original tongue and the parent of the rest, it must have suffered many changes, such as the losing of a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting those of strange nations (27). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, besides very many scriptural words, whose roots are entirely lost. However, this is plain from the books we have still extant, that from *Moses*'s time to the *Babylonish* captivity it has continued the same, without any visible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worse.

(S) This excellency, so peculiar to this tongue above all others, is further displayed by *Bellarmine*, in his *Hebrew* grammar, to the following effect : Every verb (says he) doth imply either an action, or passion, or neither, or both ; the active verbs signify the action of a man either upon himself or upon another, and if the latter, it is caused either by himself, or by the means of a third. Here then the action of a man upon himself is found in the conjugation *Hithphael*, which therefore admits of no passive to answer it ; because in this case, the same person is agent and patient. *Pibel* expresses the action of one thing upon another, to which answers the passive *Pual* ; if the action be caused by means of a third, you will find it in the conjugation *Hiphil*, to which answers the passive *Hophal*. The neuter verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Kal*, which containing also sometimes verbs of active signification, that of *Niphal* answers to them in a passive sense. Lastly, the common verbs are to be found in the conjugation *Pohel*.

Thus by these eight conjugations, or flexions of one and the same root, performed by the addition or change of a few points, or of a letter or two, is expressed all the variety of significations, into which it is impossible for a verb to be branched out, and which can hardly be done even in any of its derivatives, much less in the *Greek*, *Roman*, &c. without circumlocution. To this we might add the simplicity of its primitive roots, consisting at most of three letters ; of its composition, whether with respect to the pronouns joined with them, with their adverbs, prepositions, &c. and many other particulars ; but all these are so well known to the learned, and so hard to be understood by the rest, that we shall bestow no more time about them.

(27) *Vid.* GROT. *de verit Rel. Chr. not.* 16, & *seq.* & *Comm. in* Gen. ix. HUET. *demonst. Evang.* GENEBR. CLUVER. HORN. CAPEL. & *al. mult.*

a the moſt antient ſimplicity, which we cannot ſay doth run with the like conſtancy and pureneſs through tne *Chaldee*, much leſs in the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other antient tongues, ſo that upon all theſe accounts the *Hebrew* ſeems to bid faireſt for being the parent of the reſt. The *Chaldee* bears the greateſt affinity to it in many reſpects, tho' it ſeems to have been rather a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be poſitively decided on either ſide, we ſhall only obſerve further, with reſpect to the *Hebrew*, that it is of all others the moſt conciſe, maſculine, pathetic, and freeſt from lightneſs and bombaſt; upon which accounts a judicious author ſays of it, that it comes neareſt to the language of ſpirits, who ſtand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another [r].

Character.

b It is indeed far otherwiſe with their way of writing, tho' we ſhould allow it equally eaſy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Moderns* do; for whether we take it to have been the ſame with the preſent character in which we have the ſacred books, which yet is univerſally allowed now to have been the old *Aſſyrian*, and introduced only ſince the *Babyloniſh* captivity, or whether we take it to have been the old *Samaritan*, which has been preſerved only in ſome few medals, and in the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which is now the moſt received opinion; ſure it is, that the former ſeems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilſt the laſt is the fartheſt from either, and is perhaps the moſt uncouth and unnatural, the moſt c puzzling and unſightly, that ever was invented; inſomuch, that it is ſcarcely credible, that ſo judicious a perſon as *Moſes* was, would ever have made uſe of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will beſt judge of by the alphabet following, by which he will ſee ſufficient reaſon to juſtify *Ezrah*, and thoſe who changed them for the more elegant and commodious *Aſſyrian*, if they did really ſo, and the *Samaritan* was really the old one.

The Hebrew Alphabet.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
𐤀	א	1 *Aleph*	*Aſpiration*	1	
𐤁	ב	2 *Beth*	*B*	2	
𐤂	ג	3 *Gimel*	*G*	3	
𐤃	ד	4 *Daleth*	*D*	4	
𐤄	ה	5 *He*	*H*	5	
𐤅	ו	6 *Vau*	*V*	6	
𐤆	ז	7 *Zain*	*Z*	7	
𐤇	ח	8 *Cheth*	*Ch*	8	
𐤈	ט	9 *Teth*	*T th*	9	
𐤉	י	10 *Iod*	*I i y*	10	
𐤊	כ	11 *Caph*	*K*	20	ך
𐤋	ל	12 *Lamed*	*L*	30	
𐤌	מ	13 *Mem*	*M*	40	ם
𐤍	נ	14 *Nun*	*N*	50	ן
𐤎	ס	15 *Samek*	*S*	60	
𐤏	ע	16 *Ain*	*H gh ngh*	70	
𐤐	פ	17 *Peh*	*P ph*	80	ף
𐤑	צ	18 *Tzade*	*T tz*	90	ץ
𐤒	ק	19 *Coph*	*K*	100	
𐤓	ר	20 *Reſh*	*R*	200	
𐤔	ש	21 *Shin*	*Sh ſ*	300	
𐤕	ת	22 *Tau*	*T th*	400	

That this is the exact number and order of their letters is demonſtrable from thoſe acroſtic pieces, both in the pſalms and elſewhere, whoſe every half or whole verſe, or every other verſe, begins with one of theſe letters ſucceſſively, as we mentioned it under the laſt article. It is likewiſe univerſally agreed, that the *Samaritan* letters are either the ſame, or very near ſo, with the old *Phœnician*. This we

[r] Fleury Mœurs des Iſraelites, ch. 20.

we have hinted already †, and it is far from improbable, that the old *Egyptian* was also very like it [s], so that *Moses*, *who was learned in all the wisdom of* Egypt, might write his laws in that character. Sir *Isaac Newton* indeed thinks, that he had it from the *Midianites* [t]; and we have, in more places than one of this history, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours had the art of writing very early *, though it be not possible to determine, whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the same in common to them all, much less to ascribe the invention of it to its true author (T). a

HOWEVER, though it be now the most received opinion, that the *Samaritan* was the antient *Hebrew* character, yet it has been strenuously opposed by several learned men [u]. The *Talmudists* not only suppose the contrary all along, but have declared themselves for the *Chaldee* characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the opposite opinion [w] (V), and there seems to have ran an universal consent to them through all their successors ever since (W). Among those of the christians, b

† Vid. sup. p. 404. c. [s] Vid. PLUTARCH lib. de dæmon Socrat. KIRCHER. VOSS. CAPEL. & al. mult. [t] Chronol. p. 210. * Vid. sup. p. 300. b. 325. a. & alib. [u] HOTTING. cont. MORIN. POSTEL. BUXTORF jun. & al. [w] Tract. Sanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

(T) Were the *Sabeans* to be relied upon, we should not be long to seek for the first inventor of writing and letters, since they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by *Adam*, the character of which, tho' different from all others (28), might have given the hint to those alphabets that have been since used. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to *Seth*, upon the authority of *Josephus*, who tells us, that he caused his astronomical discoveries to be ingraven upon two pillars, designed to continue proof, one against the flood, and the other against the conflagration (29). Others to *Enoch*, because St. *Jude* quotes a propiesy of his (30), which they think must have been handed down in writing, tho' much more probably by tradition. Others again to *Noah* and to *Abraham* †, but the far greatest part of both *Jews* and *Christians*, antient and modern, to *Moses*, whom very many think to be the same with the *Egyptian Thouth* or *Hermes*, mentioned in the history of that nation (31). Among these last, some believe, that the first writing was that upon the two tables, and that consequently God did first shew it unto *Moses*, who taught it to *Aaron*, *Joshua*, and the 70 elders. Most of the *Jews* are of the same opinion, and some of them add, that there was an alphabet ingraven also upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him and his people the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverse of all this seems implyed in the account which that law-giver gives us of his receiving those tables; he says indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as we formerly shewed *, by the order and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his instructing others in it, much less that such a way of writing was taught him by God himself, and till then unknown to the world; which circumstance he can hardly be supposed to have omitted, had that been the case. But we have elsewhere shewed, that this art was, in all probability, of much older date among the *Phœnician* and other trading nations, than the decalogue, so that we can by no means fall in with this notion; tho' we know of nothing recorded of greater antiquity than that.

(V) We have had occasion to hint this formerly (32), and the miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the ם and ם to have been supported, doth plainly shew, that they did not mean the *Samaritan*, but *Chaldee*; because in the former, the ם *Mem* hath nothing in its figure that required such a supernatural support. As to the passage quoted out of the *Talmud* by *Walton*, and those that have followed him, in favour of the *Samaritan* against the *Chaldee*, or, as that place calls it, the *Assyrian* letters, if those authors had but had the patience to have read a little further, they would have found several answers to it, which tho' neither definitive nor satisfactory, yet plainly shew, that the compilers were of a quite contrary opinion. We shall not trouble our reader with the whole passage, but only subjoin the most material things they answer in favour of the *Chaldee*; the first of which is to this purpose, We have still our columns and our vaus, intimating thereby the likeness of the ו to a column with its chapiter, such as its name implies in the *Hebrew*, whereas the *Samaritan* vau has nothing in its figure that bears the least resemblance to it. The next answer is, that it is said in the book of *Esther* (33), that *Mordecai* wrote unto all the nations according to their writing and language, and to the *Jews* also according to their language and writing; which last, it is there urged, would have been needless, if the present *Hebrew* had been the old *Assyrian* character, and the *Jews* had already adopted it instead of the old *Samaritan*, or any other. To this is subjoined a further question, or objection, Why then are those characters called אשרים *Asherim?* to which the answer given is; From the *Asherim* the *Beatitudes* contained in it, meaning in the sacred books written in that character.

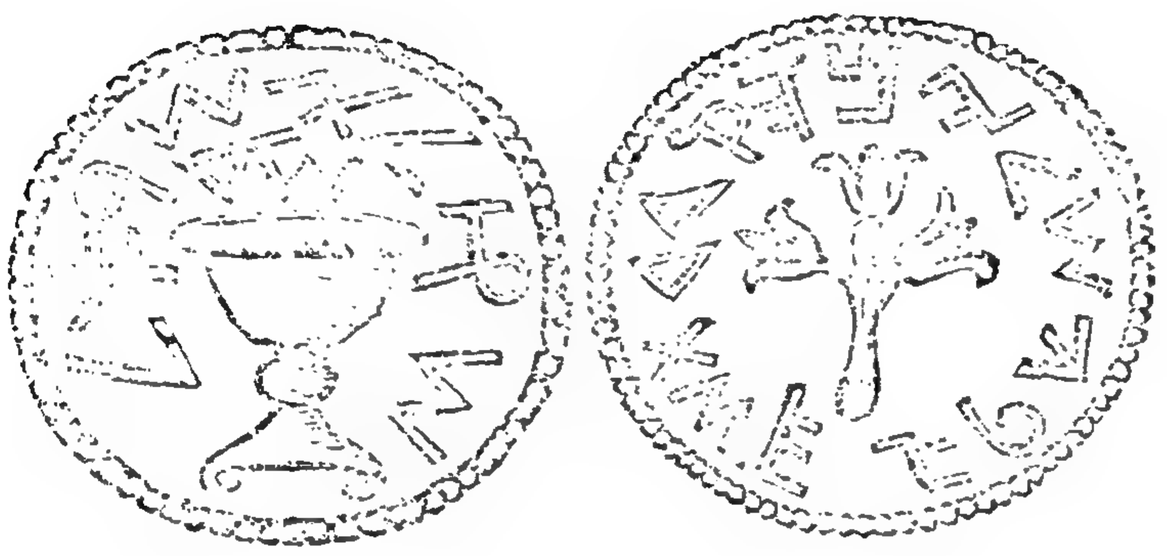
We beg leave to observe here, that we are not vindicating the answers of the *Talmudists*, which must stand or fall according to their worth; but only shew, how lightly they have been quoted on that side of the question, which they have most plainly declared themselves against.

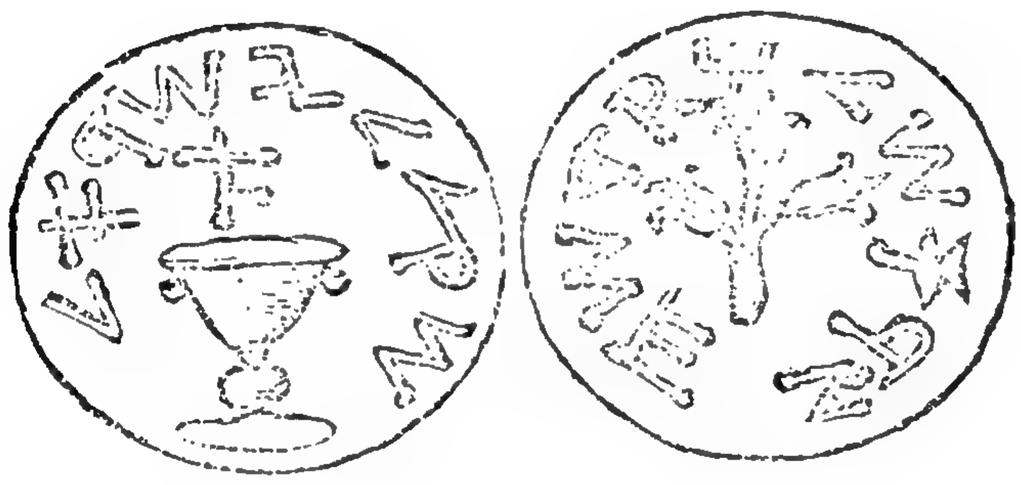
(W) They even tell us at the very threshold of their grammar, that the names of several of the letters, which they would have us believe are of almost equal antiquity with them, were given them from their figure, as that of others from their sound. Thus ב the second letter, was called *Beth* from its far-off resemblance to a house, and the ג *Gimel* from a much nearer one to a camel, the ד *Daleth* to a door, the ו *Vau* to a column, ל *Lamed* to a spit,

(28) D'HERBELOT. *Bibliot. Orient. p.* 726. (29) *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 3. (30) *Epist.* JUD. ver. 14. † *Vid. sup. p.* 435. *not.* Q. (31) *Ita Rabin fer. omn.* ARTAPHAN. EUPOLEM. *Vid. sup. p.* 222. c. *vid.* & ARTAPH. & EUPOLEM. *ap.* EUSEB. *præp. lib. ix. c.* 17, 18. *Rabin fer. omn.* LUD. VIVES *comm. in St. August. de Civit. Dei. lib.* 18. *c.* 29. GROT. *not. in verit. Rel. Chr.* HUET. *demonst. Evang.* GALE. *Court of the Gentil. p.* 36. & *al. innumer.* * *Vid. sup. p.* 519. *not. A. sub fin.* (32) *Ibid.* (33) Esth. viii. 9.

a chriſtians, who have declared themſelves on that ſide, there has been one who has taken an unſpeakable deal of pains, to prove the *Chaldee* character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, becauſe no letter can be rightly founded, without diſpoſing the organs of ſpeech into an uniform poſition, with the figure of that letter. This he has endeavoured to diſplay in 33 copper plates, 22 of which ſhew the pronunciation of the letters, and the reſt that of the point vowels; from which he infers at the ſame time, that the *Samaritan* bearing no kind of ſimilitude to ſuch a poſition of the organs, could not be the antient *Hebrew* [x].

THE misfortune is, that all his fine reaſoning, and whatever elſe is urged by others on that ſide of the queſtion, is entirely overthrown by one fact produced b for the other ſide, namely, that of the old *Jewiſh* ſhekel here annexed, which is





inſcribed on the one ſide, THE SHEKEL OF ISRAEL; and on the reverſe, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this *Samaritan* character, but as there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, in the *Jeruſalimic* dialect. We c ſhall refer the further particulars of this coin and its inſcriptions to the next note; and only obſerve here, that by the name of *Iſrael* in the firſt, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes, becauſe they had nothing to do with *Jeruſalem the holy*, which is on the reverſe. There are alſo ſome pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the *Samaritans* after the captivity; one of which among the reſt is, that their hatred againſt the *Jews* was grown to ſuch a height by that time, that they would have ſuffered any thing, rather than be forced to ſtamp ſuch an inſcription upon

[x] Vid. VAN HELMONT Alphabet. Natur.

ſpit, and ſo on; whereas no ſuch reſemblance is to be found in the *Samaritan* alphabet; but they are wanting in the main proof, namely, the antiquity of thoſe names, for want of which their concluſion falls to the ground. For the ſame argument might as well be urged in favour of the points *Pattah*, *Kamets*, *Zere*, *Kibbuts*, &c. which are now univerſally allowed to be of modern invention, as we ſhall ſee anon; for tho' theſe names bear no reſemblance to the figure of thoſe points, yet they were invented, in all likelihood, to expreſs the manner in which they ought to be pronounced; as for inſtance, the *Pattah*, or *A*, with an open mouth, and the *Kibbuts*, or *U*, with the lips cloſely gathered. In like manner, it is probable, they made choice at firſt of ſuch names as could beſt imprint the ſhape of the letter on the memory, by the likeneſs it did bear to the thing by which they were called, as the ג *Gimel* to a Camel, by reaſon of the bunch on its back, the ע *Ain* to an Eye, the ש *Shin* to a Tooth; and this might as probably have been done, when they began to teach this *Chaldee* character to thoſe who had been uſed to the old *Samaritan*, for their eaſier attainment of it, but where the letter bore no likeneſs to any thing that carried the ſound of it, they gave it a name that did, as *Mem*, *Nun*, &c.

upon their coins. The reader may see the whole argument at length, in the authors quoted in the margin * ; from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the antient *Hebrew*, and not that which has been, and is still used by the *Jews* and *Christians* under that name (X).

THESE characters, notwithstanding their great affinity to the old *Phenician*, if they be not indeed the same with them, and the vast progress of this latter all over the world, would have been entirely lost, had it not been preserved to us in the *Samaritan* pentateuch ; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inscription of these shekels, which have given so great a light to this controversy, and of some other *Phenician* medals, of no less use in other parts of antient history. But tho' we have had no copies of that book till within these 200 years (Y), and consequently no knowledge of those shekels till some time after, we must not think, that the *Samaritan* pentateuch had been unknown till then, or that the *Chaldee* had passed till then for the original *Hebrew* character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers and other antient authors y, the greatest part of whom (especially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the *Jews* exchange[d] their

* MORIN, SIMON, CALMET, WHISTON, & al. & alib. EUSEB. CÆSAR, DIODOR. TARSENS. CYRIL. ALEX. PROCOP. SYNCELL. & al.

y Vid. ORIG. Hexapl. HIERON. in Ezek.

(X) Some of these shekels were in the possession of *Maimonides* and Rabbi *Azarias* among the *Jews*, and of *Morinus*, *Montanus*, *Villalpandus*, and others, among the *Christians*. The mark on the one side is supposed to have been *Aaron*'s miraculous rod budding forth almonds, and on the other, the pot of Manna. The letters over this last not being plain enough, are variously conjectured to stand for the name of God, of *Israel*, *David*, *Jerusalem*, and the like ; as for the inscriptions round those two sides, bating a small variation of the character and spelling between those extant coins, they plainly answer to these in the modern *Hebrew*, on the one side שקל ישראל *Shekel Israel* ; and on the reverse ירושלים הקדושה or *Jerushalaim Hakadoshah*, *Jerusalem the holy* *.

Thus then the argument in favour of the *Samaritan* characters seem to amount to a demonstration. We can see but two things that can be objected against it with any colour of reason ; the first is, that considering the notorious cheats which have been imposed upon the world, with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuiness of these, before we venture to decide in so weighty a point. The next is, that allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we observed above of one side's being inscribed the *Shekel of Israel*, yet they may as likely have been the tribute money, which either the *Samaritans*, or some of the *Canaanitish* nations, paid either to *David*, *Solomon*, or to some of his successors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and spelling between those coins, and which cannot be so well accounted for, if we suppose them to have belonged to a single people, especially that of *Israel*. But if the several nations of *Canaan*, for instance, were obliged to stamp these inscriptions on their tribute money, in token of their subjection to the *Hebrews*, we shall not be to seek for the reason of this difference. Now such an exaction is so far from improbable, that we find it has been practised afterwards, by several conquerors upon the people they subdued ; and we shall shew, in the sequel of this work, that some nations have even chosen to sacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one single mark of subjection. We pretend not to determine on either side, but if we may be permitted to speak our thoughts concerning the *Samaritan* and *Phenician* characters, it is plain, that they were never calculated for ease and expedition, such as one might reasonably expect among those trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the *Egyptians* affected to do † ; so if *Moses* chose to write his laws in them, preferably to any other, that might then be in use, one can scarce suppose any other reason for it, than that of preserving an awful regard to them.

This might be the reason of his ordaining of the lecture of them to be made by the priests to the people, and of his commanding the parents to transmit the main ones to their children by word of mouth ; and lastly, this may be the reason why the learned among the antient *Jews* are called סופרים *Sopherim*, that is *Scribes*, according to the generality of versions, or according to the more literal sense of the word, men that could read or write books.

(Y) Archbishop *Usher* is the first person, to whom we are beholden for the first copies that ever were brought into *Europe* ; the frequent mention which he met with of it in the last quoted authors, would not suffer him to be at rest, as he expresses himself (34), till he had procured five or six of them from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and had carefully examined them. What his observations, and those of other learned men, are concerning that book, is foreign to our purpose, the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With respect to the character itself, we shall not pretend to decide, whether the *Phenicians* had it from the *Hebrews*, or these from them ; sure it is indeed, that *Moses* is the oldest writer we know of, but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote : the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, sciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowledge of letters to be so recent as that law-giver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention and its gradual improvements, among more nations, and, perhaps, more ages than one ; for without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him as well as the inventors of musick, forging, and such like.

* *Vid. int. al.* WALTON. *Supplem. in prolegom. de ponder. p.* 36. & 38. † *Vid. sup. p.* 222. f. (34) *Epist. ad Lud. Capel.* (35) MORIN. *dissert.* HOTTING. *conc.* MORIN. F. SIMON *Hist. Crit.* u. t. *Sentiments de quelq; Theolog. de Holland. Prideaux Connect. T.* 2. *l.* 6.

a their old *Samaritan* for that more beautiful *Chaldee* which is now in uſe with them, after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, whilſt the *Samaritans* choſe to preſerve the antient one. This opinion was likewiſe embraced by many modern criticks, even before theſe *Samaritan* copies were brought into *Europe*, tho' by a far greater number ſince theſe additional teſtimonies have been brought to light. There has been however a third claſs, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming, that the antient *Jews* had two ſorts of characters, the ſacred and the vulgar; the firſt of which they pretend was the *Chaldee* now in uſe, and the latter the *Samaritan* [z]: but as they have given no reaſonable proof for ſuch a diſtinction, it has been juſtly rejected as chimerical; tho' if they had really had two ſuch ſorts
b of characters, one would rather have ſuppoſed the *Samaritan* to have been the ſacred, for the reaſons mentioned in a former note.

It has likewiſe been a famous diſpute among the learned, whether the *Hebrews* uſed any vowel-letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were ſubſtituted inſtead of them, and if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moſes*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Mazorites*, it is not our deſign to enter into that ſpacious field of controverſy, which has exerciſed the wits of the moſt learned criticks of the two laſt centuries, and is far from being, as yet adjuſted by thoſe of the preſent. It will be ſufficient, we hope to aquaint our readers with the
c moſt received opinions upon thoſe two heads, and to refer them, for further ſatisfaction, to thoſe authors who have treated on thoſe ſubjects *ex profeſſo*. As to the firſt, it is now the general opinion that the *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Iod*, and *Ain* did ſerve inſtead of vowels, tho' they were ſometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, underſtood in their declenſions and conjugations, and often varied in their ſound, and had ſometimes the power of conſonants as our J and V; but for this we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is, that the *Samaritans* never admited of any others, tho' they readily read their *Hebrew* pentateuch by the help of their *Samaritan* character. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic*, which laſt did not begin to uſe points till ſeveral centuries after Chriſt:
d nay, the *Jews* themſelves never admitted them in their ſynagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithſtanding the many objections that have been raiſed againſt it, that it may be, and is eaſily read without thoſe points, which have been invented for the greater eaſe of learners, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with reſpect to their letters, is, that in the ſacred books, as we have them now, ſome words have one letter bigger than the reſt, others leſs, ſome at the beginning, ſome in the middle, and ſome at the end of a word; ſome are ſuſpended, or ſtand higher in the line, and others are turned upſide down (Z). An unwary reader might be eaſily led to think, that theſe differences happened ſince the invention of printing, becauſe ſuch miſtakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken
e notice of, a great many centuries before that art was thought upon, and have been religiouſly conveyed down to us in the ſame form, both in the written volumes, ſuch as they have always uſed in their ſynagogues, and in their printed books ſince the

[z] RR Azariah Ab. de Bartenor, Postel, Buxtorf, Conting. Schambat, & al. quid.

(Z) There are thirty one places in the old teſtament, in which ſome one or other of the letters of the alphabet are of a larger ſize than the reſt, as the א in אדם *Adam*, 1 *Chron.* i. 1. the ב in בר אשית *Bereſhith*, *Gen.* i. 1. ג in והתגלח *vehith galah*, he ſhall ſhave himſelf, *Levit.* xiii. 33. the ד in אחד *Achad*, 1 *Deut.* vi. 4. and ſo of the reſt. The minuſcula, or letters of a leſſer ſize happen in thirty three places, as the א in ויקרא *vajicra*. *Levit.* i. 1. the ב in הב *hab*, give. *Prov.* xxx. 15. the כ *Caph* in the word לבכתה *libkothah*, *Gen.* xxiii. 2. where *Abraham* is ſaid to have come to weep for her (*Sarah*); and where they ſay the ſmallneſs of that letter is deſigned to expreſs the moderation of his mourning, ſhe being an old woman. Moſt of their reaſons for the reſt of thoſe minuſcula are much of the ſame ſtamp. The נ *Nun* is the only inverted letter, or turned upſide down; it is obſerved to be ſo nine times, but the *Jews*, inſtead of inverting it in their printed books, do only note it in the margin, thus נ:הפוכה that is *Nun inverted*, which they think ſignifies ſome perverſity, or retroaction, implyed in the word, wherein it happeneth to be ſo. The ſame letter is ſuſpended once in the word, מנשה *Menaſſeh*. *Judg.* xviii. 30. where, in ſome printed books it is only marked in the margin נ תלויה *Nun ſuſpended*. The ע *Ain* is ſuſpended three times, once in *Pſ.* lxxx, 13. in the word יער *jaar*, foreſt, and twice in *Job*.

We hope it will ſuffice to have juſt hinted theſe cabbaliſtical obſervations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unleſs we could be ſatisfied both about the antiquity and deſign of theſe variations; which, for ought we know, may be owing to chance? and if they were done with a deſign, yet would puzzle an *OEdipus* to find it out.

the discovery of that art, as having been designedly so written by their inspired pen-men, either to convey some extraordinary mystery, or to imply some excellence or commendation, if the letter be of a larger, or if of the smaller kind, some dimunition and contempt of the thing signified by the word in which they are placed, or at least to raise either a greater degree of attention to the subject, of which we have had occasion to give an instance under a former head †

As to the numbers which we have set over against each letter, it must be observed, that they are those which the *Jews* have made use of time out of mind; but as to the divine penmen, they never made any use of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length: which we the more willingly take notice of, because some chronologers, in imitation of the cabbalistical *Jews*, have pretended to find out and settle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and measure of things, by the help of these numerical letters *; and both *Jews* and some cabbalistical Christians, to find out mysteries in them. Thus it is pretended, that the letter א, which signifies either 1, or 1000, occurs six times in the first verse of *Genesis*, to denote, that the world shall last just 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is said without the least proof that they were used to any such purpose, either by the inspired writers, or even by the antient *Jews*.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in dispute; *Jews* and Christians have been much divided, one part attributing them to *Moses*, and making them equally authentick with the text; and the other to *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue; till the learned *Elias Levita* [a], a learned *German Jew*, who flourished at *Rome* about the middle of the sixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in use till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, that is, according to him, about 500 years after Christ. His book soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation and of Christians. Among the latter were the two *Buxtorfs*, who produced some cabbalistical books of great antiquity, at least boasted as such by the *Jews*, in which there was express mention of points (A). These were answered by *Capellus* and other criticks, till *Morinus*, having examined all that had been urged on both sides, wrote his learned Dissertation on that subject, against which there has nothing been replied of any consequence; whereas his opinion has been universally applauded and confirmed by those that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither *Origen*, nor St. *Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the *Talmud*, which according to him was not finished till the seventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the *Jewish* rabbins, that wrote during the eighth and ninth century. He adds, that the first footsteps he met with of them were in the writings of the rabbies, *Aaron Ben-Asher*, chief of the western, and of *Moses Ben-Naphthali*, chief of the eastern school; that is, about

† See before p. 598. not. (H). * Ibid. p. 521. sub fin. not (C). Vid. & BASNAG. Hist. des Juifs, T. 6. l. 19. c. 8. 20. & seq. [a] ELI. LEVIT. præfat. 3. in Masoram Hammasor.

(A) These books are; the בהיר *Bahir*, זוהר *Zohar*, and the כוזרי *Kozri*. The first of these is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the *Kozri*, the *Jews*, will have it to be about 1900 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned *Jew* and the king of *Chozros*, in which the latter was converted to Judaism †.

In these three books mention is made of points more than once or twice, and the latter has this expression about them; that they are the same to the letters, that cloaths are to modest women, who dare not be seen without them. Were the boasted antiquity of these books unquestionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the *Jews* fidelity in such things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what shews the imposture of them is, that there are things in them which must have been written about 1000 years after their supposed date, and that none of those books have been quoted or mentioned during that time by any author. Other objections urged by the *Buxtorfs* and others against the recentness of the points, the reader will find fully answered by *Morinus*, and the authors quoted after him above.

† *De his vid. lib. Juchasm, p.* 42. *& seq.* R. AZARIA, *c.* 19. BUXTORF, CAPEL, MORIN. BASNAG, *& al.*

about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be ſuppoſed older than the beginning of it [b] (B).

a

AT the ſame time, theſe doctors ſet about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full ſtop, to divide the periods and verſes, which till that time had lain confuſed and undiſtinguiſhed, not only in the ſacred, but in all the other *Hebrew* books (C). This has been alſo a very uſeful work to the world, tho' few chriſtian interpreters have thought it neceſſary to confine themſelves to their diviſions. On the contrary, there is ſcarce a modern verſion, that doth not very reaſonably depart from them, when a clearer ſenſe, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that if a new verſion was now to be made of the Old Teſtament, it would alter the punctation of the *Maſſorites* in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D). Notwithſtanding which, it muſt be owned, that their labour in theſe two

b

[b] Vid. MORIN. Diſſert. Biblic. CAPEL. Arcan. punctat. & Diatrib. WALTON. prolgom. DUPIN. Voss. WASMUTH & al. mult.

(B) We ſhall venture, however, to ſubjoin a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe points for the ſake of our *Engliſh* readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number; all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter, as follows:

Long points.			Semibriefs.			Quite brief.	
◌ָ *Kamets*	a		◌ַ *Pattach*	a		◌ְ *Sheva*	e
◌ֵ *Tzere*	e		◌ֶ *Segol*	e		◌ֲ *Chateph-pattah*	ă
◌ִי *Chirick*	i	*gadol*	◌ִ *Chirick*	i		◌ֱ *Chateph-ſegol*	e ĭ
◌ֹ *Cholem*	o		◌ָ *Caton*			◌ֳ *Chateph-cometh*	ŏ
◌ֻ *Shureek*	u		◌ֹ *Holem*	o			
			◌ֻ *Kibbutz*				

It would be needleſs to dwell longer upon theſe, or to mention ſome differences among grammarians about them; for though the *Jews*, even thoſe who believe them to be the invention of the *Maſſorites*, look upon them to be of ſuch authority, that nothing can be altered in them; yet the generality of chriſtians reject ſuch a ſuperſtitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them, whenever a better ſenſe may be obtained by a change of them; becauſe it is plain; that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the ſeptuagint verſion, nor with that of St. *Jerom*, nor with their targums, nor with the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the moſt antient of all, nor with the interpretation of the antient rabbies; for which reaſon their punctation has been as much ſuſpected by ſome, as it has been cried up by others: So that if we could ſuppoſe the points to have been as old as thoſe antient verſions, we muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that their books were differently pointed from thoſe of the *Maſſorites*. All that can therefore be ſaid for theſe laſt is, that they have ſucceeded better in their punctation than chriſtians could have done, becauſe they had retained the true reading, at leaſt for the moſt part, by conſtant tradition, which we ſhould have had to ſeek for, by the bare help of thoſe antient verſions and paraphraſes, not without an immenſe deal of trouble. It is even plain, that they could not ſo much as agree among themſelves about every particular word, tho' they did it in the main; hence aroſe that difference of lection or punctation, known by the critics by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*.

This brings into our minds a ſtory out of the *Talmud*, which, tho' not of any authority, ſerves to ſhew, that their reading was not fixed at that time. There *David* is introduced reproving his general for not utterly deſtroying the *Amalekites*, according to the command of God. *Joab* anſwers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זכר *Zakar*, or the males, and *David* tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זכר *Zeker*, the memory of *Amalek*: To which *Joab* replies, that he had been always taught to read it *Zakar*, and not *Zeker*. The reader muſt not, however, imagine, that theſe differences are conſiderable, or that they leave the ſenſe of the ſcripture too undetermined. This is indeed objected by thoſe who contend for the authenticity of the points; but is fully anſwered by the authors on the oppoſite ſide. This is certain, that tho' the points are a vaſt help, both to the learners of *Hebrew*, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet when men have made any conſiderable progreſs in that tongue, they not only can read it with eaſe without them, but even chuſe to do ſo (36).

(C) An eminent critic aſſures us (37), that he had examined above 2000 *Hebrew* manuſcripts of all ſorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old; or, at leaſt if the books themſelves were of older date, yet the points were manifeſtly added, to them afterwards; and this he affirms, equally of the grammatical and vowel points. And he was ſo ſure that he had made all the neceſſary enquiry after them; that he defies all the advocates for the points, to produce one that could diſprove his aſſertion; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at; the *Jews* were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a byaſs in every thing that related to the religion, and reign of the *Meſſiah*, to have ſucceeded, tho' roughly, in ſuch an undertaking, if their intentions had been never ſo upright. But it is to be queſtioned, whether their fear of giving the chriſtians

(36) *Vid. Method of learning* Hebrew *without points.*

(37) Is. Voss. *de* LXXII. *interpret. tranſlat. c.* 30.

two reſpects, have proved very ſerviceable to the learned, and that they have made a the knowledge of the ſacred books much eaſier and expeditious, than it could have been without it, Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they excogitated a great variety of other points, ſome rhetorical, ſome muſical, and others critical; the former of which were deſigned to keep up the right cadence and chant of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the ſenſe of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate as they were indeed uſeleſs, and in ſome caſes ridiculous. From theſe they ſet themſelves, about numbering the verſes, and even letters, and middle verſes of every book; and to ſet down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book (E). And as the deſign of all this labour was to prevent any b miſtakes, additions, omiſſions, or alterations creeping into the text; ſo it plainly intimates, that they were conſcious of its having done ſo before; and that notwithſtanding all their pretended care and ſcrupulous exactneſs in tranſcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid ſome ſuch miſchances.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the inſtrument they wrote with, may, in ſome meaſure, be gathered from ſome places of ſcripture. As to the former it is plain, that their firſt writing, namely the *Decalogue*, was upon tables of ſtone. But it is likely, that *Moſes* made uſe of a leſs heavy and cumberſome material to write the reſt of his laws upon, ſuch as the *Shittim*, or ſome other hard wood. This

ſtians any advantage, has not crampt them more than all the reſt, and made them ſit down ſatisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards uſed againſt them.

To give one inſtance for all: It is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th verſes of the 110th pſalm, which is confeſſed on all hands to be prophetical of the Meſſiah's reign, they have ſo far murdered the ſenſe of it, that no verſion has been able to tranſlate it without ſome

needleſs and unwarrantable ſuppletives; whereas had they divided it into three verſes, and placed the full ſtops where they ought to be, the ſenſe would have been clear, eaſy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy contained in it. But perhaps that is what they carefully avoided. The reaſon of it will appear by what follows. And as no verſion has as yet rectified it, we ſhall take the liberty to ſubjoin the literal verſion of thoſe three verſes, according to their and our punctation, that our readers may ſee which ought to be preferred.

According to the Maſſoretic.	*According to our punctation.*
2 The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of *Sion*; be thou ruler in the midſt of thine enemies.	2 The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of *Sion*.
3 Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holineſs; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.	3 Rule thou in the midſt of thy enemies; thy free-will people in the beauty of holineſs.
	4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the firſt of theſe the reader will ſee that the placing the full point after enemies, ſtrikes off the next words *thy free will-people* from being either the accuſative of the verb רדה *redeh, rule thou*, going before or from having any connexion with what comes after. So that thoſe words ſtand ſo ungrammatically there by themſelves, that to make ſenſe of the verſe, moſt verſions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have ſubſtituted to it of their own. Thus one of our verſions that in our Common-Prayer-Book, words it thus; In the day of thy power *ſhall* the people *offer free-will offerings*, where the words *ſhall offer* are added to make up the ſenſe, and the order inverted, by placing the words, *in the day of thy power*, before them, contrary to the *Hebrew*. That in our Bible is ſtill wider from the original, tho' it ſubſtitutes leſs, as the reader may ſee by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According therefore to this pointing, the verſes in queſtion may be fairly commented as follows.

2. The Lord ſhall ſend the rod, or ſcepter, of thy power out of *Sion*, that is, out of the tribe of *Judah*. Compare *Gen.* xlix. 10. and *Pſ.* lxxviii. 68. 3. Rule thou over *thy free-will* people (for none but ſuch are fit to be Chriſt's ſubjects; ſee *Matth.* xi. 29). In the midſt of thy enemies (*Jews* and *Heathens*, or, in a ſpiritual ſenſe, the world, the fleſh, and devil). In the day of thy power (that is, when all power ſhall be given him, both in heaven and earth, *Matth.* xxviii. 18.) In the beauties of Holineſs (which is the peculiar characteriſtic of Chriſt's reign, and of his religion).

(E) Thus they obſerve, for inſtance, that *Geneſis* contains 1534 verſes, the middle of which is the 40th of the 27th chapter; and that the letter א *Aleph* occurs in that book 42,377 times; the ב *Beth* 38,218; and ſo of the reſt of the letters, and of every canonical book. The number of all the letters in the whole ſtands thus, according to them:

Final letters, ſtanding at the end of words	51,520
in the middle of words	160,734
Medial letters apart - - - - - -	763,160
Total of medial and final - - - - -	975,414

Whether theſe niceties were an improvement upon the *Mohamedans*, who likewiſe compute the number of verſes at the end of each ſection of their *Koran*, and ſum up the total at the end of it; or whether theſe did it in imitation of the *Jews*, we will not affirm; the former, however, ſeems the more likely of the two, from what *Morinus* and others have obſerved (38), that the firſt *Jewiſh* grammarians

(38) *Morin. ub. ſup. & al. quoq.*

a This way of writing upon tables was ſtill in uſe, not only in *Iſaiah*'s days [c] (F), but even continued ſo till our Saviour's time [d]. But beſides theſe, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Pſalms*, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls [e], which are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of ſkins, or of ſome pliable matter, fit to roll up or round, for ſo the original words imports (G). And we have the teſtimonies of *Herodotus* [f] and *Diodorus Siculus* [g], that the *Ionians* and *Perſians* uſed the ſkins of ſheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king *Pergamus*'s time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor, of parchment †. Theſe rolls differed in their ſize, according to the ſubject they contained, and the character in which it was written; ſo that b ſome of them had ſeveral ſkins ſewed to one another lengthwiſe. The *Jews* retain them to this day in their ſynagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the ſkin, much leſs of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our verſion renders leaves, in that place of *Jeremiah* [h], where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it (H). Of this ſort, we ſuppoſe, was alſo the book of the law, which the high-prieſt found in *Joſiah*'s time [i].

HENCE we conclude, they uſed two ſorts of inſtruments; the firſt of ſteel, or ſome hard metal, for ingraving upon ſtone and wood; one ſide of which was ſharp-pointed, and the other blunt and ſmooth, and ſeveral either to ſmooth or c eraſe what had been written. Hence the *Latin* proverb, *Invertere ſtylum*. This kind of inſtrument we find mentioned in ſome places of ſcripture [k], tho' not deſcribed, but gueſſed at, from thoſe which were uſed by other nations. The other ſort was for writing upon the ſkins of beaſts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or ſome other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a pen-knife, or, as the original has it, a ſcribe or writer's knife, with which king *Jehoiakim* cut the roll which was ſent him by *Jeremiah*.

WE do not find, that they had any ſchools, or colleges, for the inſtruction of their youth, if we except thoſe of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we ſhall ſhew by-and-by. They have not ſo much as a word to d expreſs it (I): and, if we conſider their manner of education and life, we ſhall *Education and Learning.*

[c] Iſai. xxx. 8. [d] Luke i. 63. [e] Job. xxxi. 35, 36. Pſ. xl. 7. Iſai. viii. 1. Jerem. xxvi. 4. Ezek. ii. 9. iii. 1. & ſeq. Zechar. v. 2. [f] Lib. 5. [g] Lib. 2. † See Voss. orig. & lib. de grammat. cap. xxxviii. [h] Jerem. xxxvi. 23. [i] 2 King. xxii. 8. [k] Job xix. 24. Pſ. xlv. 2. & alib.

grammarians were *Arabians*, and wrote their grammars in that tongue, ſome time after the points had been added to it; from which he concludes it probable, that they took both their points and rules of grammar from the *Arabians*; and if ſo, they might as well take their method of numbering the verſes, and improve it by extending it to the letters, and thoſe other niceties above mentioned.

(F) The ſeptuagint render this place, *write it on a box-table*, *upon a box-table*; which makes it probable, that that wood had been in uſe before their time. And the *Talmud* tells us, that the lots of the two goats, which were ordered to be brought to the high-prieſt on the day of expiation (39), were at firſt written upon two ſmall box tables †.

(G) מגלה *Megilah* comes from גלל *Gallal*, which ſignifies *to roll up*, as *volumen* from *volvo*; anſwerable to which, the evangeliſt (40) makes uſe of the words πτυξας and αναπτυξας, for the opening and ſhutting of the book.

(H) The word דלתות *Daltoth*, which properly ſignifies *Doors*; and here *Pages* or *Columns*, from their likeneſs to a door. A leaf of a book doth indeed bear the ſame reſemblance, but cannot properly belong to ſuch roll as we are ſpeaking of.

(I) The *Jews*, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for theſe ſchools, of which there is no mention in the ſacred books, namely, the בת-מוסר *Beth-Muſſar*, which ſignifies *the houſe of inſtruction*, or *an inferior ſchool for reading and writing*; and the בת-מדרש *Beth-Midraſh*, or *houſe of enquiry* or *expounding*, whither they went to be inſtructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabinic ſubtilties. But tho' it be viſible, that theſe are of more recent date, namely, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of *Simeon*, and the latter by that of *Levi*; which they infer from *Jacob*'s prophecy of the diſperſion of thoſe two tribes in *Iſrael* (41). So that, having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep ſchool for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this abſurd notion, for it is plain that *Simeon* had a portion with the reſt (43), they interpret the words of the pſalmiſt, *paſſing through the valley of* Bacca, *uſe it for a well*; *and the rain filleth the pool* (44); of theſe wells of learning; and it was a common phraſe with them, *maſter, we come to drink waters from thy well*; inſtead of, *We come to be thy ſcholars or diſciples* (45). And thus alſo the words in the next verſe, *they go from ſtrength to ſtrength*; they underſtood, *of raiſing from one claſs to the other*. Theſe are, according to them, the מועדי-אל *Mohede-El*, *houſes of God*; or, as our verſion more truly renders it,

(39) Levit. xvi. 8. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 619. *not.* (V) Gen. xlix. 7. (43) *Vid.* Joſh. xix. 1. & *ſup. p.* 462. (40) Luke iv. 17, 20. (41) Gen. xlix. 7. *not.* (F). (44) Pſ. lxxxiv. 6, 7. (45) *Vid. Gemar.* (42) *Targ. Hieroſol. Rab.* RASCH. SAL. JARK. & *al. in tr.* חגיגה *fol.* 3. & *Midraſh in* Pſ. lxxiv. 8.

shall find no great use for them. They bred up their sons to bodily exercises, such a as would best fit them either for war or husbandry; and their daughters to houshold occupations, without troubling themselves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to instruct them in the knowledge of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the sabbath. They had rather an aversion than curiosity, for foreign languages, and he that could speak and write his own well, or at least as well as his neighbours, thought himself sufficiently learned; and for these custom served them instead of grammar. History, further than they found it in their sacred books, they thought beneath their care, because they found in these all that they esteemed worth knowing. The creation of the world, the flood, the origin and dispersion of b nations, and, what concerned them most, their own history and descent from *Abraham*, their affinity to other branches of his posterity, the *Egyptian* bondage and deliverance, and, in a word, all that wonderful series of transactions which had happened to their nation; in all which God had shewed such peculiar regard to them, that it was no wonder, if we find them so full of themselves and so prone to despise all the rest of the world. Besides the *Pentateuch*, and the histories of *Joshua*, of their judges, and kings, which they thought themselves, obliged to be versed in, they had also several others which have been lost since; such as the book of the wars of the Lord, that of *Jasher*, and especially the book of the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to which those we have c extant, continually refer (K): but these last were not perhaps so universally studied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

ALL

it, *the synagogues*, which the psalmist said were destroyed by the king of *Babylon* (46). So that upon the whole, we have not any grounds from scripture for any such schools.

Much less for those antediluvian academies, of which some christian moderns make *Adam* the first founder, and which they pretend to have been continued by *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Melchisedech*, *Abraham*, and *Jacob* (47); the last of which, where it is said, *that he was a plain man*, and dwelt in tents, the *Chaldee* paraphrast, and after him other *Jewish* commentators, have rendered it, *that he was a perfect man, and master* of the *Beth-Mussar*, or, in plain *English*, *an excellant school-master*. Of *Abraham* we have seen heretofore, that he is affirmed by *Josephus* and others to have taught astronomy in *Egypt* *; and *Melchisedech* is likewise supposed, by the same authors, to have kept a famous school at *Hebron*, called from thence *Kiriath-sepher*, which may be properly rendered, *the city of books* or *learning*; and *Debir*, *oracle*. Some others think, that it flourished about 1456 years before Christ, that is, about *Joshua*'s time; and that it had been founded by the *Canaanites*, and was the most antient academy in the world; after whose model that famous one of the *Edomites*, called *Theman*, and that of *Tekoah*, had been formed. Some add, that it had a public library, in which were preserved the records, and history of the world, continued from the flood downwards †. All which is built, at the best, upon very uncertain conjectures.

(K) It cannot be reasonably supposed, that the *Chronicles* and the book of *Kings* do refer to one another, whenever we meet with these words at the end of every reign: *The rest of the acts of*— and so on, *are they not written in the book of*, &c. seeing the same facts are repeated all the way in both, with little or no variation or addition, and very often in the same words. The *Greek* version has indeed given the book of *Chronicles* the name of παραλειπομενοι, or *things omitted*, but with relation to historical facts, the reader will find but a small number in this, that are not in that of the *Kings*: It seems therefore to have been called so from its having given a full chronology of the scripture from *Adam*, and carried it beyond that of the *Kings*, as St. *Jerom* justly observes (48). To which may be added, that it sets forth the order of the genealogies, tribes, and families, the officers and courses of the priests and *Levites*, and many other particularities, which give a great light to the rest of the sacred writings, and without which it would be ridiculous for a man to pretend to understand them, as the same father elsewhere expresses it (49).

The books therefore referred to in these seem to be, either the records out of which they were taken by their compilers, or, which is indeed more probable, the annals and archives of every king's reign, to which the readers were sent for a further account, whilst these, being written by inspired pen-men, were designed to contain only such transactions, as had an immediate relation to religion.

If it be asked, who were the authors of those books, it is plain, that the former were written by the historians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themselves. But who were the writers of the latter, is not so easily agreed: For as, on the one hand, the historians mentioning every transaction as done in their time has induced many of the learned to suppose, that they were written at several times, and by several inspired pen-men, cotemporary with them, such as *Samuel*, *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and others; so, on the other side, the seeming uniformity of style, through all those books, makes that notion seem very improbable, and several expressions interspersed in them impossible. Thus it is said, in the beginning of the book of *Samuel*, that the word of God was precious, or scarce, in those days (50); and that it was then the custom, to call a prophet a seer, and to inquire

(46) Ps. lxxiv. 8. *vid. middr. in loc.* (47) *Vid.* BOUDUC. Eccles. *ant. leg.* SANDERS *vindic. Bibl.* BASNAG. *& al.* * *Vid. sup. p.* 435. *not.* (Q). † MILDENDORP DRIEDO. AR. MONTAN, MASIUS *ap.* St. PHILIP. *Monarch. Hebr. sub Othoniel.* (48) *Epist. ad Dominion.* (49) *Id. ad Paulin.* (50) 1 Sam. iii. 1.

a ALL that related to religion and morality, was contained in the *Moſaic* books, and interſperſed in the others; but beſides theſe they had the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*, beſides many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which are likewiſe loſt; to ſay nothing of *Job* and the *Prophets*. All theſe they were to be inſtructed in, even from their infancy, they heard them expounded on the ſabbath, and other feſtivals, by the *Prophets* and *Levites*, and in them they found ſuch a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot ſuppoſe them to have had the leaſt curioſity to know more of it. And indeed their law-giver knew but too well, how dangerous ſuch knowledge would have been to a people ſo eaſy to be corrupted, and therefore wiſely ordained, that their children ſhould be b inſtructed only in ſuch truths, as were proper to inſpire them with an awful regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilſt he forbad them, almoſt upon all occaſions, to be inquiſitive after the religion and learning of other nations.

THIS was moſt probably alſo the foundation of that extraordinary diſregard they ſhewed for thoſe uſeful arts and ſciences, in which their neighbours had ſo long excelled. Arithmetick, being ſo neceſſary for the trading part, might indeed find ſome encouragement amongſt them, and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture, than from any teſtimony; but as for navigation, aſtronomy, and ſuch like, we find nothing in their hiſtory, but what aſſures us of their unſkilfulneſs c in them. The maritime tribes contented themſelves with receiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad; inſomuch, that when *Solomon* reſolved to ſend ſome ſhips into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign ſailors. And as for aſtronomy, we need but call to mind what has been ſaid, under another head, of the poor ſhifts they were drove to, to find out their new moons *, to convince us of their profound ignorance of it. We ſhall only add, that they were ſo far from knowing any thing of eclipſes, that they have not ſo much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon them as miraculous, and as tokens of the divine anger, and ſo never dived farther into the nature of them. d Perhaps alſo they were led into this notion, by that figurative expreſſion in *Job* [l], *he covers the light with his hands, and ſets, as it were, an interpoſer over it*; for that is the literal ſenſe of the original, and of the verſion of the ſeptuagint: agreeable to which is that awful deſcription of the day of the Lord in *Joel* [m], and of the downfal of *Egypt* and other nations, which we meet with in the *Prophets*.

THE changing of the ſolar into the lunar year, and the compleat month of 30 days into the irregular moons of 29 and 30 days, mentioned under other heads; the diſtinguiſhing of the days of the week (not by the ſeven planets, of which they do not ſeem to have had any knowledge, or ſo much as names for; but to have ranked them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed ſtars; but) by 1ſt, *Meaſuring time.* e 2d, 3d day, or 1ſt and 2d from the ſabbath; the diviſion of the day and night not into 12 equal parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches. Theſe diviſions of time, ſo very oppoſite to that more perfect one of the *Egyptians* and other neighbouring nations, ſeem entirely calculated by their law-giver, to prevent them applying themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and thence falling inſenſibly into that of aſtrology

* Vid. p. 610. not. H. [l] Job xxxvi. 32. [m] Ch. ii. 10 & 31. iii. 15.

for him by that name (51). Theſe and ſeveral others in the ſame ſtyle, ſeem at leaſt, to imitate, that it was otherwiſe when the books were written. Thus it is alſo ſaid in another place of the ſame book, that in the author's time, the name of *Beth-el*, or *houſe of God*, was turned into that of *Beth-aven*, or the *houſe of wickedneſs*; which did not happen till after *Jeroboam*'s revolt (52). Theſe, and many more which we omit, make it very probable, that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile theſe, it is generally believed, that the original authors of them were thoſe inſpired perſons above-mentioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all thoſe pieces were afterwards collected into a regular hiſtory, either by *Ezra Haggai*, or ſome of theſe prophets, who returned from the captivity; and who, being alike inſpired, might make ſuch further additions as they thought proper to illuſtrate their hiſtory; ſuch as the change of names, cuſtoms, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they have been ſtill conſtantly acknowledged, by the *Jews*, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to, as ſuch, by the writers of the goſpel (53).

(51) *Ibid. ix.* 9. (52) *Ibid. xiii.* 2, 5. (53) *Vid.* Matth. xii. 3. & *al.* Luke iv. 25. & *ſeq.* & *alib. paſſ.*

aſtrology, and being thereby inſnared into the worſhip of thoſe heavenly bodies, a after the example of other nations (L). What inſtruments they had to reckon the time by, whether the *Egyptian Clepſydra*, or water-glaſſes, or ſun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except that we read of the ſun-dial, or, as the original ſignifies, the ſtair-caſe, or flight of ſteps of *Ahaz*[n]; but allowing it to have been a real and regular ſun-dial, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been rather the work of ſome foreign aſtronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character ſufficiently ſhews, that he was not over ſcrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witneſs his new *altar from Damaſcus*[o]. Beſides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two firſt of which were from the ſun-riſing to its meridian, and the two laſt from noon to its ſetting, it was not difficult b for them to make out the other diviſion by ſuch obſervations, either on his career, or on the ſhadow of any trees, houſes, or even of their own bodies, as every plough-man with us is able to do to a much greater juſtneſs. The ſame might be done in the diviſion of the four night-watches from the motion of the ſtars. To ſeek for other ſciences, or for ſchools or univerſities among them, were like ſeeking them among the *Goths* and *Vandals*; they not only had an equal contempt for them and for thoſe nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred, againſt them was ſo far from abating, after their return from *Babylon*, where they had ſeen them flouriſh, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, inſomuch, that their large chronick, entitled *Juchaſin*, hath c recorded a ſentence of anathema, which paſſed in the time of *Hircanus*, and *Ariſto-bulus*, againſt ſuch as ſhould ſuffer their children to be inſtructed in any part of the *Greek* learning. *Solomon* indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturaliſt, and wrote a great deal upon that ſubject; but he was ſo far from recommending that ſtudy to others, that he calls his reſearches of that kind, *vanity and vexation of ſpirit*: or, as the original imports, *a feeding upon the wind*[p]: which is probably the reaſon, why, inſtead of following his example, they ſuffered all thoſe excellent writings to be loſt. Whilſt they were thus averſe to the learning of other nations, they were no leſs ſcrupulous of concealing their own from them, eſpecially their ſacred books; witneſs the grief they expreſſed, when *Ptolemy* obtained a verſion of them into *Greek*, d in memory of which they have kept a ſtrict, even a double, faſt, on the 8th and 9th days of the month *Thevet*, or *December*.

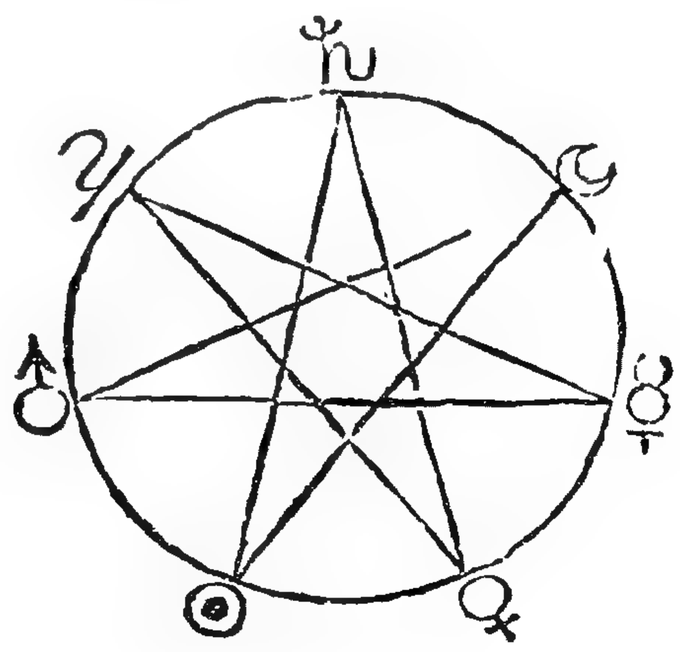
Their hatred to the Greek language.

Synagogues. ON the other hand, they were no leſs careful to cultivate the knowledge of them among themſelves: we cannot indeed be ſure, that they had any ſynagogues before the captivity, tho' it be far from improbable, conſidering the great diſtance at which ſome of them lived from the temple, and that at beſt they were obliged to

[n] 2 King. xx. 9, & ſeq. [o] Ibid. xvi. 10, & ſeq. [p] Eccleſ. i. & ſeq. paſſ.

(L) It is no difficult matter to conceive, how thoſe antient nations came to worſhip the planets and heavenly bodies, after they had once imbibed the belief of their having ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the government of all ſublunary things, and had aſcribed to every one their ſeveral influences, good or bad, and the particular periods in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came firſt into their head, is not ſo eaſy to imagine; and yet that it muſt have began very early, and was univerſally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we conſider, how antient the diviſion of the day and night into 24 hours is; and that the conſecrating every day of the week to one of the ſeven planets, not in the regular order in which they ſtand in their ſyſtem, ♄, ♃, ♂, ☉, &c. but by skipping two of them every new day, could not be owing to any thing but an opinion, that every planet ruled alternately the ſeveral hours of each day.

Thus, on *Saturday*, *Saturn*, the planet of that day being ſuppoſed to govern the 1, 8, 15, and 22 hours, whilſt *Jupiter*, the next in order, governed the 2, 9, 16, and 23. ♂ the 3, 10, 17, and 24, the *Sun* muſt of courſe govern the firſt hour of the next day, upon which account he became the planet of that day, and having ruled the 1, 8, 15, and 22, and *Venus* and *Mercury* the two remaining ones, brought in the *Moon* to be lady of the next, or of the *Monday*; and ſo of the reſt according to the following dyagram.



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary diviſion of the week was of aſtrological extraction; and that that of the days into 24 parts was ſo likewiſe, tho' not equally demonſtrable, can hardly be queſtioned, if we conſider the great connection which theſe two have

to reſort thither but thrice in a year; but other places they had for prayer and inſtruction, namely, the ſchools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the ſabbaths, new moons, and other feſtivals [q]. By prophets we mean not thoſe ſtrictly ſo called, men endowed with a ſpirit of prophecy (M), but their diſciples, or, as the *Hebrew* idiom words it, the ſons of the prophets. The former were generally conſulted by the kings, prieſts, and elders of the people upon all extraordinary occaſions, whether about religion or ſtate affairs, and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for inſtructing the people, in the way of virtue and the worſhip of God. *Schools.*

THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country, they lived in a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father [s]. Their houſes were but mean, and of their own building [t]. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs [u]; unleſs when the people ſent ſome better fare to them, ſuch as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like [x]. Their dreſs was plain and coarſe, and tied about with a leathern girdle [y]; their wants, being ſo few, were eaſily ſupplied by their own hands, and as their views reached no further, ſo they limited their labour to that, that they might beſtow the more time in prayer, ſtudy, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in ſuch a ſtate, and therefore *Elijah* not only refuſed *Naaman*'s preſents, but puniſhed *Gehali* in a ſevere manner, for having clandeſtinely obtained a ſmall portion of them [z]. This laborious, recluſe and abſtemious courſe of life, joined to the meanneſs of dreſs, gave them ſuch a ſtrange air, eſpecially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen [a]. Their extraordinary freedom in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewiſe expoſe them frequently to perſecutions, impriſonments, and ſometimes to death; eſpecially in the reigns of ſome wicked princes, ſuch as were *Ahab* and *Manaſſeh*; but in the main, they were always reſpected by the better and wiſer ſort, even of the higeſt rank, and uſed with the utmoſt reverence and regard, both in language and behaviour [b]. *Prophets.*

THIS is all that we know concerning thoſe religious communities and their manner of life: thoſe who have ventured to give us a further account of it, ſuch as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have ſpun it out of their own brain [c]. It is true, that we do not read of any women living amongſt

[q] Vid. 2 King. iv. 23. [r] Vid. 1 King. xxii. 5. 7. 2 King. xix. 2. 20, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & ſeq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & ſeq. & alib. [s] 1 Sam. ix. 5. 2 King. vi. 1, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. [u] Ibid. iv. 38, & ſeq. [x] 1 King. xiv. 3, & ſeq. 2 King. iv. 42, & alib. [y] Vid. Zach. xiii. 4. 2 King. i. 8. [z] 2 King. v. paſſ. [a] Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 10. [b] 1 King. xviii. 7, & ſeq. 2 King. i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. [c] Vid. int. al. BOLDUC. Eccl. ant. leg. CALM. ſub. voc. prophet.

have to one another, and that the reputed author of this laſt, the *Egyptian Hermes* ſirnamed *Triſmegiſtus*, and cotemporary with *Moſes*, if nott he ſame perſon with him; was a great aſtrologer, as it appears by ſome of his writings on that ſubject ſtill extant under his name.

Some authors do indeed tell us, that he took the hint of this diviſion from the *Egyptian Cunocephalus*, which he obſerved, at the time of the equinox, to have piſſed and howled 12 times from ſun riſing to ſun ſet, and at equal diſtance, from which the *Egyptians* took alſo the hint of the *Clepſydra*, or water hourglaſſes, in memory of which, they uſed to place the image of that animal on the top of them (54). But as we cannot look upon the whole ſtory to be authentick, ſo the moſt that can be made of it is, that that nation hath the faireſt claim for being the inventors of this diviſion; tho' whether they, or the *Chaldeans* were ſo, the *Jews* never admitted of it till after the captivity; for the firſt mention that we find of hours, properly ſo called, is in the apocryphal book of *Judith*; ſo that, in all reſpects, their computation of time was different from the reſt of the world. Even their very ſeaſons are not called by the uſual names of ſpring and autumn, but of ſeed-time and harveſt, cold and heat, winter and ſummer (55).

(M) The word prophet doth not always ſignify an inſpired perſon, in the old teſtament, but often a preacher of righteouſneſs, ſuch as were all the patriarchs from *Seth*, or, in the ſenſe of the goſpel, ſuch as believed and taught the coming of the *Meſſiah* (56); in which ſenſe alſo thoſe that preached him and his doctrine, after his coming, are alſo called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The ſame may be alſo ſaid of thoſe who ſung the praiſes of God, or accompanied them with ſome muſical inſtrument, as *Miriam* (58), the company of prophets that met *Saul* (59), and the ſons of *Aſaph*, of *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, who are ſaid to have propheſied with harps, pſalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than muſicians. The apoſtle gives the title of prophet, even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that diſtinction in St. *Auſtin* of *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Heathen* prophets (62).

(54) TULL. *ap. Victorin. cited by Macrob. lib. i. c.* 21. *Vid.* KIRCH. *Hieroglyph. & al.* (55) *Vid.* Gen. viii. *ver. ult. & alib. paſſ. vid. &* WHIST. *Theory.* (56) Luke. i. 70. (57) *Vid.* 1 Cor. xi. 4. xiv. 24, 29, *& ſeq. & alib.* (58) Exod. xv. 20. (59) 1 Sam. x. 5. (60) 1 Chron. xxv. 1. (61) Tit. i. 12. (62) *Præfat. in lib. xix. cont. Fauſt.*

amongſt them, and that when the *Shunamite* went to acquaint *Elijah* with the death of her ſon, he ſent *Gehaſi* to meet her, and that when ſhe would have fallen down at his maſter's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it is alſo certain, that ſeveral of the prophets were married, and had children, as *Samuel*, *Iſaiah*, whoſe wife is called a propheteſs [d], *Ezekiel* [e], and *Hoſea* [f], and it was the widow of one of the ſons of the prophets, whoſe oyl *Elijah* did miraculouſly multiply, to ſave her ſons from being ſold to the creditors of the deceaſed [g]. The propheteſſes were likewiſe married, *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth* [h], and *Huldah*, whom king *Joſiah* ſent to conſult, was the wife of *Shallum*, and ſhe is obſerved (in the text) to have lived in the college of *Jeruſalem* [i]. Theſe inſpired perſons, whilſt they continued in *Iſrael*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the ſureſt expounders of the *Moſaic* law, proved ſuch a ſtrong fence againſt ſchiſm and hereſy, (that political one of *Jeroboam* excepted, againſt which they waged a continual war) that it could never get footing among them (N); whereas prophecy no ſooner ceaſed, than they ſplit themſelves into ſuch a great variety of ſects, and gave ſuch a ſcope to their fertile fancies, that the *Talmudiſts* own, *Elias* himſelf would be at a loſs to ſolve the ſubtile difficulties which they have raiſed againſt each other [k].

THESE prophets, the *Talmudiſts* reckon from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, to the number of forty-eight, and ſix propheteſſes (O). Several of the former are known to

[d] Iſai. viii. 3. [e] Ezek. xxiv. 18. [f] Hoſ. i. 2, & ſeq. [g] 2 King. iv. 1, & ſeq. [h] Judg. iv. 4. [i] 2 King. xxii. 14. 15. [k] Tract. Megillath.

(N) We muſt not, however, paſs by a diſtinction, which the antient *Jews* have hammered out of the ſacred writings, between the חסידים *Haſſidim*, called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers *Aſſidei* †, the צדקים *Tzadikim*, and רשעים *Reſhahim*. The words properly ſignify no more than *merciful*, *juſt*, and *wicked men*; and the aſſembly or company of the two former is often oppoſed to that of the latter, not as being different ſects, but as perſons of a different character. But the *Talmudiſts* have attributed ſome peculiar opinions to each of theſe, tho' they are not quite agreed, whether they related to ſpeculation or practice. They gave the preference to the *Haſſidim* in both reſpects, as being the honeſteſt interpreters and practicers of the law, and the *Phariſees* boaſt themſelves ſprung from them; tho' much more likely from the *Tzadikim*, which were an over-ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſect, pretending much to works of ſupererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of *Solomon* was directed, *be not righteous over-much* (63). Theſe, however, are the tenets attributed to each of them with reſpect to *meum* and *tuum* (64). The *Haſſidim* ſaid, *what is mine is yours*; the *Reſhahim*, *what is yours is mine*; but the *Tzadikim*, *what is mine is mine*, and *what is yours is yours*. To this the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays (65), *that ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man ſome would even dare to die, whilſt Chriſt vouchſafed to die, even for the worſt of the three, even for the wicked*; where the δικαιος alludes to the *Tzadick*, or *rigidly righteous*, and αγαθος to the *Haſſid*, or *merciful man*, as *the wicked* to the *Reſhahim*. Whether that diſtinction likewiſe of our Saviour (66), between the good and the bad, the juſt and unjuſt, hath not probably an eye to this threefold ſort of men, we leave to the reader.

(O) The propheteſſes are *Miriam*, *Deborah*, *Hannah*, (*Samuel*'s mother) *Abigail*, *Huldah*, and *Eſther*; ſome add the two *Egyptian* midwives to that number. As for the prophets, they are *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, *Phineas*, *Elkanah* and his ſon *Samuel*, *Eli*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Iddo*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Micajah* the ſon of *Imlah* (67), *Obadiah*, *Ahijah* the *Shilonite* (68), *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani* (69), *Azariah* the ſon of *Obed* (70), *Ahaziel* the ſon of *Mathaniah*, *Eliezer* the ſon of *Dodavah* (71), *Hoſea*, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Amos* II. ſuppoſed the father of *Iſaiah*, *Elijah*, *Eliſha*, *Iſaiah*, *Jonah*, *Nahum*, *Joel*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Jeremiah*, *Uriah* the ſon of *Shemaiah* (72), *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Baruch*, *Neriah*, *Seraiah* his ſon, *Maaſiah* his father (73), *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*, *Mordecai*, *Shallum* the huſband of *Huldah*, and *Hanameel*, *Jeremiah*'s kinſman, of whom he bought a field (74).

Some add, that when the father of any prophet is mentioned, he is alſo a prophet (75); as where *Jeremiah* is ſaid to be the ſon of *Hilkiah*, *Hoſea* the ſon of *Beri* (76), *&c.* and that when the place of his nativity is not mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been of *Jeruſalem* (77).

It is obſervable, with reſpect to *Daniel*, that tho' the *Jews* allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings among thoſe of the other prophets, but only among the *Hagiographa*, which they look upon as of the leaſt authority of all the canonical books. The reaſons they give for it, are 1. That *Daniel* was a courtier, and ſpent his life in luxury and grandeur, in the ſervice of an uncircumciſed king. 2. That the ſpirit of prophecy was confined to the land of *Canaan*, out of which he lived all his life: to theſe ſome have added a third, namely, that he had been made an eunuch, according to *Iſaiah*'s prophecy to *Hezkiah* (78), and that ſuch were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord (79). Some learned *Jews* have indeed vindicated him, from this laſt imputation (80), but their *Gemarrah* doth caſt ſtill a much more injurious reflection upon him, namely, that he ſtole away privately into *Egypt* to buy hogs, whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* was ſetting up his golden image, and his three friends *Shadrach*, *Meſhack*, and *Abednego*, were condemned to the flames for refuſing to worſhip it (81). But it is plain

† *Vid.* 1 Maccab. vii. 12. (63) Eccles. vii. 16. (64) *Vid.* D. KIMCHI. *in* Pſ. ciii. 17. BARTENOR. *gloſſ. in porke aboth. c. ii. 8. v.* 10. WAGENSCH. *ad lib.* סוטה *c. ix.* 15. (65) Rom. v. 7. 8. (66) Matt. v. 45. (67) 1 King. xxii. 8, & *ſeq.* (68) Ibid. xi. 29. (69) Ibid. xvi. 1. (70) 2 Chron. xv. 1. (71) *Ibid. xx. ult.* (72) Jerem. xxvi. 20, & *ſeq.* (73) *ibid. li.* 59. (74) *ibid. xxii.* 7, & *ſeq. de his prophet. vid. Scdar. cham. minor.* (75) *Vid.* KIMCH. *in* Hos. i. (76) Jer. & Hoſ. i. 1. (77) KIMCH. *ibid.* (78) 2 King. xx. 18. (79) Deut. xxiii. 1. (80) *vid.* ABENEZR. *in* Dan. (81) *Tractat. Sanhedr.*

a to us by nothing but their names; as for the reſt of them, we ſhall refer the farther account of their actions, writings, and character, till we come to the hiſtory of thoſe kings in whoſe reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways by which God revealed himſelf to them were various; to ſome he appeared and ſpoke, either in a human or ſome other viſible form, as he did to *Abraham* and *Moſes*; to others by voice only, as to *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Hoſea*, and others [l]; ſometimes by viſions, as he did to *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and others [m]: at other times by dreams [n]; but the moſt uſual and general way was by the ſole operation of the ſpirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this laſt manner, the book of *Pſalms* is generally thought to have been dictated by b the Holy Ghoſt to the author, or rather the authors of it, *Moſes*, *David*, *Solomon*, the three ſons of *Chore*, *Aſaph*, and the reſt [o].

SECT. V.

The Jewish Chronology, *from* Abraham's *vocation to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*

c WE have ſhewn, in a former ſection, that the time, which elapſed from *Abraham*'s firſt entrance into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s deſcent into *Egypt*, was 215 years †, and that his poſterity continued in the latter, another 215 years *, in all 430. From their coming out of that bondage to *Solomon*'s laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years [a]; from thence to the deſtruction of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, are reckoned 422 years [b]: ſo that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of *Abraham* to the *Babyloniſh* captivity, amounts to 1334. As to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, it laſted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah*, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by d *Shalmaneſer*; which happen'd 134 years before the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

THUS far then the larger diviſions of this æra are fixed upon a ſolid ground, the authority of the ſacred writers; but leſt our readers ſhould think it equally eaſy to adjuſt the ſmaller periods, eſpecially thoſe which relate to the ſeveral reigns of their judges and kings; or ſhould think it impoſſible to err in them, becauſe the length of each is tranſmitted to us by inſpired writers, from whom it would be impious to diſſent; beg leave to remind them, before we give a liſt of thoſe monarchs, of what has been obſerved in the preamble, prefixed to the firſt number of this work, concerning the vaſt, and almoſt irreconcileable, difference there is between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* chronology, as well as between theſe two e and that of the ſeptuagint; to ſay nothing of *Joſephus* and other *Jewiſh* writers. We did alſo give our reaſons there, for preferring the *Samaritan*, as far as it went, to all the reſt, even to the *Hebrew*, which laſt is juſtly ſuppoſed to have been corrupted by the *Jews*, and mutilated by the careleſsneſs of copyiſts. We have given a pregnant proof of the latter in another ſection *†*, and ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſay ſomething further of the former.

BUT theſe are not the only cauſes of the difficulty one finds in ſettling the *Jewiſh* chronology, we beg leave to add a few others equally conſiderable; and theſe are, 1. That the ſacred writers affected to uſe round numbers in their large computations,

[l] 1 Sam. iii. 4, & ſeq. Jerem. i. 4. & ſeq. & alib. Hoſ. i. 2. [m] Iſai. vi. 1, & ſeq. Ezek. i. 4, & ſeq. Dan. vii. 1, & ſeq. [n] Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20. & al. Act. xvi. 9. [o] Vid. Hieron. præfat. in pſalm. † Comp. the years in the margin, in p. 422. & 559. See alſo p. 422, 423. * Ibid. p. 425. not. K. [a] 1 King. vi. 1. [b] See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, and Usher's ann. p. 31. *†* Before p. 422. not. B.

plain, that all this rancour ſprings from the great uſe, which the chriſtians have ſince made of his writings againſt them, in ſpite of the noble character which *Ezekiel* gives him, when he mentions him with *Noah* and *Job* (82). Even *Joſephus*, tho' he allows him to have been a compleat politician, is ſo far from denying him the title of prophet, that he doth even give him the preference to the reſt, in ſeveral reſpects (83). But the reſt of the *Jews* have thrown his prophecies into the ספר כתיבים *Sepher Ketubim*, among thoſe of *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, &c. (84).

(82) Ezek. xiv. *& paſſ.* (83) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 12. *Nevoch. pt.* 2. Grot. *præfat. in* Iſai. Munster. (84) *Vid.* Hieron. *præfat. in* Iſai. Maimon. *More* Bund. *& al.*

computations, without minding too ſcrupulouſly the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The ſame they did in their leſſer reckonings; thoſe, for inſtance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by compleat years, and overlooked the odd months, which the firſt and laſt happened to fall ſhort of; by which it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compaſs of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of *Judges*, whoever was the author of it (P), compared with *Joſephus*'s hiſtory of them, ſeems only a ſhort account of ſo many perſons, and of their government, without regard to the inter-regnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It ſeems indeed, as if they were deſignedly paſſed by, as dead *epochas* not worth recording. But, laſtly, and to mention no more, after the diviſion of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign, ſeems indeed exactly ſet down, and the ſynchroniſms between thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, exactly obſerved; and yet there often happens ſuch jarring and diſagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by ſuppoſing, that ſome of thoſe monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnerſhip with their predeceſſors, and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that time, and not from that of their father's death. The neceſſity of this ſuppoſition cannot but be obvious to thoſe who are converſant with chronologic works, eſpecially thoſe of the learned *Uſher*. How far the *Jewiſh* computation by lunar years, their ignorance of aſtronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak under another head, may have increaſed theſe difficulties, we need not ſay. But theſe, and many more we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, antient and modern, ſuch as St. *Jerom*, *Scaliger*, *Voſſius*, *Genebrard*, and others, to think it next to impoſſible to adjuſt the *Jewiſh* chronology, by thoſe few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehenſive hiſtories, long ſince loſt.

WE need not tell our readers, that the hiſtories of ſeveral kings are ſaid in the text to have been written by cotemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the reſt of the acts of* ſuch a king, *his valour and conqueſt*, and the like, *are they not written in the book of the Kings* (or *Chronicles*) *of the kings* of *Judah* (or *Iſrael*). Now it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that thoſe we have extant, under the name of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, do refer to one another, ſeeing, ſome few inconſiderable particulars excepted, they all

(P) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by ſeveral hands, under the government of each judge, as ſome have imagined; not only from the uniformity of ſtyle throughout, but alſo becauſe the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expreſſion which often occurs in it, that in *thoſe days there was no king in* Iſrael (86) ſhews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, thoſe who date it after the captivity, becauſe it is ſaid there (87), that *Jonathan* and his ſons continued to be prieſts until the day of the captivity of the land, which they think muſt at leaſt be that of *Tiglath-pileſer*, (88); ſeem to poſt-date it prodigiouſly, not conſidering, that by what the author ſays at the beginning (89), *that the children of* Benjamin *dwelt with the* Jebuſites *in* Jeruſalem, *unto this day*, he muſt have lived before theſe were driven out of it by *David*. It is therefore more probable, as the *Jews* think that the captivity here ſpoken of was the battle which the *Iſraelites* loſt againſt the *Philiſtines*, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one many reaſonably ſuppoſe a great number of people were alſo taken captive.

What makes this conjecture ſtill more probable is, that in the very next verſe, to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, *that the* Danites *ſet up* Micha's *ephod all the time that the houſe of God was in* Shiloh, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it againſt the *Philiſtines*; and this was about the beginning of *Samuel*'s time; for after its return it was not carried back to *Shiloh*, but to *Kirjath-jearim* (90). If the *ephod* then continued no longer in *Dan*, there was no farther need of keeping any prieſts to ſacrifice unto it. Neither indeed is it credible, that ſuch a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under *Samuel*'s government, when it is expreſly ſaid, that he made the children of *Iſrael* put away their ſtrange gods to ſerve the Lord alone (91).

It ſeems therefore very probable to us, that a miſtake has been committed in the laſt word of that 30th verſe, from the likeneſs of the final letters; and that inſtead of גלות הארץ *the captivity of the land*, it was originally written גלות הארון *the captivity of the ark*. From all which it will follow, that *Samuel* lived at the time of this book being written; and conſequently, that he is moſt likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the ſuppoſition of a much later captivity deſtroy this conjecture, if we ſuppoſe, that *Ezra*, or any of the inſpired writers, that returned from that of *Babylon*, might add this circumſtance, as we have made it probable already, they did many others to the hiſtorical books, by way of illuſtration.

(85) Ch. ii. 10. & *ſeq.* xviii. 1. xix. 1. & *alib.*
(86) Ch. xvii. 6.
(87) Judg. xviii. 30.
(88) *See* 2 King. xv. 30.
(89) Ch. i. ver. 21.
90) *Conf.* 1 Sam. iv. 4. & vii. 1, 2.
(91) *Ib.* ver. 3, 4.

a all mention the ſame things, and almoſt word for word; and are alike regardleſs of all the other particulars of thoſe reigns. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or hiſtories, written by proper perſons in every reign, and which either periſhed during the captivity, or ſince. But whether we aſcribe the difficulties of the *Jewiſh* chronology to the loſs of theſe books, to the *Jews* corrupting of the text, or to the careleſsneſs of tranſcribers; any, or all of theſe will ſufficiently account for the different ways by which almoſt every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various *æras* before the birth of Chriſt; concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to our preface above mentioned, and to the tables thereto annexed.

b THE *Jews* indeed, whether antient or modern, do not differ ſo widely from one another in this reſpect, as the Chriſtians do; but then it is plain, from the tables above mentioned, that they have ſhortened, one and all, the ſpace between the creation of the world, and the birth of Chriſt, by 240 years, little more or leſs, of the vulgar *æra*. Whether therefore this was wilfully done, and with deſign to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of the Meſſiah's coming, which is but too likely, ſeeing their chronology, from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours, this being their 5495th year from the creation; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyiſts, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true *Jew*; their chronology can no more be reconciled

c to ours, than to that of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation.

THE truth is, that all their records, the ſacred books excepted, are not only of recenter date than their *Talmud*, but ſeem wholly directed by it. So that whatever ſmall difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or underſtanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who are not acquainted with theſe chronological works, we ſhall ſubjoin ſome few of the moſt conſiderable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled.

d AND here we ſhall paſs by their fictitious *Joſephus Ben Gorion*, whom they have obtruded upon the world inſtead of the real one, ſo well known to the Chriſtians, and ſo often mentioned in this hiſtory. The reader may ſee an account of theſe two, and the reaſons for the former being trumped up by the *Jews*, in oppoſition to the latter, in *Prideaux*'s *Connexion* [c], where he will find alſo a fuller account of the following chronological works; which we ſhall, for that reaſon, content ourſelves with the bare mention of, and only obſerve here, that they follow the *Hebrew* text as far as it goes; the reſt is moſtly ſupplied by the *Talmud* to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of a recenter date.

THE firſt is the *Sedar Holam rabbah*, or *large Chronicle*; which contains a

e ſhort hiſtory from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi *Joſe Ben Chalephta*, who flouriſhed, if we may believe the generality of the *Jews*, about 130 years after Chriſt, and is ſaid to have been maſter to the famous *Jehudah Hadokeſh*, the compiler of the *Miſhna* [d]; but what ſhews him to be of more modern date, is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor *Adrian* [e]. And *Prideaux* obſerves, that the book is ſtuffed with rabinic fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*; from which he concludes that it was written after it [f]. To this we may add what a learned *Jew* tells us [g], that he had ſeen a copy of it, in which it was ſaid, that the author lived 760 years after the deſtruction of the temple.

f 2. THE *Shecloth* and *Teſhuboth*, or *queſtions* and *anſwers*, dialoguewiſe, of rabbi *Sherira*, ſirnamed *Gaon*, or *the ſublime*. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flouriſhed from the year 967 downward [h].

3. THE *Sedar Holam Zutta*, or *the leſſer Chronicle*, another epitome of hiſtory, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 552; but whoſe unknown author lived, as the book itſelf ſays, about the year 1123 [i].

4. *Sepher*

[c] Preface to the 3d vol. p. 18. & ſeq.
[d] Vid. WOLF. Bibliot. Rabbin. num. 848. p. 462. & ſeq.
[e] See MORIN. BARTOLC. BUXTORF. & al.
[f] PRID. ubi ſup.
[g] R. AZAR. *Meor henaim*. pt. 3.
[h] Vid. WOLF. & PRID. ubi ſup.
[i] Vid. *Sepher, Juhaſin, Shalſhelath & Tzeamath David* ap. WOLF. ub. ſup.

4. *Sephar Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior*; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wiſe men, through whoſe hands the oral tradition paſſed, from *Adam* to *Moſes*, and ſo on to the compilers of the *Talmud*, and from thence to the year of Chriſt 1141. This author doth often abridge the fictitious *Joſephus Ben Gorion*, and is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, who brought that ſpurious author and his book into credit among the *Jews*.

5. THE *Sepher Juchaſin*, or *book of genealogies*, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. THE *Shalſheleth*, or *chain of the caballa*, of the ſame kind with the *Juchaſin*.

7. THE *Tzemach David*, or *ſprout of David*, treats on the ſame ſubject with the two laſt. Theſe three are ſtill more modern, and leſs worth our notice [k]. Beſides theſe, we find an apocryphal book, intituled, *Dibre hajamim*, or *chronicle of Moſes*; but which is univerſally rejected by the *Jews* as well as Chriſtians. As for the *Samaritan* chronicle, publiſhed by *Bernard* [l] and *Baſnage* [m], it is ſo ſhort, obſcure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is. Theſe, eſpecially the firſt ſeven, are the books which the *Jews* urge againſt our chronology, and from which they pretend to demonſtrate, that Chriſt appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we ſay he did: But as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the *Talmud*, we ſhall ſpend no more time in confuting either [n].

WE paſs by alſo the *Jewiſh Targums*, or *Chaldee paraphraſes*, becauſe we have none upon the book of the *Judges* or of the *Kings*. But upon the whole, whatever ſmall differences there may be between thoſe chronological works, they all agree in the ſeries and ſucceſſion of their kings and judges, in the ſame order of time as we find them in thoſe two ſacred books and that of the *Chronicles*. It is true, that this laſt doth ſometimes jar with thoſe of *Samuel* and *Kings* in point of numbers, whether of years or other things mentioned in both. But ſuch differences are ſcarce worth the pains which ſome critics have taken to reconcile them. We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of their hiſtory, to hint at ſome of the latter ſort; and as to the firſt, the only inſtance we are going to give, will eaſily convince the reader, that, in theſe caſes, ſome errors have manifeſtly crept into the text, whether through the likeneſs of the numerical *Hebrew* letters, or the negligence of copyiſts, whatever the *Jews* may pretend to the contrary. The place we mean is, where the book of *Chronicles* ſays, that *Ahaziah* was 42 years of age when he began to reign [o], contrary to that of *Kings*, which makes him but 22 years old [p]. It will be no hard matter to find where the miſtake lies, ſince, according to the former author, that monarch muſt have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age [q]. It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural ſolution of two or three authors, who have in vain endeavoured to ſolve the difficulty [r], againſt the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning the bigger number to be an error of the tranſcriber [s]. The following is the liſt of the judges and kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*. As for their chronology and ſynchroniſms, we ſhall refer them, as we have done hitherto, the former to their hiſtory, and the latter to the chronological table at the end of this work.

A Table

[k] Id. & PRID. ub. ſup. [l] Ap. CALMET ſub voc. croniq. [m] Hiſtoire des Juifs. T. 6. lib. 8. c. 6. [n] Vid. PRID. Conn. ub. ſup. & pt. 1. lib. 5. [o] 2 Chron. xxii. 2. [p] 2 Kings viii. 26 [q] 2 Chr. xxi. ver. ult. [r] USSER an. BROUGHTON. JUN. in loc. [s] JEROM. KIMCH. ABARBAN. L. DE DIEU. PISCAT. CAJET. SCALIG. GROT. CAPEL & al. mult. Vid. & NORT. KNATCHBUL Animadv. in N. T. in act. iv. LE SCEN. Eſſay on a N. Verſ. pt. 2. ch. vi. § 8. & al. mult.

A Table of the ISRAELITISH JUDGES.

a

1. *Othniel*, ſon-in-law to *Joſhua* (A).
2. *Ehud*.
3. *Shamgar*,
4. *Deborah* the propheteſs, and wife of *Lapidoth* (B), and *Barac* her general.
5. *Gideon*, or *Jerubbaal*.
6. *Abimelech* his ſon.

b

7. *Tolah*.
8. *Jair*.
9. *Jephthah* the *Gileadite*.
10. *Ibzan*.
11. *Elon*.
12. *Abdon*.
13. *Eli* the high-prieſt.
14. *Samſon*.
15. *Samuel*.

The JEWISH KINGS *before* Jeroboam's *Revolt*:

Saul. *Iſhboſheth.* *David.* *Solomon.*

KINGS *of* JUDAH *and* ISRAEL *after the Diviſion of the two kingdoms.*

JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
c *Rehoboam.*	*Jeroboam.*
Abijam.	*Nadab.*
Aſa.	*Baaſha.*
	Elah.
	Zimri.
	Omri.
Jehoſhaphat.	*Ahab.*
Jehoram.	*Ahaziah.*
d *Ahaziah.*	*Jehoram.*
Athaliah.	*Jehu.*
Jehoaſh.	*Jehoahaz.*
Amaziah.	*Jehoaſh.*
Uzziah, or *Azariah.*	*Jeroboam* II.
	An inter-regnum of $11\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Jotham.	*Zachariah.*
e *Ahaz.*	*Shallum.*
Hezekiah.	*Menahem.*
Manaſſeh.	*Pekahiah.*
Amon.	*Pekah.*
Joſiah.	*Hoſhea.*
Shallum, or *Jehoahaz.*	
Eliakim, or *Jehoiakim.*	
Jechoniah, or *Coniah*, called alſo *Jehoiakim.*	
Mattaniah, called alſo *Zedekiah.*	

(A) *Joſephus* makes *Kenaz* the father of *Othniel*, no notice of his ſon, either as his co-partner, or ſucceſſor; but the text is intirely againſt him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes to have been the firſt judge in *Iſrael* (1); and takes the ſignal victory to him; for which he was choſen and continued in it forty years (2).

(B) Some read אשת-לפידות *Eſheth-Lapidoth*, a woman of *Lapidoth*, ſuppoſing that to be the name of the place of her abode; and others, becauſe *Lapidoth* properly ſignifies lamps, will have her called by that name, becauſe ſhe ſpun the cotton for the lamps that burnt in the holy place. But all this is ſaid without foundation, and *Deborah* is not the only propheteſs that had a huſband. Witneſs *Huldah* the wife of *Shallum*, mentiond in a former note. It doth not appear, what tribe *Deborah* was of; the place of her abode was upon the frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim* (3). and theſe were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) *Ant. lib.* V. *c.* 4. (2) *See* Judg. iii. 8. *&* *ſeq.* (3) *Ibid.* iv. 5.

SECT. VI.

The History of the JUDGES *that governed* Israel, *from the Death of* Joshua *to* Saul *their first king.*

JOSHUA had attained to the 110th year of his age, by that time he had finished his arduous task of settling the tribes each in their proper lot, dismissing the two tribes and half to their own, on the other side of *Jordan*, and appointing the cities of the *Levites*, and of *Refuge*, as we have seen in a former section. Finding therefore, that he was drawing to his end, he called to him all the heads of *Israel* at *Shechem*; and, after the example of *Moses*, reminded them of all the wonderful and signal favours which God had shewed to them, from their fore-father *Abraham* unto that time; and how much they were bound by interest, as well as duty, to continue stedfast in their obedience to him, and by no means to suffer themselves to be ensnared into idolatry, or into a conformity with the ways of the *Canaanites*; which could not but prove fatal to them, as it had been to their ancestors. He added, that as for them, they were at their choice, whether they would serve the Lord, or the gods of *Canaan*; but himself and his house were fully resolved to continue stedfast in the worship of the true God. This pathetick exhortation of their venerable general, whom they now saw for the last time, extorted from them an universal promise, that they would all follow his example, and cleave unto God. *Joshua* took care to see it recorded, and caused a monument to be erected in memory of this new covenant, under the oak that grew in the precinct of the tabernacle. He died soon after, and was buried at *Timnath-serath* in mount *Ephraim*, which was his own inheritance. His death was soon followed by that of *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, who was succeeded by his son *Phineas* in the high-priesthood. By degrees the rest of the seventy elders, who had outlived *Joshua*, died also; and with them, one would have thought, not only the remembrance of *Joshua* and of their late covenant, so solemnly sworn to by all the tribes, but even all sense of religion and fear of God, or regard to his laws; insomuch, that *Joshua* had been scarce dead twenty years, before we find them sunk over head and ears into confusion and idolatry.

Joshua's *death.*

Year of the Flood, 1556. Year before CHRIST, 1443.

A GREAT part of *Canaan* remained still unconquered when that general died, so that they could not, without pursuing their conquest, secure the possession of what they had. *Judah* was appointed by the oracle to begin the war; *Caleb*, the son of *Jephunneh*, famous for his bravery and faithfulness, in the report he made of the land of *Canaan* [b], was head of that tribe, and engaged that of *Simeon*, with which his own was interwoven, to join forces with him against the king of *Bezek* [c]. We have seen elsewhere the just fate of that insolent petty prince †. As for *Caleb*, he set himself immediately about the conquest of *Jerusalem*, which had been retaken by the *Jebusites* from the tribe of *Benjamin*, and soon after took and burnt it to the ground; the besieged retiring into the fortress of *Zion* [d]. After this, he turned his forces towards the south, against the cities of *Hebron*, or *Kirjath-Arba*, and *Debir*, called also *Kirjath-Sepher*, which were then inhabited by the gigantick sons of *Anak*. These had been formerly promised to him by *Moses*, as a reward of his faithfulness, and yielded to him accordingly by *Joshua* a little before his death [e]. *Caleb*, however, who was then above fourscore and five years of age, tho' still strong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhaust his strength too far in the siege of those strong places, and therefore proposed his daughter *Achsah* as a reward to the man that took *Kirjath-Sepher*; and it was not long before it was gained by *Othniel*, a man of valour and of his own family (A), whose conduct and bravery, upon this occasion, did raise him soon after to the dignity of judge.

Judah's *war.*

WHILST

[a] Josh. xxiii. & xxiv. p. tot. [b] Vid. Numb. xiii. 6. & 30. xiv. 6. & alib. [c] Judg. i. 4. & seq. † Vid. sup. p. 333. d. [d] Judg. i. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9. & seq. vid. Josh. xiv. 9. & seq.

(A) The text calls him the son of *Kenaz*, brother to *Caleb* (1); so that it is not easy to determine, whether he, or his father, was *Caleb*'s brother. The septuagint and vulgate have taken it in the first sense;

(1) Josh. xv. 17. Jud. i. 13.

a WHILST *Caleb* and his new ſon-in-law were employed in enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes were doing the ſame in their ſeveral lots. But whether out of compaſſion to the poor *Canaanites*, doomed to deſtruction; or out of an ambitious deſire of having vaſſals under them, they wholly neglected the expreſs order of their law-giver, and, inſtead of extirpating them, contented themſelves with laying them under tribute; this proved the ſource of all their misfortunes, and of thoſe many ſlaveries that enſued; for the oppreſſed *Canaanites* did, at leaſt in appearance, ſo patiently ſubmit to their yoke, that they became leſs cautious of them; they grew by degrees more intimate with them, and by that means were ſo far enſnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract b affinities with them. Theſe unhappy intermarriages ſoon debauched them into all their idolatries, and reconciled them to the worſhip of *Baal*, *Aſtaroth*, and other gods of *Cannan*, and at once provoked God to forſake them, and gave their enemies an opportunity of regaining their liberties, and of oppreſſing them in their turns.

IT was during this time of apoſtacy and confuſion, that *Micah*, a wealthy man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, is ſuppoſed to have erected that idol in his houſe, which was ſoon after taken from him by the *Danites*, and ſet up at *Dan*. The ſtory of it is indeed related at the end of the book of the *Judges*, from whence ſome have concluded, that it happened after *Samſon*'s death [f]; whilſt others place it c about the latter end of *Joſhua*'s life [g]; but the far greater part between *Caleb*'s death and *Othniel*'s being choſen judge [h]. Till that time, the idolatrous *Iſraelites* ſeem to have contented themſelves with the idols of the *Canaanites*, without ſetting up any of their own. *Micah* was the firſt, we read of, that took it into his head to outdo them, not only by erecting this, but by conſecrating an apartment of his houſe to it, and procuring a wandering *Levite* to officiate to it. The ſtory, giving us a lively idea of the monſtrous abſurdities of the religion of thoſe times, and of the degeneracy of the *Iſraelites*, who could ſo ſoon give into them, cannot well be omitted.

The ſtory of Micah.

Micah felt a remorſe for having wronged a covetous and ſuperſtitious mother d of 1100 pieces of ſilver, which amounted to ſomewhat above that number of ſhillings of our money, and for which ſhe had beſtowed ſome ſevere curſes upon him. She conceived ſuch joy at his reſtoring of them to her, that ſhe reſolved to conſecrate the greateſt part of it, to what ſhe thought a religious uſe, ſuch as might prove an equivalent bleſſing to him, for the curſes he had extorted from her. Accordingly, with part of that ſilver ſhe and her ſon purchaſed two idols, one molten, and the other carved; and with the reſt they built a chapel to ſet them up in, together with ſome *teraphim*, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the houſe; they being a kind of little ſtatues, or houſhold gods, which the corrupted *Iſraelites* had in common with other nations *. To this they added e an ephod, or prieſtly garment, with which *Micah* inſtalled his ſon to the prieſtly office of his new gods. Soon after this, a young indigent *Levite*, wandering by that way, was hired, as a more poper perſon for that office than his own ſon.

Year of the Flood, 1586. Year before CHRIST, 1413.

Micah

[f] Vid. Seder Holam. SERAR. & al. in loc. LAPID. GROT. USSER. MUNST. CALMET. & al.

[g] MASIUS. DE LYR. RIBER. & al.

[h] Vid. CORN. a

* Vid. ſup. p. 443. not. (B).

ſenſe; but is plain, he was not his brother by the father's ſide, becauſe the one is called the ſon of *Jephuneh*, and the other the ſon of *Kenaz*; neither can they be ſuppoſed to be uterine brothers, becauſe, in ſuch a caſe, the law of *Moſes* would not have permitted the one to have given his daughter to the other. The diſparity of age is another proof of it: *Caleb* was then above 85 years of age; *Othniel* therefore muſt be ſuppoſed much younger, to have married his daughter, who was an heireſs. Neither could he have married her, if his father *Kenaz* had been *Caleb*'s brother; becauſe the marriage of an aunt is likewiſe forbidden by the *Moſaic* law. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that *Caleb* and *Kenaz* were firſt-couſins, which the original doth often call brothers; in which caſe *Othniel* and *Achſah* might lawfully marry. St. *Auſtin* and after him *Vatablus*, affirm *Othniel* to have been, not only a great warriour, but alſo a learned doctor of their law (2), and ſo doubly eager for the conqueſt of a place which was the ſeat of learning at that time †. The *Jews* tells us wonders of the beauty of *Caleb*'s daughter. However, her huſband was not ſo well ſatisfied with her and her portion, but he prevailed upon her to ſue for an addition to it; which ſhe accordingly did; and upon her complaining of the drought and barrenneſs of the ſouth high lands, which her father had given her, ſhe obtained thoſe of the valleys beneath, which were better watered, and conſequently more fertile. This happened in *Joſhua*'s time (3).

(2) *Vid.* VATABL. *in loc.*

† *Vid. ſup.* 728. *ſub. fin. not.* (I).

(3) *Vid.* Joſh. & Jud. *ub. ſup.*

Micah thought himself then highly blest; and, having his chapel so well a
furnished with idols, and with a priest to administer to them, began to think,
that nothing could hinder him from the favour of God [i]; when the *Danites*, who
found themselves too straightened in their own tribe, sent out some spies to seek
for a new habitation. These chanced to come by that way, and having con-
sulted the *Levite* about the success of their journey, and received a favourable
answer, went directly to *Laish*, a considerable town, whose rich inhabitants, like
those of *Zidon*, lived in a careless security, without magistrates, soldiery, or
strength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful news; upon
which, the *Danites* of *Zorah* and *Eshtaol* armed 600 of their men; and these,
with their five spies at their head, marched immediately towards *Laish*. In their b
way, the spies acquainted them with what they had seen at *Micah*'s chapel, and
in particular with his having a young *Levite* there, named *Jonathan*, the son of
Gershom, from whose mouth they had received a promise of success in this expedition.
The text rightly observes, that *there was at that time no king in* Israel, *and that
every one did what was right in his own eyes* [k]. The *Danites*, therefore, instead of
reproving *Micah* for his apostacy, and destroying his idolatrous chapel, entred it
by main force, took away the idols, *teraphim*, and *ephod*, and forced the young
priest to go along with them to *Laish*. *Micah* pursued after them, and made
loud complaints, that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life [l]; c
all the answer they gave him was, that his outcries might cost him his life, and
that it was his safest way to go home quietly. They soon arrived at *Laish*, took
and destroyed it, with its inhabitants; and having built a new city, and called
it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor, they set up their idols there, and
retained young *Jonathan* and his sons to be their priests. The septuagint,
vulgate, and some *Jewish* rabbies, call him the grandson of *Moses*, but the ori-
ginal, the grandson of *Manasseh* [m]. As for the idol, the text says, that it conti-
nued there till the captivity of the land; and what that means, we have shewed
in a former note.

A bloody war against Benjamin.

DURING these years of anarchy, the inhabitants of *Gibeath* in the tribe of d
Benjamin were guilty of so horrid a breach of hospitality towards a wandering
Levite, as proved the cause of much bloodshed, and was like to have occasioned
the ruin of that whole tribe. The *Levite* was bringing his eloped concubine
home, and was come to that place towards sun-set. After he had waited some
time in vain for some body to lodge him that night, an old man coming from
his work, who was a sojourner there, being of the tribe of *Ephraim*, came at last
and invited him to his house. They had scarce made an end of refreshing them-
selves, when a band of profligate young fellows surrounded the house, and, in a
tumultuous manner, demanded the stranger to be sacrificed to their brutish lust,
which they made no difficulty to express in the plainest terms. This gives one
reason to believe, that it was no unusual thing amongst them. The *Levite* found
no other way of saving himself, but by delivering his concubine to them; and
on the next morning he found her dead at the threshold of the door, whether of
shame and regret, or of the grievous abuse she had suffered that night. It was
in vain to complain of this cruelty in such an abandoned place; he took therefore
the dead body with him, and brought it to his own house, where he divided it
into twelve pieces, and sent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the
occasion of it. The surprized tribes assembled themselves from all parts of
Israel to *Mizpeh*, to the number of 400,000 fighting men, and there the *Levite*
gave them a farther account of the injury, which had been done to his concubine,
but cunningly concealed his own weakness and cowardice, in sacrificing her to his own
safety [n]. The whole people had scarce heard his story out, when they rose up as one
man, and resolved not to return to their respective homes, till they had punished
the authors of that unheard-of action with the utmost severity. Whilst therefore
they deputed every tenth man to their respective tribes, to fetch them arms and
provision for the war, they sent deputies to the heads of the tribe of *Benjamin*,
to demand the delivery of these profligate *Gibeathites*. But that haughty tribe,
instead of complying with their request, armed 25000 of their best warriours,
beside,

[i] Judg. xvii. pass. vid. ver. ult. [k] Ibid. ver. 6. [l] Ibid. xviii. 14. [m] Ibid. ver. 30.
[n] Ib. c. xx. 5. & seq.

a beſides 700 of the inhabitants of *Gibeath*, to go out againſt them. This unexpected ſtubbornneſs did only exaſperate the eleven tribes the more, and made them vow to take a fuller revenge on that of *Benjamin*. However, they thought proper before all things to conſult the Lord, not whether they ſhould undertake the war againſt their brethren, for that they took for granted was both lawful and incumbent upon them; but which of the tribes ſhould go out firſt againſt *Benjamin*; and the Lord anſwered by the mouth of *Phineas*, the then high-prieſt, that *Judah* ſhould go firſt. They gave them battle accordingly on the next morning, not doubting of a compleat victory; but it proved quite otherwiſe, and *Judah* was repulſed with the loſs of 22,000 men. This unexpected defeat
b filled them with ſurpriſe, and made them apply themſelves again to God, to know whether they ſhould purſue the war againſt their brethren of *Benjamin*; who anſwered them by the high-prieſt, that they ſhould engage them a ſecond time, though without promiſing them the victory; and, upon their coming up againſt *Gibeath*, they were again repulſed with the loſs of 18,000 men, by a vigorous ſally which the inhabitants made upon them. This ſecond diſappointment did almoſt drive them to deſpair; at length they reſolved to return to *Shiloh*, and to lie proſtrate before the ark all that night, and by ſacrifices, faſting, and prayers, to intreat the Lord, either to grant them a victory, or to declare his diſpleaſure againſt the war which they had engaged in. This humble behaviour
c of theirs obtained at length a favourable anſwer, and the high-prieſt promiſed them, that the Lord would, on the next onſet, deliver the *Benjamites* into their hands. This anſwer inſpired them with freſh courage; but yet they thought it adviſeable to add policy to their ſtrength. To this end a ſtratagem was put in execution, which had its deſired effect. They divided themſelves into three bodies, one of which ſhould lie in ambuſh, and be ready to enter in and ſet fire to the city as ſoon as the men were ſallied out, after another body had made a ſham aſſault, on purpoſe to draw them out of the place in purſuit of them; whilſt the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of *Baal-tamar*, and ready to fall upon them. The children of *Benjamin* did eaſily give
d into the ſnare; and finding themſelves unwarily ſurpriſed in their purſuit by the main body, were thinking to retreat into the town; when, upon turning themſelves about, they ſaw it all in flames, and were ſo diſheartened at the ſight, that they were all cut off, to the number of 25,000. About 600 ſaved themſelves by flight, and went and fortified themſelves upon the tops of the rocks of *Rimmon*, and there abode four months, that is, till they were called down by the other tribes in an amicable manner.

In the mean time, this victory did only whet the fury of the other tribes, which did not ſo much as cool till they had burnt down all their cities and villages, and killed all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, even to their very
e cattle; and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then indeed that they began to reflect, with ſome remorſe, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loſs of one of their tribes. They went up to *Shiloh* again, and there expoſtulated with God, for having ſuffered ſuch an univerſal deſtruction without ſtopping their hand. They erected a large altar, probably, becauſe that of the tabernacle, was not capacious enough for the multitude of their victims, and having been informed, that the ſix hundred, which were eſcaped from the ſlaughter, were ſtill upon the rocks of *Rimmon*, they entreated God to direct them how to re-call them peaceably, to reſtore the loſt tribe by their means. There was, however, one main impediment to it, namely a raſh oath they had made at *Mizpeh*,
f when they vowed the war againſt *Benjamin*, that none of them would give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itſelf, might have been diſſolved by the high-prieſt, who was there preſent; but whether conſcience was more tender in this reſpect, than it generally was in all others; they bethought themſelves of another expedient, which would anſwer their end, without the danger of being perjured, though it was ſcarcely ſo juſtifiable as the breach of ſuch an oath would have been, even though they had had no *Phineas* to have abſolved them from it. They cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made in their muſter-rolls, whether any of the tribes had failed to come to the camp at *Mizpeh*, and upon enquiry it was found that the inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead*, belonging to the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*, had not come to the general Aſſembly. One would

expect therefore, that as they had had no ſhare in the oath with the other tribes, they would only have obliged them to furniſh thoſe ſix hundred men with wives; but they went a more cruel way to work, and ſent twelve thouſand armed men, with orders to deſtory all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. Theſe ſoon went and executed this bloody command, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaining men of *Benjamin*. There were ſtill two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of *Jabeſh*; however, rather than break their oaths for their ſakes, they bethought themſelves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give them of their own accord. The men took their advice, and lay perdue in the vineyards about *Shiloh*, and when the young damſels came out of it with tarbets and dances, from ſome ſolemn feaſt, as is ſuppoſed, every man ſeized upon one of them, and took them home, whilſt the reſt of the tribes returned alſo every man to his habitation [o]. The ſix hundred men ſoon rebuilt their cities, and the tribe of *Benjamin*, thus reſtored by degrees to its former valour and ſtrength, did cleave ever after to that of *Judah*, and gave the ſecond judge and firſt king unto *Iſrael*.

BY theſe two inſtances, the reader may judge into what degree of degeneracy the whole nation was fallen, in that little interval between the death of *Caleb* and that of his ſon-in-law's being choſen judge. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that the preſence of one good man in authority ſhould be able to put a ſtop to ſuch a vehement propenſity to idolatry, which, immediately after his death, could not be contained within any bounds, but broke out like a torrent with double force. Yet this was the caſe of the *Iſraelites* during all the time of their judges: the ſame that delivered them from thraldom, freed them alſo from idolatry, and he was no ſooner dead, than their innocence and obedience were at an end, tho' their peace and happineſs were ſure to end with it: thus every epoch is only an alternate ſucceſſion of ſinning and repentance, of ſervitude and deliverance. What thoſe nations were which they ſuffered to live amongſt them, and by whom they were ſo often corrupted, enſlaved, and delivered from by turns, we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of *Canaan* †, to which we ſhall refer the reader once for all, to avoid, as much as the ſeries of this hiſtory will permit, all unneceſſary repetitions.

Othniel, *the firſt judge.*

THE firſt ſlavery, which their defection brought upon them, was under *Cuſhan-riſhataim*, king of *Meſopotamia*, who held them in ſubjection about eight years; at the end of which, the warlike *Othniel* found means to raiſe an army againſt him, with which he gained a ſignal victory, and freed *Iſrael* from the yoke of that potent prince. The text gives us no farther account of that war, which could not but be much to the *Hebrew* general's honour, conſidering the ſtrength of his enemy. All that it adds is, that his ſucceſs obtained him a peace which laſted forty years; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer [p]. This victory happened about 38 years after *Joſhua*'s death; as for that of *Othniel*, it is not eaſy to fix it [q].

Ehud, *ſecond judge.*

Year of the Flood, 1674. Before CHRIST 1325.

SOON after it, they fell again under ſervitude to the *Moabites*, and, at the end of eighteen years, *Ehud* their ſecond judge, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to *Eglon* their king, freed them by the death of that prince, whom he privately ſtabbed, whilſt he was delivering a pretended meſſage from God to him; and having eſcaped undiſcovered, blew the trumpet, and raiſed a ſufficient army, with which he ſhook off the *Moabitiſh* yoke, and procured his people another forty years peace [r].

Shamgar, *third judge.*

Shamgar, their third judge, delivered them from ſome ſmall oppreſſion which they ſuffered from the *Philiſtines*. The text gives us no further particulars about him, than that he ſlew ſix hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the *Latin* and *Greek* verſions render it, with a plow-ſhare [s] (B). How long he judged *Iſrael* is not to be gueſſed at: he was ſucceeded by

THE

[o] Judg. xix. & xx. per. tot. [p] Judg. iii. 8. & ſeq. [q] Vid. Annal. Uſſer. p. 28. [r] Judg. iii. 12, & ſeq. See before, p. 289. d [s] Judg. iii. ver. ult. See before, p. 348. a. & not. S. ibid. † Vid. ſup. p. 332, & ſeq.

(B) The word is מלמד הבקר *Malmad habakar*, which ſignifies any inſtrument by which oxen are broke to labour. We have taken notice, under another head, that the Philiſtines were more careful than

a THE propheteſs *Deborah*, ſoon after the ſmart of a fourth ſervitude, worſe and longer than any of the three former, had brought them to a ſenſe of their ſins and ingratitude. *Iſrael* was for every market, and as ready as they were to ſell themſelves to ſome new crimes, ſo was providence to ſell them to new lords. The text takes notice, that, after the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes, and God, to puniſh them for it, raiſed up a more powerful adverſary againſt them, *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, whoſe ſtrength, beſides a numerous army and a valiant general, conſiſted in an incredible number of iron chariots [t]; whereby he held them in ſevere ſubjection twenty years; yet, when their cries and repentance had obtained Deborah *fourth judge.*
b a promiſe of a ſpeedy deliverance, leſt they ſhould arrogate to themſelves any ſhare in the glory of their future victory, two women are choſen to be the main inſtruments of it, and *Jael* compleats what *Deborah* had concerted, and *Barak*, at the head of ten thouſand men, diſcomfited *Siſerah* and his numerous army, tho' ſtrengthned with nine hundred chariots of iron [u]; and the land of *Iſrael*, from a diſmal ſolitude [w], began to reſume its former fertility and ſplendor. We have given an account of this famous action in a former chapter †, which gave occaſion to that noble ſong of deliverance, which *Deborah* compoſed immediately after it, and which procured them a reſpite of forty years [x].

THE ungrateful *Iſraelites*, having by that time forgot that ſignal deliverance,
c are plagued with a freſh bondage, and with which that of *Jabin* compared might be called freedom. Under the laſt *Deborah* was allowed to judge *Iſrael* in the face of the ſun, but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to ſeek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and if they find time and convenience to ſow, their enemies pour in upon them, and reap the fruit of their labours [y]. Under this miſerable tyranny they were groaning, when God did firſt ſend a prophet to convince them how juſtly they ſuffered this hard *Midianitiſh* bondage [z]; after which he made choice of a proper perſon to undertake their deliverance. *Gideon* was privately threſhing his corn, to ſave it from becoming a prey either to *Midian* or *Amalek*; when the angel
d of the LORD ſaluted him with the title of the valiant ſaviour of his people, and convinced him by repeated miracles, that *Iſrael*, whom he now looked upon as forſaken by God, ſhould be ſpeedily and miraculouſly reſtored to their wiſhed-for freeedom by his means. *Gideon*, on the one hand, was too well experienced Gideon.
a warrior, and too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to think, that ſuch a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of fleſh; and, on the other, he was ſo far from expecting ſuch a ſupernatural aſſiſtance, that he ſeemed even to doubt of the truth of all thoſe wonders which God had wrought in favour of them [a]. At length, to confirm his wavering faith, he obtained leave of the heavenly meſſenger to go and fetch a ſacrifice, and to offer it at his feet; which he
e had no ſooner done, but, upon the angel's touching it with the end of his ſtaff, a miraculous fire aroſe out of the rock on which it was laid, and conſumed the whole ſacrifice; immediately after which the angel vaniſhed out of his ſight. *Gideon* was filled with ſurpriſe and dread, at the thoughts of the divine preſence which he had beheld, but God was pleaſed to diſſipate his fears; in memory of which, he reared an altar on the place, and called it *Jehovah Shalom* [b].

ON that very night, the Lord commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed taſk, with the deſtruction of the altar and grove of *Baal*, the fatal ſource of *Iſrael*'s defection and puniſhment; and to expiate their crime by the ſacrifice of a bullock of ſeven years, in the place where they had ſerved that *Midianitiſh* deity. *Gideon* was not only eager to obey, but knowing the hazard of ſuch an enterprize, ſhould he

[t] Judg. iv. 1. v. 8. [u] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq. [w] Vid. Ch. v. ver. 6, & 7. † See before, p. 336. a. & not. I. [x] Judg. v. ver. ult. [y] Ibid. vi. 3, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. ver. 11, & ſeq. [a] Ver. 13. [b] Ver. 32.

than any other nation to ſtrip the *Jews* of all their weapons of war, whenever they had them in ſubjection †; and if this was the caſe at preſent, it is likely, that expreſſion means only ſuch ruſtical inſtruments, as he and his men could lay their hands on. But, as the text mentions nothing of any previous ſervitude, it is probable, that the deliverance here ſpoken of, was only from ſome incurſion of the *Philiſtines*, perhaps in ploughing-time, when they thought they might be more eaſily ſurpriſed, but in which they were repulſed with loſs, by the vigilance and bravery of their then judge.

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 700.

he ſet about it in the day-time, reſolved to finiſh it that very night, which he accordingly did by the help of ten of his ſervants, whom he called to the work. This unexpected devaſtation was no ſooner perceived on the next morning, than the whole city came to *Joaſh*'s houſe, and, in an inſolent manner, demanded, that he ſhould deliver up his ſon to be put to death, for his ſacrilege againſt *Baal*; but the grave old man ſoon made them ſenſible of their abſurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour againſt his ſon. It is probable, he uſed ſome other topics to repreſs their fury; and that this only is mentioned, becauſe his ſon got the ſirname of *Jerubaal* by it, that is, *Let Baal look to himſelf.*

IN the mean time the *Midianites* and their confederates, whether from the jealouſy which this action of *Gideon* might inſpire them with, or any other tendency they might obſerve in the *Iſraelites* to revolt, began to cover the ſpacious plain of *Jezreel* with their troops. *Gideon*, on the other hand, had ſummoned the tribes of *Manaſſeh*, *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, and *Naphtali* to appear in arms; but whether the ſight of ſo numerous an hoſt, as was preparing againſt him, had weakened his faith or that of his troops, he begged for a farther miraculous proof of the divine aſſiſtance, which was, that the fleece of wool, which he ſpread that night on the threſhing floor, might be found on the next morning covered with the dew of heaven, whilſt all the ground round about it remained dry. He had no ſooner obtained this miracle, and wrung a bowl full of water out of the fleece, but he begged, that, for a further confirmation of the miracle and of their faith, the fleece might be the only thing that received no moiſture, whilſt all the ground round about it was wet. This was alſo granted at his requeſt[c], and *Gideon*, thus aſſured of a compleat victory, led his ſmall army againſt the enemy, and encamped over againſt them. It conſiſted but of 32000 men, which were but a poor handful, compared to thoſe confederate forces of *Midian*, *Amalek*, and of the *Arabians*[d]; but God, who deſigned to take away all occaſion, both from the ungrateful *Jews* and their enemies, to attribute the ſucceſs to their number or valour, commanded *Gideon* to make a proclamation through his army, and to diſband all that were faint-hearted; upon which 22000 of his daſtardly troops were immediately diſmiſſed. *Gideon* by this time thought probably, that his army was ſufficiently reduced; when he was again commanded to lead it to the water ſide, and there ſeparate thoſe who went down upon their knees to drink, from thoſe who lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but 300 of the latter, and God promiſed him the victory by them (C), and ordered the reſt to be ſent away. For a further confirmation, *Gideon* was commanded to go into the *Midianitiſh* camp, attended only by a ſervant, and there he would be informed what notion his enemies had of him: upon his coming, he heard one ſoldier telling a dream to another of a barley cake tumbling into their camp, and overturning a tent down to the ground, and the other interpreting it of *Gideon*'s ſword diſcomfiting the confederate hoſt. *Gideon* delayed not to verify the omen: he returned to his 300 men, commanded them to take every man a horn in one hand, and a pitcher with a light concealed in it in the other, and led them into the enemies camp about the dead of the night. Here he divided them into three bands, and ſent them to give the alarm at three ſeveral quarters, by ſounding their horns, breaking their pitchers, and diſcovering their glaring lights at the ſignal given, which was crying out *The ſword of the Lord and Gideon*, and which was to be anſwered by all the reſt. The ſucceſs of this ſtratagem was the total defeat of the confederate

[c] Ver. 36, & ſeq.

[d] See Ch. vii. 12.

(C) It is not eaſy to gueſs, from this different manner of their quenching their thirſt, whether the 300 were choſen for any particular virtue which this action did indicate, or for the reverſe. Some authors think, that the 9700 who kneeled down, gave a token of their courage, in that they were not afraid of the nearneſs of their enemy, but choſe to drink at their eaſe; whilſt the others betrayed their cowardice, by being contented with taking a handful of water running, and that God made choice of them to make the victory appear more miraculous (4). Others, on the contrary, think, that thoſe that were weak and diſheartned kneeled down, and the couragious and ſtrong took the water up with their hand (5). It is hard to decide which is in the right; but the *Jews* have gone further for a reaſon why theſe 300 were preferred; namely, that there was a ſtatue of *Baal* on the other ſide of the water, ſo that they ſcrupled to kneel down to drink, leſt they ſhould be thought to pay any worſhip to the idol; whilſt the others, more concerned for their eaſe than for the honour of God, were ſet aſide, as unworthy to have a ſhare in ſo ſignal a victory (6). But the reader may chuſe whether he will take their word for there being really any ſuch idol in the way.

(4) *Ita* JOSEPH. *Ant. lib.* v. *c.* 8. *Rabbin. aliq.* TOSTAT. *& al.* (5) DE LYR. MONTAN. CORN. A LAP. *& al.* (6) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc. & ſup. p.* 598. *not.* F.

a confederate army †, and *Iſrael* gaining, with their freedom, an immenſe quantity of the richeſt ſpoil.

Gideon, reſolving to make the beſt advantage of this victory, ſummoned ſeveral tribes to purſue after the enemy, and to ſecure the fords of *Beth-bara*, and *Jordan*; and the cowardly 22000, who dared not look the enemy in the face, began now to take courage, when they ſaw them flying, and to purſue them one way, whilſt himſelf and his 300 men went after another flying party another way. Theſe laſt went over *Jordan*, and by that time *Gideon* and his men were come to *Succoth*, they found themſelves ſo faint and tired, that he was forced to ſend to demand ſome refreſhment for them out of that city, that he might continue his purſuit after b the princes of *Midian*, *Zebah* and *Zalmunah*; but he had the mortification to be denied by the inhabitants, who ſent him word, that it would be time enough for him to exact ſuch a ſupply of proviſion, when he brought thoſe two princes priſoners with him. *Gideon* contented himſelf, for the preſent, with threatning to puniſh the inſolent *Succothites* in the ſevereſt manner, and continued his journey with his men, faint as they were, till he came to *Penuel*, where he again ſent the ſame meſſage, and received the ſame repulſe that he had done at *Succoth*. Whether the deſire of revenge, or his hearing that the two princes, he was in purſuit of, were in the neighbourhood of *Korkor* with 15000 men, the poor remains of an army of 120000, inſpired him with freſh vigour, he ſtopped not his pace till he was come c upon them unawares, and had ſecured the two princes, and routed the reſt of their men.

In the mean time, the *Ephraimites* had overtaken and ſlain *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two other princes of *Midian*, and brought their heads to *Gideon*, as he was returning from *Korkor* with his two royal priſoners; and whether their ſucceſs had made them arrogant, or whether they envied their judge's glory, they accoſted him with an inſolent demand, Why he had not ſummoned their tribe to the war againſt *Midian?* *Gideon*, inſtead of repreſſing their ill-timed arrogance, contented himſelf at preſent with extolling their atchievement above his own, telling them, that the gleanings of *Ephraim*'s laurels did vaſtly outweigh the vintage of his own tribe [e]; and having pacified them with his ſoothing anſwer, went to diſcharge his reſentment againſt d thoſe who had more richly deſerved it, the cities of *Succoth* and *Penuel*. Conſidering the fatigue which he had undergone all that day and the night before, one would expect, that he would have allowed himſelf ſome reſpite, before he went upon ſo ſevere an enterpriſe; but the remembrance of the cruel uſage he had received from thoſe two places, and of what he and his men had ſuffered for want of their aſſiſtance, would not ſuffer him to let the ſun go down (D), before he had made them ſuffer the puniſhment which he had vowed againſt them. In his way to *Succoth* he met with a youth of that place, who gave him the name of ſeventy ſeven of its chief magiſtrates and elders, and when he was entred into the city, after having reproved the inhabitants for their brutiſh inſolence, he cauſed thoſe ſeventy ſeven men to e undergo a very ſevere correction as a determent to the reſt (E), and at the ſame time he commanded thoſe of *Penuel* to be all put to the ſword, and their tower to be demoliſhed to the ground [f]. He then examined his two priſoners concerning ſome men, whom they had ſlain at mout *Tabor*, and underſtanding, by the deſcription they gave of them that they were his own brethren, he ſet aſide all thoughts of mercy towards them, and put them to death on the ſpot [g].

THE

† See before, p. 304.

[c] Judg. viii. 1, & ſeq.

[f] Ver. 13. ad. 17

[g] 18, & ſeq. See before, p. 304. c.

(D) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place, ſo that it is not eaſy to determine, whether the words, *before the ſun* (7), mean before its going down on that day, or its riſing on the next morning. Our verſion underſtands it in the latter ſenſe, but the *Jews* and the generality of *Chriſtian* interpreters in the firſt. And indeed it is ſcarce credible, that *Gideon* and his men could continue a whole day and two nights in action; and if we remember, that it was about mid-night when he put the enemies camp to the rout, he had time enough the next day to perform all the reſt.

(E) What this puniſhment was, is not clearly deſcribed in the text. The literal ſenſe, in the place where he threatens it, is, *I will thraſh your fleſh with thorns of the wilderneſs*; and where he executes it, it ſays, that *he made them feel the thorns*. The antient *Jews* think, that he cauſed their naked bodies to be flung among thorny buſhes, and to be trampled to death (8). Others think, that he cauſed them to be whipt to death, or to have their fleſh torn with thorns. Others, that they were only chaſtiſed or ſcourged with thorns; but this laſt is ſcarce probable, if we conſider that thoſe of *Penuel*, who were in the ſame offence, were all put to death.

(7) Judg. viii. 13.

(8) *Vid. Targ.* JONATH. & MUNST *in loc.*

THE *Israelites* being thus delivered from their cruel slavery, and loaden with the spoil of their enemies, began to think they could not shew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor secure their new-gotten freedom more effectually, than by offering to settle the supreme authority upon him and his posterity; and *Gideon*, who had threescore and ten sons by several wives, might easily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been so lately convinced, that their greatest security did chiefly depend upon their obedience to their divine protector; he therefore advised them not to put their confidence in their own strength, or in their generals valour, but in God; and to make sure of his protection by a stricter obedience to his laws. One would hardly think that a speech so full of modesty, piety, and disinterestedness, should be the prelude to an action, which sullied both it, and all his other glories; and yet he had no sooner modestly refused their offer but he desired them, as an acknowledgment of his late services, to present him with what golden earrings they had gotten from their enemies. His request was readily complied with, and a garment being spread upon the ground, was presently covered with those ornaments, amounting to 1700 shekels, or 850 ounces of gold, besides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the same metal (F), and some purple and other costly garments, of which they had stripped the confederate princes. With these the *Jewish* general caused an ephod (G) to be made, which he set up in his own city *Ophrah*; and the text adds, that *it proved a snare both to him and to his house, because it became the occasion of a new kind of idolatry to the* Israelites. As for *Gideon*, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged *Israel* forty years; during which, none of their enemies dared to molest them; and as to the *Midianites*, they received so total an overthrow from him, that they never made any attempt against *Israel* from that time. *Gideon* died in a good old age, and was buried with his ancestors (H). As for the *Israelites*, whom he left in a peaceful and flourishing condition, they forgot both God and him in a very little time. They adopted *Baalim*,

Year of the Flood, 1763. Year before CHRIST 1236.

(F) We need not wonder at this great quantity of golden plunder, if we remember that all those eastern nations were fond of such ornaments, and that the *Midianites* in particular not only wore them themselves, but decked the necks of their camels with them, of which they brought vast droves into the field (9).

(G) We have already taken notice of two priestly garments, called by that name from the *Hebrew* אפד *Aphad*, to tye, because they were tyed about with a girdle; the one was a plain linen vest, such as not only the priests, but even young *Samuel* wore when he ministred at the altar (10), and *David* when he marched before the ark (11); the other which was a much richer one, was peculiar to the high-priest. Some learned men have indeed affirmed, though without any foundation, that the *Jewish* kings were allowed to wear them, when they consulted the Lord by *Urim* (12); but this we have confuted elsewhere †, so that there can be no ground for supposing, that *Gideon* had this made for the same end, as being head of *Israel*; neither indeed could such a garment, how rich soever, have taken up so great a quantity of gold. Some authors therefore think it to have been an idol (13); others only a kind of trophy in memory of that signal victory (14). Some antient fathers (15), followed by many moderns, believe it to have been some such trophy or monument; and add, that it was made in imitation of the compleat habit of the high-priest, by which he only designed to perpetuate the memory of their miraculous deliverance, without dreaming that the *Israelites* would go a whoring after it; so that according to them, he was only the innocent cause of their idolatry, as *Moses* was when he made the brasen serpent, which came afterwards to be worshipped. We need not observe the disparity between these two, and that *Gideon* did that of his own accord, which *Moses* was commanded to do and upon a different account: We shall only observe, that the words, *and it became a* מוקש Mokesh, *a snare or stumbling block to* Gideon *and his family*, seems to imply something worse than a monumental trophy, whatever be meant here by the word *Ephod*; concerning which we can have nothing certain. This may be one reason, though not the only one, why *Josephus* has carefully omitted it, as well as that judge's severity against the men of *Succoth* and *Penuel* (16).

(H) *Gideon*, being also sirnamed *Jerubaal*, is supposed to be the *Jrombal* whom *Sanchoniathon* makes priest of the god *Jao*: but that author's work is now so unniversally cried down, as a piece of forgery under his name, and as written on purpose to discredit the sacred books of the *Jews*, that we shall lay no other stress upon this conjecture, than that it proves, that the author whoever he was, had got some knowledge of the *Jewish* writings, and did intermix their history with the antiquities and fables of the *Phœnicians* (17).

Jerubaal is by *David* called *Jerubosheth* (18), because by that time, *Baal*'s name was had in horror by the *Jews*, so that in all the names that ended with it, they substituted that of *Bosheth*, which signifies shame; as *Ish-bosheth* for *Ish-baal*, and the like.

(9) *Vid.* Judg. vii. 12, & *sup. p.* 305. a. (10) 1 Sam. ii. 18. (11) 2 Sam. vi. 14. (12) SPENCER. *tr. de* Urim & Thum. CUNÆ. *Rep. Hæbr. l.* 1. *c.* 14. † *Sup. p.* 537. *not.* C. (13) PROCOP. & *al. ap.* TOSTAT. (14) CATEJAN. *N. Delyr.* JUN. MUNST. (15) AUGUST. THEODORET. & *al.* (16) *Vid. Antiq. lib.* v. *c.* 8. (17) *de Sanchon. vid.* ANT. VANDAL. DUPIN. *Bibliot. Ext.* DODWELL *Dissertat.* FABRIC. *Bibl. Græ.* CUMBERLAND, *Journal de Trevoux*, Jan. 1714, & *al.* (18) 2 Sam. xi. 21.

a *Baalim*, and *Baal-berith* (I), and other new gods, and repay'd *Gideon*'s ſervices with the blackeſt ingratitude. He had left, beſides his other children by his wives, a natural ſon whom he had by a concubine [h]; and he it was who ſucceeded his father by the moſt horrid treachery, even by the deſtruction of his father's whole race.

Abimelech's uſurpation and cruelty.

His name was *Abimelech*: he ſeems to have been a man of a baſe and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The firſt ſtep he took after his father's death, was to go to *Shechem*, where his mother and her kindred dwelt, and to prevail upon them, by their cunning inſinuations, to inſpire the *Shechemites* with ſome terrible jealouſies againſt the ſons of *Gideon*. He was indeed ſo far from being
b able to bribe them with gifts, that he wanted to be aſſiſted by them with money; but he made uſe of other motives equally prevalent, though, it is likely, promiſes were not wanting to draw them to his party. What he moſtly inſiſted upon was, whether it were better for *Iſrael* to have one maſter or ſeventy, and whether it were more for the intereſts of the *Shechemites* to have their city, or that of *Ophrah*, to be the ſeat of the ſupreme judge? By theſe and ſuch like inſinuations, he obtained from them a ſum of ſeventy ſhekels of gold, out of the treaſury of *Baal-berith*, with which he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the wickedeſt enterpriſe, and led them directly to *Ophrah*, where having ſurpriſed his brethren, the ſeventy ſons of *Gideon*, he murdered them all, except the youngeſt, upon the ſpot. This
c unnatural parricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all men, but eſpecially by thoſe who had the leaſt grateful remembrance of *Gideon*, did immediately bring all the *Shechemites*, and thoſe of *Millo*, into his intereſt, who went and proclaimed him king, in ſome conſpicuous part of the plain of *Shechem* (K), in hopes, that all the reſt of the nation would follow their example.

In the interim *Jothan*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Gideon*, took that time to get upon mount *Gerizim*, which was near the place of this tumultuous aſſembly, and being within their hearing, and out of their reach, made uſe of the following pathetic apologue, to diſſuade them from their raſh and unjuſt enterpriſe [i]; *The*
d *trees, once upon a time, aſſembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which anſwered, that it could by no means diveſt itſelf of its oyl and fatneſs, ſo acceptable to God and men, to reign over them; they then invited the fig-tree, which did alſo refuſe them on account of its ſweetneſs; the vine being applied to preferred her juice, which affords gladneſs to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length, the bramble,*

[h] Judg. viii. ad fin. [i] Judg. ix. ver. 7. ad 21.

(I) We have already mentioned this deity out of biſhop *Cumberland* from *Sanchoniathon*, in ſome other parts of this work (19); but it will not be amiſs to ſubjoin to what we have obſerved in the laſt note, concerning that ſuppoſed author, that this place is the only one in ſcripture in which the name of *Baal-berith* occurs, which ſignifies the Lord of the covenant, and that the ſeptuagint, vulgate, and ſome of the *Jewiſh* interpreters, render the words not as ours do; they made *Baal-berith* their god, but bound themſelves to the ſervice of *Baal* by covenant, or by an oth. It is true, we find in the very next chapter mention made of the houſe or temple of *Baal-berith*, which was in *Shechem* (20), but as every *Baal* had a kind of ſirname, as *Baal-peor*, *Baal-zebub*, &c. to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, or rather, perhaps, the *Baal* of one place from that of another, might not the *Shechemites* ſirname theirs from the *Berith*, or covenant, by which they had bound themſelves? and might not the pretended *Sanchoniathon* from thence make him the *Baal-berytos*, to make it appear of *Phœnician* extraction.

For our part, we think the moſt natural etymology the beſt; and that *Baal-berith* might ſignify the god that preſided over contracts, covenants, and oaths, and puniſhed the breakers of them. It is certain, that the binding the former by the latter was not only a very antient cuſtom, but alſo the greateſt ſecurity that could be inſiſted upon by the parties, which could only be owing to the received notion, that the deity, which was ſo ſolemnly called as a witneſs to them, was bound in juſtice to puniſh the breach of them. Hence came the *Jupiter* the *Witneſs*, or *the faithful* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

(K) The original has אלון מיצב אשר בשכם *Alon Mutzab Aſher be-Shechem*, the oak of the ſtatue, or pillar, that is in the territory of *Shechem*. The *Hebrews*, however, tranſlate *Alon* a plain inſtead of an oak, and affirm, that there was ſome ſtatue or pillar erected in it (20). It is plain, that there was both an oak and a ſtatue, or monument, and that the latter was erected by *Joſhua*, a little before his death, in memory of the new covenant which the *Iſraelites* had made with God at that place (21); ſo that it ſeems to be thus circumſtantially recorded to aggravate the crime of the *Shechemites*, in chuſing ſo remarkable and ſacred a ſpot of ground, to be the ſcene of their tumultuous aſſembly, and unlawful election.

As for the houſe of *Millo*, which joined with the *Shechemites*, it is ſuppoſed to have been all the kindred of *Abimelech*'s mother, whom *Joſephus* calls *Druma* (22), and *Millo* himſelf is ſuppoſed to have been her father. The ſeptuagint and vulgate do render it the city of *Millo*, but we do not read of any city of that name in all the land of *Paleſtine*.

(19) *Vid. ſup. p.* 134. not. H. 397. b, & *alib.*

(20) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.*

(21) Joſh. xxiv. 20.

(22) *Ant. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

bramble, being invited to accept of that dignity, answered that if they really meant to a
make him king over them, they should come and shelter themselves under its shadow, if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

HIS design was plainly to insinuate, that the happiness of a private life was so far preferable to the cares that attend on the supreme authority, that the person who exchanged the one for the other, must either do it from a generous desire of serving his country, or from a base one to enslave it. Some interpreters suppose, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alluded to *Othniel*, *Deborah*, and *Gideon*, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refused to have it intailed on their posterity [k]; but whether it be so or not, it is plain from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor *Abimelech*, who was so b
far from being able to protect the *Shechemites*, that he must unavoidably prove the occasion of a bloody war, which like a consuming fire, would end in their utter ruin: *For*, added he, *I appeal to you whether your choice of* Abimelech, *preferably to any of the sons of* Gideon, *your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or just; or rather, indeed, whether the murdering of all his children, for the sake of the son of a slave, be not an instance of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude? if you think it is not, I wish you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity; but if it is, may he prove a curse to* Shechem *and* Millo, *and you to him* (L).

AFTER

[k] N. DE LYR. & al.

(L) We cannot forbear observing here, that this is the first instance we have of this way of speaking by parables. We do not indeed take upon us to attribute the invention of it to the *Hebrews*, because we do not know how far they might have learnt it elsewhere; though if that were the case, one may justly wonder, that *Moses*, who was so well versed in all the learning of his time, and had so much occasion for this excellent way of instructing and reproving his stubborn and rebellious nation, should yet never make use of it in all the forty years of his being their leader. Not that it was not in use by other nations in his time, since he mentions those who record the overthrow of *Sion* and of his metropolis, in *Proverbs*, and *Balaam*, uttering his prophecies in some such proverbial speeches *. But if we may judge of them at this distance, by the short specimen he has given us of them, they were, if not crude and uncouth, at least vastly inferior in elegance and energy to this of *Jotham*, and others, which were used by the *Jews*; so that these may be justly said, at least, to have been the improvers, or rather perfecters of this parabolick way. But be that as it will, nothing is more palpable than the vanity of the *Greeks*, who boast themselves the authors of it, when it was in a greater perfection among the *Jews*, before they were civilized from the lowest degree of ignorance and barbarity, than ever they raised it to, after they had arrived to the greatest pitch of polite learning; an evident proof of which, we have not only in this speech of *Jotham*, but in that excellent one, by which the prophet *Nathan* made *David* pronounce a severe sentence of condemnation against himself, for a crime, which it would have been dangerous so much as to have mentioned in any other way (23). We find it also frequently used, not by prophets only, but by courtiers, politicians, and soldiers,(24) in the old testament, and by our Saviour in the new.

And here we beg leave to vindicate our divine Master from a most unnatural and unjust expression, which not only ours, but most versions make him frequently use, *that he spake to the people in parables, that seeing they might not perceive, and hearing they might not understand, lest they should be converted and be saved*——*because* Isaiah *had said, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardned their hearts lest they should see*—— *and understand, and be converted, and I should heal them* (25). The momentousness of the subject will, we hope, atone for the length of the note, since such expressions can hardly be read without horror, or, at least, without conceiving some very unworthy ideas, both of the Godhead and of that compassionate Redeemer, who so often bewailed, even with tears, their stupidity and hardness of heart: What part must he be supposed to have acted, who could express so much concern at their unbelief, if his design were to confirm them in it? To what purpose was his three years preaching to them, and his reproving them for their slowness of belief, if his unintellgible way of speaking made it unavoidable to them?

We need not observe here, how contrary this was likewise to the nature and design of parables, which is to reach down to the meanest capacities, by borrowing such examples and expressions, as are best understood by them; at least it is certain, that all those which our Saviour used were of this kind, whatever those of the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoreans*, and other philosophers might be. So that it is absurd to suppose, that he would have made choice of such a plain and simple way of teaching, if his design had been to have confirmed them in their ignorance; neither need we say how opposite it is to his professed design of coming into the world to save sinners, that none might perish, but have eternal life, nor of his working so many miracles, to give the greater sanction to his doctrine.

We have already observed, that the writers of the New Testament did constantly quote the septuagint version (26), which had translated that passage of *Isaiah*, and many others of the like nature, in an active sense, which, in the original, implied only a bare permission; and it plainly appears, that both our Saviour and his apostles never understood them in any other sense, from that petition, *lead us not into temptation* (27), and that exposition of St. *James*, *Let no man say, that he is tempted of God, for God tempted no man* (28). We may further observe, that whatever language they spoke, they still intermixed the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* phrase with it, so that the *Greek* of the New Testament is best explained either by itself, or by the *Syriac* idiom.

Now

* *Vid.* Num. xxi. 27, & *seq.* xxiii. 7, & *seq.* (23) 2 Sam. xii. 1, & *seq.* (24) *Ibid.* xiv. 1, & *seq.* 1 King. xx. 38, & *seq.* xxii. 19. & *alib.* (25) Matth. xiii. 13, & *seq.* Mark iv. 11, & *alib.* (26) *Vid. sup. p.* 494. *not.* D. & 515. *sub. fin. not.* X. (27) Matt. vi. 10. (28) Jam. i. 13.

AFTER ſo bold and ſevere a ſpeech, *Jothan* did not think it adviſeable to expoſe himſelf to *Abimelech*'s reſentment, but fled to *Beer*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* not far from *Jebus*, or *Jeruſalem*, where he continued all the time of his reign, which according to his prediction, proved both thorny and ſhort-lived; for, beſides his mortification in not being acknowledged by any of the tribes, the text ſays, that God ſent an evil ſpirit, that is, cauſed a ſpirit of jealouſy to be ſown between the *Shechemites* and him, which ended in a full reſolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God ſuffered him to eſcape for the preſent, that he might ſhortly become the inſtrument of a more ſevere chaſtiſement againſt them. *Gaal*, informed of the hatred which they had conceived againſt their new-made king, came to *Shechem*, with a full deſign to blow it into an open rupture, but *Zebul*, whom *Abimelech* had intruſted with the government of that city, a fit ſervant for ſuch a maſter, failed not to acquaint him with it, whilſt, in outward appearance, he ſided with *Gaal* and his party. At length, after ſeveral pickerings on both ſides, *Gaal* perceived *Abimelech* marching towards the town, and went out with his men to oppoſe him, but was repulſed, and when he would have re-entred into *Shechem*, *Zebul* drove him back. What became of him and his party, the text doth not ſay, but, upon *Abimelech*'s entring the town, the frighted inhabitants retired into the temple of *Baal-berith*, as into a ſanctuary, where they were ſoon made ſenſible, to their coſt, what a god they had preferred to that of *Iſrael*. *Abimelech* commanded a party of men to follow his ſteps into the next wood, where every one after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and having piled them round the temple and ſet fire to them, they were all ſmothered to death, being about a thouſand men and women. He then cauſed the city and tower to be razed to the ground, and to be ſtrewed with ſalt; and thus was the firſt part of *Jotham*'s prophecy fulfilled, *and the fire from the bramble burnt up the cedars of* Lebanon.

Abimelechi, fifth judge.

b

c

THE next part followed ſoon after, and *Abimelech*, fluſhed with his ſucceſs, marched againſt *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, which had alſo taken up arms againſt him, and there met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conqueſt. The citizens, repulſed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a ſtone, which lighted upon his head, and delivered her people from his fury. *Abimelech*, finding death approaching, and being more aſhamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own parricides and tyranny, choſe rather to die a ſecond death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and commanded his ſervant *Zebul* to diſpatch him, which he immediately

d

Now if we ſeek from either of theſe for the true meaning of the text in queſtion, *that ſeeing they might not ſee, &c.* we ſhall find that the particle, which ſome of the evangeliſts render by *ινα*, and we by *to the end that*, is not only capable of ſeveral other ſenſes leſs oppoſite to the nature of parables, and the deſign of the goſpel, ſuch as *though*, *ſo as*, *wherefore*, and the like (29), but even of ſuch a one as is exactly agreeable to it, and that it may and ought properly to be rendered, becauſe *ſeeing they do not ſee, and hearing they do not underſtand*; ſo that their groſs and carnal underſtanding required the plaineſt preaching. And if this were the caſe, we hope any impartial reader, will rather think, that they uſed it in this ſenſe, than in that abſurd one which the verſions give it. The only two particles which both the *Hebrew* and its derivatives have to expreſs *ινα*, or *to the end that*, is either כִּי *Ki*, or לְמַעַן *Lemahan*; and both do equally ſignify *becauſe*, *wherefore*, and the like, and nothing but the analogy of the context can fix it; but the tranſlators have often fallen upon the wrong. As to the firſt, they have rendered it *becauſe*, where it plainly ſignifies *though*, or *wherefore*, as where it is ſaid that Eli's *ſons did not hearken to him, becauſe* [inſtead of *wherefore*] *it pleaſed the Lord to ſlay them* (30), for it were blaſphemy to ſuppoſe, that God did force them to diſobedience that he might deſtroy them for it. As for the ſecond, it is plain to all that have any knowledge of thoſe tongues, that it ſignifies as often *becauſe* as *to the end that*; and here we need not quote the authority of lexicons or parallels, ſince St. *Matthew* tranſlates it here ὅτι *becauſe*, where the others render it ἵνα *that*. To his diſciples therefore, whoſe heart had been already prepared for the more ſublime truths of the goſpel, Chriſt ſays, it was given to underſtand the myſteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to the reſt whoſe hearts were ſtill groſs, carnal, and incapable of them, he ſpake in parables, that is, as our Dr. *Sam. Clark* obſerves (31), in ſuch a way as beſt ſuited their capacity, was moſt taking with, and profitable to them, becauſe, as he elſewhere has it (32), parables are examples, or compariſons taken from things known and familiar, and are here put in oppoſition to myſteries, or truths of a ſuperior nature. The reader may ſee this point more fully demonſtrated by the authors above quoted, and many more (33).

(29) *Vid.* LE SCENE. *Eſſay on a new verſ. p.* ii. Ch. 5. (30) 1 Sam. ii. 25. *Vid. de part.* KI. BUXTORF. *Lexic. Hæbr.* NOLD. *Concord. part. Hæb.* WORST. ALSTAD. AMAM. *& al.* (31) *in* Mark iv. 33. (32) *in* Mark iii. (33) *Vid.* LE SCEN. *& Eſſay ub. ſup.* WHITBY, PELLING.

immediately did [l]. This was the exemplary end of *Abimelech*, whose ambition a made him aspire to a dignity, which has justly branded his memory, and sullied the list of the judges; he being the only one that usurped and abused that dignity. It lasted about three years, after which God made choice of a more worthy one to succeed him.

Tholah, *sixth judge.*

Tholah, the son of *Phuah*, the son of *Dodo* (M), of the tribe of *Issachar*. The text mentions nothing particularly of him, except that he dwelt at *Shamir* upon mount *Ephraim*, where he was buried, after he had judged *Israel* twenty-three years [m].

HE was succeeded by *Jair*, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of *Manasseh* which dwelt on the other side of *Jordan*, and possessed a vast territory in b the land of *Gilead*, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty sons; whence they were called *Havoth*, or *hamlets* of *Jair* [n]. He judged *Israel* twenty-two years, and was buried in the city of *Camon* in the same land. The text adds, as a then mark of their wealth and greatness, that they all rode upon asses colts; which is likewise observed of several others in the same book [o].

THE ungrateful *Israelites* returned, soon after, to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought a fifth thraldom upon them of eighteen years, under the *Philistines* and *Ammonites*. Here they had recourse again to prayer and professions of repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to those deities they had adopted, for deliverance. This answer, and the c pressing danger they were in from the *Ammonites*, who had already passed the *Jordan*, and were going to fall upon *Judah* and *Benjamin* [p], brought them to such a sense of their folly, that they put away all their strange gods, and began to serve the Lord in earnest; upon which God was pleased to give them a promise, that they should be speedily delivered. They assembled themselves at *Mizpeh*, to stop the carreer of the children of *Ammon*; but as God had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they found themselves at a loss for an experienced leader; and not finding one among them, either that would take that charge upon him, or whom they dared to intrust with the command of their army, they were forced to send an invitation to the valiant *Jephthah* to accept of d it, and with it of the place of judge or general during his life.

Jephthah.

Jephthah was the son of *Gilead*, but by a concubine, for which reason he was thrust out by his brethren, whom his father had by a lawful wife, and forced to retire into the land of *Tob* (N), where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle persons, and signalized himself more by his valour than by his honesty; he therefore received their message with some mistrust, and did not accept of their offered dignity, till it was confirmed to him by an oath [q]. As soon as he had put himself at their head, he sent an expostulatory message to the *Ammonites* †; but finding them stiffly bent upon conquest, rather than parley, he ran over the e land of *Gilead* and *Manasseh*; and having got a sufficient army, marched directly against them. Before he ventured to engage them, either his fear or superstition put a strange expedient into his head, to make sure of the divine assistance: he

His rash vow.

made a vow that if God would but bless him with an entire victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that came out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory and pleasure of the ensuing action. The *Ammonites* were indeed totally defeated, and

[l] Judg. ix. per. tot. [m] Ibid. x. 1, 2. [n] Judg. x. 3. vid. & Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14.
[o] Vid. Judg. v. 12. [p] Ibid. x. 9. [q] Ibid. xi. 10. † Vid. sup. p. 295. b.

(M) The *Greek* and *Latin* versions take the word *Dodo*, not as a proper name but in a grammatical sense, and from דוד *Dod*, uncle, with the ן affixed, and render it his uncle, meaning *Abimelech*'s, mentioned in the beginning of the verse, whence they suppose *Tholah*'s father, to have been *Gideon*'s brother. The *Hebrew*, indeed, will bear them out in it; but there is one difficulty against them, namely, that *Gideon* was of the tribe of *Manasseh*, and *Phuah* of that of *Issachar*; so that they could at the best be but uterine brothers, nor even so without supposing, that their mother had married first in one tribe, and then in the other.

(N) This land is on the most northern part of *Manasseh*'s lot, on the other side of *Jordan*. It is called *Toby*, and its inhabitants *Tobinians*, or *Tubinians*, in the first and second books of the *Maccabees* (34). As for *Jephthah*'s brethren driving him out of the inheritance, he could not justly complain of it, because it passed into a constant law ever since *Abraham*'s time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to cast out the son of the concubine (35).

(34) 1 Macc. v. 13. 2 Macc. xii. 17. (35) Gen. xxi. 10. & *seq.*

a and the *Iſraelites* laden with their ſpoil, as we have ſeen above; but his daughter a virgin, and his only child, and if we may credit the *Jews*, a perſon of exquiſite beauty and virtue, proved the unhappy victim of his raſh vow. The welcome news of her father's ſucceſs had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him with timbrels, and dances, and other expreſſions of filial joy; ſo that ſhe proved the unhappy object upon which he caſt his eyes, and which he had vowed to deſtruction. As ſoon as he ſaw her, he rent his cloaths, and diſcloſed the ſecret to her, with moſt lively expreſſions of grief. She heard it with a conſtancy, which one would hardly have expected in a perſon of her tender years, and only begged for a reſpite of two months, during which ſhe would retire with b ſome of her companions into the mountains, to bewail her virginity, it being eſteemed a great misfortune for a daughter of *Iſrael* to die unmarried. Her requeſt being granted, ſhe abſented herſelf during that ſhort ſpace, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow; that is, according to the generality of *Jewiſh* and chriſtian interpreters[r], he offered her up for a burnt-offering: from which came that cuſtom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of *Iſrael* to go yearly to lament *Jephthah*'s daughter four days in a year[s]; or, according to others, he conſecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity; ſo that thoſe yearly viſits were payed to her, as compliments of condolence for it, as ſhe was the daughter of an *Iſraelitiſh* judge[t] (O).

THIS

[r] Joseph, Antiq. lib. v. chap. 9. Rabbin. ſer. omn. Chald. paraph. Jonath. in loc. Just. Mart. Ambros. de off. l. iii. c. 12. Hieron. cont. Jovinian, lib. i. & alib. August. queſt. in judic. 49. Chrysost. homil. 14. ad pop. Antioch. Theodoret. quæſt. in judic. 20. Serar. Salian. Genebrard. Cajet. & al. mult. vid. & Lud. Capell. &. D. Calmet. diſſertat. de vot. Jeph. [s] Judic. xi. ver. ult. [t] Pagnin. Arr. Montan. Tremel. Munst. Drus. Grot. N. de Lyr. & al. in loc. Le Scen. Eſſay on a new verſ. ch. vii.

(O) It will be ſcarcely doubted, that the fable of the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from this; eſpecially if we remember that the taking of *Troy*, happened ſoon after the time of *Jephthah*. There is indeed this difference, that ſome of the wiſer heathen authors who relate it, have introduced the goddeſs *Diana* interpoſing herſelf, to prevent ſo horrid a ſacrifice being offered to her; whilſt the far greater part of the *Jews*, even *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldee* paraphraſt, acknowledge *Jephthah* to have been ſuffered by God, by the high-prieſt, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the only object of his preſent comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-offering unto the Lord, who had ſo often declared his utter abhorrences againſt all ſuch abominations, and rejected the *Canaanites* upon that very account. Some even add, that her life was ſacrificed rather to a punctilio of honour, her father thinking it beneath him to go to the high-prieſt, to be abſolved from his unlawful vow; and the latter being above doing of it, unleſs he were applied to by him. It ſeems indeed wonderful, that ſo many of the antient fathers have too implicitly followed the *Jews*, in believing, that ſhe was really ſacrificed, notwithſtanding the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ranking *Jephthah* among the faithful *Jewiſh* worthies. But here it muſt be remembred, that they had no means of being ſet right, for want of being acquainted with the original, and conſequently of knowing that the text was capable of two different ſenſes, and that the *Jews* had choſen the leaſt reaſonable of the two. But what is moſt ſurpriſing of all is, that ſo many learned interpreters ſhould ſtill adhere to it, ſince a better underſtanding of that tongue has opened the way to the other ſenſe, which is moſt agreeable both to reaſon and to the tenor of ſcripture. However, as what has been urged on both ſides of the queſtion is too copious, and would ſwell this note too much, to give our readers even a ſhort abſtract of it; we chuſe to refer them to thoſe learned moderns, who have wrote on that ſubject (36), while we content ourſelves with juſtifying the latter ſenſe, as far as the original will bear us out in it. For we doubt not, but if we make it appear to be capable of it, our readers will readily abſolve the *Hebrew* judge from ſo horrid and unnatural a ſacrifice under pretence of religion, though contrary to, and plainly forbidden by it, even when the text expreſly ſays, that the ſpirit of God came upon him about the time when he made this vow, (37); rather than to fancy, with ſome of the fathers (38), that God ſuffered him to offer up his daughter in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, to deter men for the future from making any ſuch raſh vows. What has miſled all the antient fathers is, that the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate* render the words of *Jephthah*, *whatſoever cometh forth to meet* me, in the maſculine, as if he had ſaid, whoſoever, or what perſon ſoever, cometh forth; whereas the original is here undeterminate. Again, they did not know that the particle, *Vau* may be properly enough taken in the diſjunctive ſenſe, *or*, inſtead of the conjunctive, *and*. This is what ſome judicious criticks, both *Jews* and chriſtians, have ſince clearly ſhewn to be the right ſignification, both here and elſewhere (39). So that *Jephthah*'s words ſhould be rendered *ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, or*, not *and, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering*; that is, if it be a human creature, he, or ſhe, ſhall be conſecrated to the ſervice of God, as ſome ſort of *Nazarenes* were *; or if a beaſt, it ſhall be offered up for a burnt-offering, if it be fit for it, or if not, be exchanged for another, that

is

(36) *Vid.* Pagnin. Montan. Munst. Vatabl. Drus. Grot. Cleric. Lyran. Marian. Capel. Marsham. *Canon Ægypt. ſæc.* ix. § 3. Saubert. *de ſacrific. c.* 21. Sobed. *de diis German. lib.* 2. *& al. mult.* (37) Judg. ii. 20. (38) *Vid. int. al.* Chrysost. *Homil. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. Justin. *Mart.* Theodoret, *qu.* xx. *in Judic.* (39) *Vid.* Jos. & Dav. Kimchi. R. Levi. *Ben.* Gers. Solom. *Ben.* Melech. & *auct. Chriſt. ſup. citat.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 631, 632.

THIS dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another quarter, which he had no reason to expect it from. He was scarce returned to his own house, when the turbulent *Ephraimites* surrounded it, and in a tumultuous manner threatned to set it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to engage the *Ammonites*, without summoning them to arms. *Jephthah* who was not of so gentle a disposition as his predecessor *Gideon*, did not think

is so. What confirms this sense of the vow is, 1. That there were but three sorts of creatures that could be fit for a burnt offering, according to the *Mosaic* law; whereas any other creature might as well chance to come out of his doors, as any of these three. 2. It might chance to be an unclean one, such as a dog, an ass, or a hog; which could not be in any way offered to the Lord, but must be exchanged or redeemed. 3. That human sacrifices of any kind, except what was vowed to extermination of the nations condemned by God to it †, (and these could not be said to be offered up in burnt offerings) were expresly forbidden (40). And, 4. That there was an express redemption for vows relating to human creatures, and the price of it appointed by God (41). It were therefore absurd to suppose, either that *Jephthah* would have vowed to offer the first creature indifferently that came out of his house, a burnt-offering unto God without distinction of clean and unclean, fit and unfit, or if he had, that the priests would have suffered him to put it in execution, when the victim vowed proved an unlawful and redeemable one, and would have been an abomination to God, as well as a scandal to all the world. For these plain reasons we think, with those learned men above quoted, that the words ought rather to have been rendered thus: *Then the spirit of God came upon* Jephthah—*and he vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of* Ammon *into my hands, it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house, to meet me when I return in peace,—shall surely be the* LORD's, or, *I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.—And* Jephthah *came to* Mizpeh *to his house, and his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, and she was his only child.—And when he saw her he rent his cloaths, and said, alas, my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, thou art one of those that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back.—And she said unto him, If thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to thy vow—only, let this thing be done for me; let me—bewail my virginity two months.——And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned to her father who did with her according to his vow, and she never knew man*; that is, *she continued a virgin. And it became a statute or custom in* Israel, *that the daughters of* Israel *came four days in the year* לתנות Lethanoth, *to condole or converse with the daughter of* Jephthah.——

Here then *Jephthah*'s vow is taken in the first sense, *shall be the* LORD's; that is, the vowed thing, proving to be his only daughter, he consecrated her to the service of God. For this reason it is added, והוא לא ידעה איש *Vehi lo yadhah ish*, and, so, she did not know man; that is, from that time to her death. For it would have been superfluous to have added that circumstance, if he had sacrificed her as soon as she came from bewailing her virginity. As for the verb חנה *Thanah*, which so many versions render *to bewail*, were it capable of no other signification, yet would it not imply the bewailing of her death, but her being condemned to perpetual virginity, which was reckoned one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to an *Israelitish* maid. But it is plain, that it signifies also to condole, to converse with, to declare or extol. In this last sense, the reader will find it used in the same book, chap. v. ver. 11. where it is said, that they יתנו *Jithanu* shall rehearse, or extol the righteous acts of the LORD. So that here the *Israelitish* maids might go, either to condole her for being secluded from man, or to extol her piety and constancy in ratifying her father's vow.

There are but two things objected against this sense of the text; the first is, that the *Mosaic* law did not allow parents a power to oblige their children to a single life. But, besides that the argument is much stronger against their power of sacrificing them to the flames, we find that the children, when of age, might consent to the vow; and this seems to be the reason why the text adds, that she readily ratified it (42). But it is plain, moreover, that parents had a very great power, to impose severe and grating laws, not only on their children, but also on their posterity; as when the son of *Rechab* forbid all his descendants the drinking of wine, dwelling in houses, and the like (43). Though were it not so one could only say, that *Jephthah*, as a judge, stretched his power beyond what he might do as a father, though without such a decree of barbarity, as if he had offered her up in the other sense.

The next thing that is objected is, that the grief, which *Jephthah* expressed at the sight of his daughter, seems to imply some heavier fate, than a bare doom to perpetual virginity. But it ought to be remembred, that he thereby deprived an only child, and a dear one, of the greatest happiness of life; for such was marriage, especially when blessed with children, esteemed in *Israel*; and himself of all hopes of any posterity. Where is then the wonder that he should use such expressions of grief, when his only child was condemned to such a reproachful and uncomfortable life, and himself excluded thereby from the prospect of having the Messiah to come of his seed (44)?

Since then the original is capable of so much fairer and more natural a sense, it were absurd to prefer the other, which is both contrary to reason, nature, the *Mosaic* law, and the analogy of faith; and has been the source of endless disputes and superfluous inquiries, how far this inhuman sacrifice was, or was not, justifiable, commendable, and pleasing to God; and how far *Jephthah*'s barbarous faith entitled him to be ranked among the *Hebrew* worthies (45). Concerning all which, the reader may consult those antient fathers above quoted, and several others (46); for whom there is only this to be said, that they had no version, but the *Greek* and *Latin* to steer by, backed with the testimony of the antient *Jews*. A late commentator (47), however, has since endeavoured to vindicate the notion of *Je[illegible]*

† *Vid. sup. p.* 630, *& seq.* (40) Deut. xii. 31. *& alib.* (41) Levit. xxvii. 1. *& seq.* (42) Judg. xi. 26. *vid. &* Num. xxx *pass.* (43) *Vid.* Jerem. xxxv. 6. *& seq.* (44) *Vid.* LE SCENE. *& Essay on a new vers. ch.* vii. § 9. (45) *Hebr.* xi. 32. (46) *Vid.* AUGUST. *quæst.* 49. *in Judic.* HIERON. *lib.* i. *cont. Jovinian. & Epist. ad Jovin.* AMBROS. *lib.* iii. *de offic. c.* 12. TH. AQUIN. *2da 2dæ* § 2. *qu.* 88. (47) CALMET. *Dissert. de Jud.* JEPH. *comm. in Judic. & Dict. sub voc. Jephte.*

ink it worth the while to ſooth their pride with a flattering ſpeech; on the ntrary, he upbraided them with their baſeneſs, in not anſwering his ſummons, id leaving him to bear the brunt of the enemy. Theſe reproaches ſtung them to the quick, that they ſcrupled not, in the height of their reſentment, to call ie *Gileadites* a pack of ſpurious fugitives, a kind of mongrels, between *Ephraim* nd *Manaſſeth*. There wanted nothing more to exaſperate the *Gileadites*, who ere of that half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, which was ſeated on the other ſide of *Jordan*. A bloody fight enſued, in which thoſe of *Ephraim* were diſcomfited with a great oſs, and the *Gileadites*, having ſeiſed the fords of *Jordan*, ſuffered none of thoſe who had eſcaped from the ſlaughter to live. Their method was, to examine all hat offered to croſs that river whether they were *Ephraimites*; which was eaſily lone, by making them pronounce the word SHIBBOLETH; which ſignifies an ear of corn, and which thoſe of that tribe were known to pronounce SIBBOLETH; ſo that as many as were caught by that ſnare, were immediately knocked on the head; and this unhappy contention occaſioned the loſs of 42,000 *Ephraimites*. As for *Jephthah*, we read no more of him, except that he judged *Iſrael* ſix years; by which is only meant, that part of it which was on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and that he was buried in *(one of)* the cities of *Gilead* [u]. This has given birth to two *Jewiſh* fables, very oppoſite to one another; the firſt is, that he was ſmitten with a ſore diſeaſe, as a puniſhment for his impious vow, which rotted all his limbs one after another; ſo that there was hardly one city in the land of *Gilead* in which he did not drop one of them. The other is, that the *Gileadites*, in memory of the great deliverance they obtained by him, diſſected his body, that every city might have ſome part, to keep as a monument of it.

Jephthah was ſucceeded by *Ibzan*, whom the *Jewiſh* rabbies will have to be the ſame with *Boaz*, who married *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs* [x], but without any foundation. This was their 10th judge, a native of *Bethlehem*; but whether that which belonged to the tribe of *Zebulun* [y], or that which belonged to that of *Judah*, is not certain. He is only recorded for his numerous poſterity, namely, thirty ſons and as many daughters, whom he lived to ſee all married; ſo that he had 120 ſons and daughters and ſons and daughters-in-law, beſides grandchildren. This was looked upon as a great bleſſing in *Iſrael*. He judged ſeven years [z], and was ſucceeded by Ibzan.

Elon, of the tribe of *Zebulun*, who judged *Iſrael* ten years [a]. He was buried in *Aijalon*, in his own tribe, and ſucceeded by Elon.

Abdon, who was the ſon of *Hillel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and native of *Pirathon* in the mount of the *Amalekites* in the ſame tribe, where he was buried, after having judged *Iſrael* eight years. He is recorded for his numerous iſſue, having left behind him forty ſons and thirty grandſons, who rode on as many aſſes colts, after the manner of the great men in *Iſrael* [b]. Abdon.

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[u] Jud. xii. 7. [w] Vid. MUNS. in loc. [x] Ruth. iv. 8. & ſeq. Matth. i. 5. vid. MUNST. in Jud. xii. 8. [y] Joſh. xix 15. [z] Judg. xii. 8. & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 11. [b] Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

thah's daughter being really ſacrificed according to the letter, and the opinion of the fathers; though without pretending to juſtify, either the vow, or the execution of it. In order to which, he inſiſts ſtrenuouſly, 1. that he did not vow the firſt thing, but the firſt perſon that came out of his houſe. But we have already proved the contrary above; and it is a wonder, that he, who ſeems well verſed in the *Hebrew*, ſhould not have been ſenſible of it. He next inſiſts upon an expreſs text in the law concerning vows (48), that whatſoever is vowed unto the Lord of men, ſhall not be redeemed, but ſhall ſurely be put to death. But if this be the purport of that command, there is at once an end of all enquiry, concerning the lawfulneſs both of *Jephthah's* vow, and of all other human ſacrifices. Had our author conſulted the learned *Selden* (49), he would have found it fully proved, not only againſt *Capellus* and others, that the parents had no ſuch power over their children, but even againſt the *Jews*, that maſters had it not over their ſlaves; and that the queſtion in this law is not about things, or men, vowed for burnt-offerings, which was abſolutely forbidden, but about ſuch as were devoted by חרם *Cherem*, *Anathema*, to utter extermination, of which kind were the inhabitants, and all the plunder of *Jericho* (41), of the *Amalekites*, of king *Arad* and his people, of the inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead* (42,) and of the ſeven nations of *Canaan*. But of this *Cherem* we have had occaſion to ſpeak already, and ſhall dwell no longer upon it †. It is plain therefore, that theſe two places are nothing to our author's purpoſe, and that the whole tenor of the ſcriptures is againſt it; ſo that we ſee no reaſon to depart from the contrary opinion.

(48) Levit. xxviii. 29. (49) *De Jur. Nat. & Gent. ſec. diſcipl. Hæb.* c. 4. *& ſeq.* (41) Joſh. vi. 9. 10. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 630. *vid. & SELD. ub. ſup.* PATRIC. GROT. LE CLERC. *& al. in* Levit. xxviii. 28, 29. (42) Num. xxi. 2. Judg. xxi. *taſſ. & alib.*

WE read of no ſlavery, war, or defection, during the life of theſe three laſt judges; whether it were, that the ſwords of *Gideon* and *Jephthah* had too far weakened their enemies, or that their own valour did both intimidate them, and kept the *Iſraelites* from running into thoſe idolatries, which were attended with the loſs of peace and liberty. The latter ſeems indeed the moſt probable, becauſe we find, that after the death of the laſt of theſe, they relapſed, and ſuffered a heavy yoke of forty years under the *Philiſtines* [c]. a

Eli. THIS ſixth ſlavery began about the ſeventh month after *Eli* join'd, in his own perſon, the dignity of judge to that of high-prieſt [d]. He was of the family of *Ithamar*, the younger branch of *Aaron*'s houſe; and the high-prieſthood had been tranſlated into it from the elder one of *Eleazer* (P). It is indeed ſurpriſing, that the people ſhould have continued ſo long free from defection, during the Lives of their lay judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of an high-prieſt. But *Eli* is particularly recorded for his indolence and remiſſneſs, eſpecially towards his two ſons, whom he ſuffered to run into the greateſt exceſſes of debauchery and irreligion, to the great ſcandal of all *Iſrael* [e]. However, he was the only ruler the *Iſraelites* had during this long thraldom; and ſeems to have been choſen by God, as the propereſt judge for them at that time; for as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fitteſt to withdraw their uſual confidence in an arm of fleſh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the ſeverity of their thraldom had brought them to a better ſenſe, God ſent them a deliverer, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death. b c

Samſon. HE was the miraculous ſon of old age and barrenneſs. His birth and proweſs had been foretold by an angel, firſt to his mother, then to *Manoah* his father, a native of *Zorah* in the tribe of *Dan*, with a ſtrict charge to the mother, that ſhe ſhould abſtain both from wine and ſtrong drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy; and that no raſor ſhould come on the child's head all his life, becauſe he was be a *Nazarite* from his birth. *Samſon*, for that was the name which his parents gave him (Q), began to give ſome early marks of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; and the text ſays, that the ſpirit of the Lord began d to move him at times in the camp of the *Danites*, between *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol* [f], the place of his abode.

How he plagued the *Philiſtines* during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, ſhorn, and bereaved of his ſtrength and eyes, become the object of their ſcorn and revenge, and how, after near a year's miſerable ſervitude, he buried, with himſelf, all the *Philiſtine* nobles, under the ruins of a magnificent ſtructure; we have ſeen in the hiſtory

[c] Judg. xiii. 1. [d] Vid. USSER. Ann ſub A. M. 2848. and the chronolog. index at the end of our Bibles. Year before Chriſt 1256. [e] 1 Sam. ii. 12. & ſeq. [f] Judg. xiii. paſſ.

(P) This thraldom is computed by the chronologers cited above, not to have ended till ſeven months after *Eli*'s death, when the ark was brought back from the land of the *Philiſtines*.

We have already ſpoken in another place † of this tranſlation of the high-prieſthood, from the elder to the younger branch of *Aaron*'s family. We need only take notice here, that though we find no mention of any other high-prieſt of the elder branch from *Joſhua* to *Samſon*, that is during 300 years, except *Phineas*, the ſon of *Eleazar*; yet the book of the *Chronicles* mentions (43) three others, namely, *Abiſhua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*; called by *Joſephus* (44), *Abiezer*, *Boccias*, and *Ozies*. It is uncertain how long any of them lived; but by the dignity being tranſferred to *Eli* about the year before CHRIST 1156, it is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have paſſed from *Uzzi* to him, rather than from his ſon *Meraioth*.

(Q) It is not eaſy to divine into the etymon of this name; that which comes neareſt to it is ſtill ſomewhat forced, being derived from שמש *Shemeſh*, the *Sun*, and the feminine *Syriack* pronoun ܬ *ſi* *their*, *their Sun*; which, as ſome pretend, prognoſticated the riſing of the *Hebrews*, and ſetting of the *Philiſtines* (45). Others derive it from the *Chaldee* שמש *Shamaſh* in piel, which ſignifies to *miniſter* or *ſerve*, as the ſun doth to all the world. *Joſephus* ſays, that *Samſon* ſignifies *robuſt* (46); by which it is plain, he knew nothing of *Hebrew*, or its derivatives. However, we have obſerved more than once, that there is ſo little credit to be given to etymologies, eſpecially when they are ſo far fetched as this is, that it is not worth a farther enquiry.

Our arch-biſhop *Uſher* places *Samſon*'s birth in the ſecond year of their thraldom, and gives this ſubſtantial reaſon for it, that he is ſaid to have avenged the *Iſraelites* twenty years (47), and that he can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have entered into this office before the 18th year of his age (48).

† *See before*, p. 634. a, b, & not. (S). (43) 1 Chron. vi. 4, 5. & 50. (44) *Joſ. lib.* 5. *c. ult.* (45) *Vid. vocabul. Hebr. & St.* PHILIP. *in voc.* Samſon. (46) ANT. *lib.* 5. *c.* 10. (47) *Judg.* xv. *ult.* (48) *Vid.* USSER. *ſub A. M.*

a hiſtory of that nation †. The text adds, that he deſtroyed a greater number of his enemies by his death, than he had done in his life-time; and that his friends and relations, hearing it, came, and fetched his body away, and buried it in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [g] (R).

THOUGH this extraordinary ſlaughter of the *Philiſtine* nobility did not put an end to their ſlavery, yet it inſpired the *Iſraelites* with freſh courage, to attempt the regaining of their liberty. But their horrid wickedneſs proved an invincible obſtacle to their ſucceſs. *Eli*, their judge, was almoſt an hundred years old [h]; and his two ſons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who acted under him, took the advantage of his extreme weakneſs, to commit the greateſt abominations. The ſcripb ture brands them with ſome of the vileſt characters; ſuch as, that they were *ſons of* Belial; that *they knew not the Lord*; that they committed ſuch *infamous irregularities in the ſervice of the tabernacle, as cauſed the people to abhor the offering of the Lord*; that *they debauched the women that aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle, and that their crimes were very great* [i]: by all which one may eaſily gueſs to what exceſs of wickedneſs a people, ſo naturally prone to it, muſt have run, under ſuch profligate governors. *Eli* was not ignorant of all this; and yet, inſtead of inflicting ſome exemplary puniſhment upon his ſons, or at leaſt of diſcarding them from their office, and beſtowing it upon perſons of more zeal and integrity, he contented himſelf with giving them a gentle reproof; ſo gentle, indeed, that he c ſeems not to have had the courage to tell them, that their actions were vile and abominable, but only that they were not good [k]. No wonder then, if ſuch an expoſtulation made ſo little impreſſion on thoſe two profligate young men (S).

Hophni *and* Phinehas.

THIS remiſſneſs, in a high-prieſt and a judge, was ſo diſpleaſing to God, that he ſent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to aſſure him, that the high-prieſthood ſhould be taken from his houſe; that his two ſons ſhould be cut off in one day; and that the ſurvivors of his family ſhould pine away with utmoſt poverty and miſery [l]. This heavy ſentence was again confirmed by God to young *Samuel* in a viſion, and by him related unto *Eli*.

Samuel was the child of age and barrenneſs, obtained by the prayers of his d mother, dedicated to God by a ſolemn vow, and entered into his ſervice at the age of three years [m]. As he grew up, he was appointed to miniſter to *Eli* in the holy functions, girded with a linnen ephod, and to open and ſhut the doors of the tabernacle. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed near unto *Eli*'s chamber, he heard himſelf called, and ran to him, ſuppoſing it had been he that had called him. *Eli* bad him return to his bed this time, and the next; but upon his coming the third time, he began to think, that there was ſomething extraordinary in that voice, and directed young *Samuel* what anſwer to make, if he ſhould be called again, as he was accordingly ſoon after. It was then

† See before, p. 348. & ſeq. [g] Judg. xvi. 30, 31. [h] 1 Sam. iv. 15. [i] Ibid. ii. 12. and ſeq. [k] Ibid. ver. 24. [l] Ibid. ver. 27. ad fin. [m] 1 Sam. i, ii, & iii. paſs.

(R) *Joſephus* places the hiſtory of *Ruth* after the death of *Samſon* (49), contrary to the greater part of the *Jews* (50), who think *Boaz* to have been the ſame with *Ibzan* the 10th judge of *Iſrael*, as we hinted above, becauſe he was of *Bethlehem*, and that there is ſome conformity in their names. But they are both palpably out of all chronology. Some of our chronologers place it in the time of *Deborah* (51); others under *Gideon*; but the moſt probable opinion is that, which places it in the time of *Shamgar*, the third judge, about 120 years after *Joſhua* (52.)

As for the book itſelf, it is plain, it was not written before *David*'s time, becauſe he is named in the genealogy of *Boaz* (53), though the ſtory appears to have happened in the time of ſome one of the judges, by the very firſt verſe of it.

(S) Were we to follow the ſenſe of our own and ſome other verſions, we ſhould be apt to attribute their incorrigibleneſs to what is ſaid in the 25th verſe of the 2d chapter, *that they hearkened not to the voice of their father, becauſe the Lord would ſlay them.* Would not any one be apt to conclude from thence, that it was with deſign to deſtroy them, that God thruſt them headlong into this diſobedience? We therefore beg leave here to remind our readers, that the conjunction כי *Ki*, which is rendered *becauſe*, doth often ſignify, and ought, both here and in ſeveral other places (54), to have been tranſlated *wherefore*, or *though*; ſo that the ſenſe will be, *they did not hearken to their father, wherefore it pleaſed the Lord to ſlay them*; or, *they hearkened not—though the Lord threatened to ſlay them for their diſobedience* (55).

(49) *Ant. lib.* 5. (50) *Targ. in Ruth. Talm. Hieros. RR.* SALL. KIMCHI. LEVI. *Ben David.* ALB. ZACCUT & *al.* (51) TOSTAT. TREMEL. DE LYR. GERHEBR. & *al.* (52) USSER. (53) *Ruth. ch. ult. ver. ult.* (54) *Int. al.* Gen. viii. 21. Jerem. vii. 10. Pſ. lxxviii. 19. (55) *Vid.* BUXTORF. *Lexic. Hebr.* NOLD. *Concord. part Hebr.* AMAM. *Grammat. Hebr.* ALSTED. VORST. LEIGEN. & *al.*

then that God revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced againſt *Eli*'s houſe. *Samuel* was fearful of diſcloſing the dreadful purport of the viſion, till ſtrictly charged and adjured to it by him, after which he became known, from the one end of the kingdom to the other, to be a prophet of the Lord, and to be eſtabliſhed judge in *Iſrael* in *Eli*'s ſtead [n] (T).

NOT long after this, the *Iſraelites*, being repulſed in an attempt againſt the *Philiſtines*, with the loſs of 4000 men, took it into their heads to bring the ark of God into their camp, in hopes at leaſt, that it would ſtrike a terror into their enemies, and inſpire the people with more than ordinary courage; but the conſequence of this wild project was, that they loſt both the battle and the ark †, and the two ſons of *Eli*, that bare it, their lives all in one day. The old prieſt, who waited with impatience to hear of the ſucceſs of the battle, had ſeated himſelf on a bench in the high-way to *Shiloh*, being under the greateſt concern for the ark of God; and as ſoon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and, falling backward from his ſeat, broke his neck, and died. His daughter-in-law likewiſe, *Phinehas*'s wife, being then near her time, fell in travail upon receiving all theſe dreadful news, and teſtified the exceſs of her grief by calling the child ſhe was delivered of *I-chabod*, to ſignify, that the glory of *Iſrael* was departed, and expired immediately after [o]. *Phinehas* left another ſon named *Ahitub*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded his grand-father *Eli* in the high-prieſt's office, becauſe we find his ſon *Ahiah* in that dignity in *Saul*'s time [p]; from whom it paſſed to *Ahimelech* his brother, who was killed by that jealous prince [q], and from him to his ſon *Abiathar*, who was the laſt of *Eli*'s race that enjoyed it. But as to the government, it was given by God to *Samuel*, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the *Iſraelites* from their abominable defection and idolatry. This was, indeed, what he applied himſelf to with good ſucceſs, being feared and reverenced by all *Iſrael*, who knew him to be the choſen prophet of God, and that none of his words fell to the ground.

WHAT betided the ark of the covenant, and thoſe that kept it captive, and its being ſent back, we have already ſeen *. Its wonderful and unexpected return to *Bethſhemeſh* cauſed an univerſal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feaſt their eyes with the ſight of it, it being then the time of harveſt. The field where it ſtopt had in it a large ſtone, upon which the prieſts and *Levites* offered up the two milch-kine that brought it for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with ſeveral others, which the inhabitants of the

[n] 1 Sam. iii. 1. & ſeq. † See before, p. 550. b. c. [o] 1 Sam. iv. 12. to the end. [p] Ibid. xiv. 3. [q] Ibid. xxii. 16, & ſeq. * Before, p. 351, 352.

(T) *Samuel* was of the tribe of *Levi*, of the branch of *Kohath*; but becauſe he exerciſed ſeveral prieſtly functions, ſuch as anointing of *Saul* and *David*, offering up ſacrifices even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linnen ephod, and being named by the *Pſalmiſt* with *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the prieſts of the Lord (56), ſome antient fathers have thought him to have been of the race of *Aaron*, and to have performed the function of high-prieſt after the death of *Eli* and his two ſons (57). *Joſephus* ſeems to hint ſomething like it, when he ſays, that *Saul* knew him to be *Samuel*, when he appeared to the witch of *Endor* in a prieſtly veſt (58), though he calls his father a plain *Levite*, where he ſpeaks of his birth (96); but it appears from the *Chronicles*, that he was of the branch of *Kohath*, the ſecond ſon of *Levi* (60), and as for his wearing of an ephod, *David* did the ſame (61); and *Gideon*, *Manoah*, *Saul*, *Elijah*, and others, who were neither prieſts nor levites, have ſacrificed upon particular occaſions; and ſome prophets, and even their diſciples have anointed Kings (62). As to the paſſage in the *Pſalms*, he is only mention'd there *among them that call upon the Lord*; by which may be meant, either the *Levites* in general, whoſe office it was; or elſe, as is more likely, from the next verſe, *among them that called to God effectually, ſo as to be heard by him*, as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did; but who did officiate in the high prieſt's function after *Eli*'s death, is neither eaſy, nor of moment to gueſs, but more probably one of the *Aaronic* race, than a *Levite*.

One expreſſion, however, in the threatning meſſage of the prophet to *Eli*, would make one think that ſome perſon of the elder branch was choſen to the high-prieſthood, even in his life-time, either by reaſon of his inability, being grown almoſt blind with age, or for his remiſſneſs, or both. The words are, *and thou ſhalt ſee an enemy in my habitation in all that wealth God ſhall give* Iſrael (63); where it is to be obſerved, that the word צר *Tzar*, which we render an *enemy*, doth ſignify a *rival*; and is uſed in that ſenſe in the very beginning of this book (64). Now it is plain, that this *rival* could be no other than ſome head of the elder branch of *Eleazar*, from whom the prieſt-hood had been tranſferred to him; but we will not affirm any thing further about it.

(56) Pſ. xcix. 6. (57) AUGUST. *in* Pſ. xviii. *cont. Fauſt. & alib.* CHRYSOST. AMBR. *& al. vid.* MENDEZ. *in* 1 Reg. ii. (58) *Ant. lib.* vi. c. 15. (59) *Ibid. lib.* v. c. 11. (60) 1 Chron. vi. 22, & ſeq. (61) 2 Sam. vi. 14. 2 King ix. 1, & ſeq. (62) *Vid. int. al.* (63) 1 Sam. ii. 32. (64) *Ibid.* i. 6.

the place ſacrificed there; after which, the ark and treſpaſs-offering were depoſited upon the ſame ſtone. But their joy was ſoon after unhappily turned into mourning, through the irreverence of the *Bethſhemeſhites*, whom an imprudent curioſity enticed to look into the ſacred ſymbol of the divine preſence, and for which fifty thouſand and ſeventy men were puniſhed with immediate death (V). This terrible ſlaughter ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that they ſent to the inhabitants of *Kirjath-jearim*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Bethſhemiſh*, and in the tribe of *Judah*, deſiring, that they would fetch the ark away from them [r], which they accordingly did, and placed it in the houſe of one *Abinadab*, which ſtood on the higheſt part of the city, where it continued till *David*'s time, that is about ſeventy years, and conſecrated his ſon
b *Eleazar* to be the keeper of it (W).

It may indeed be juſtly wondered, why the ark was not either ſent back to *Shiloh*, where the tabernacle and its ſacred utenſils ſtood, or that theſe at leaſt, were not brought to *Kirjath-jearim*. But whatever be the reaſon of this irregularity, *Samuel*, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occaſion, from the people's aſſembling in great multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty; to perſuade them to put away *Aſhtaroth* and their other ſtrange deities from among them, and to ſerve the Lord alone; upon which condition only, he could promiſe them a ſpeedy deliverance from the *Philiſtine* yoke. The people readily complied, and afterwards aſſembled themſelves at *Mizpeh* according
c to his appointment, where they faſted, and prayed, and expreſſed all the tokens of a lively repentance. This unuſual meeting gave an umbrage to the *Philiſtines*, who immediately took up arms, and came up againſt them; but *Samuel*, having offered up a ſucking lamb for a burnt-offering, did by his prayers obtain ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, as quite diſcomfited their enemies, whom the *Iſraelites* purſued with a great ſlaughter unto *Beth-car*. In memory of this ſignal victory, *Samuel* cauſed a great ſtone to be erected between *Mizpeh* and *Sen*, which he called *Eben-ezer*, or *the ſtone of help*; and from that time to *Samuel*'s death, the *Philiſtines* were ſo far from making any further attempt againſt *Iſrael*, that they ſuffered them to recover all the cities and fortreſſes which had been taken from
d them, from *Ekron* even unto *Gath*, and the territories about them †. At the ſame time the *Iſraelites* were at peace with the *Amorites*, ſo that the land enjoyed a profound peace all the time of *Samuel*'s government; whilſt he, to make it eaſier to the people, left *Ramah*, his uſual reſidence and the place of his nativity, once a year to take a circuit round *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, and *Mizpeh*, to adminiſter judgment; and then returned to his own city, where he had built an altar unto God, and whither the people might reſort unto him at all other times [s] (X).

By

[r] 1 Sam. vi. p. tot. † Sup. ibid. [s] 1 Sam. vii. to the end.

(V) This is what ours, and moſt other verſions, make the original to ſay, for which reaſon we have not dared to depart from it, though we own, with the learned *Bochart*, that we can neither conceive, how there could be ſuch a multitude of people in a village on the borders of *Judea*, nor how it could be conſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of thoſe men, who came with joy to receive the ark, ſuppoſing ſuch a number could really have all looked into it.

But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the original is capable of a two-fold ſenſe, beſides this in our verſion, both which do greatly leſſen that number and remove the difficulty. The firſt is that of *Bochart* above mentioned (65), who ſhews, that it ought to have been rendered fifty men of a thouſand, inſtead of fifty thouſand, that is in all ſeventy; becauſe, as he obſerves rightly after St. *Jerom* (66), it is not uſual in the *Hebrew* to make the thouſands go before the inferior numbers when they make up a total ſum, but they conſtantly begin with the leſſer number and end with the greater. *Joſephus* has took it in the ſame ſenſe (67), and reckons but ſeventy ſlain.

The other ſenſe is, that there were ſlain ſeventy men בעם *Baham*, of the common people, and חמישים אלף איש *Chamiſhim eleph iſh*, fifty of the heads or captains of the people; for the word אלף ſignifies alſo a leader, or captain. This ſeems to have been the opinion of *Junius*, though he has retracted it ſince, or *Tremellius* for him, to adhere to the vulgar one, though without giving any reaſon for his ſo doing (68). In memory of the mourning, which their death cauſed among the people, the ſtone, or rock, upon which the ark reſted, when they looked into it, was called אבן אבל *Eben Abel, the ſtone of mourning*.

(W) Some have fancied, that this *Abinadab* was of the race of *Aaron*, or at leaſt a *Levite*, though without any viſible grounds, or indeed any neceſſity; ſince he was to be but a bare keeper of the ark, and that perhaps no longer, than till ſome proper prieſts and levites were ſent for from *Shiloh* to miniſter before it.

(X) It appears from thence, that *Samuel* left *Shiloh* ſoon after the death of *Eli*, and the taking of the ark, and that he never returned thither, at leaſt to dwell, it is indeed probable, that the ark being

(65) *Phaleg. ſub.* Bethſhemeſh, *vid. &* Le Scen. *Eſſay on a new verſ. part* 2. *Ch.* 6. §. 4. (66) *in Hebdom. Dan.* (67) *Ant. l. vi. c.* 2. (68) *Vid. Trem. in loc.*

By that time *Samuel* had judged *Israel* twenty years, with great integrity and a applauſe, he had the mortification to hear that his two ſons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, whom he had, in his latter days, made judges at *Beerſheba* (Y), did not follow their father's ſteps, but ſuffered themſelves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which account, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the elders of *Iſrael*, who deſired him, that he would appoint to them a king, who might be a judge over them, and that they might be like other nations, ſince his ſons were not worthy to ſucceed him in his office. Such a propoſal could not but be highly diſpleaſing to him, who plainly foreſaw the danger of ſuch horrid ingratitude, and that, by caſting off the government of God over them, they would make themſelves unworthy of his b protection. He expoſtulated with them, he upbraided them with their ingratitude, and forwarned them of their danger, and, among other diſſuaſives, he laid before them all the miſchiefs and grievances they were likely to ſuffer from a king, in the moſt lively terms. In a word, he omitted nothing that could poſſibly divert them from their deſign; but all to no purpoſe, till God commanded him to hearken to them, and to ſet ſuch a king over them, as he ſhould direct. Whereupon *Samuel*, having promiſed to comply with their demand, diſmiſſed them for the preſent [t], and *Saul* was ſoon after appointed by God to be the firſt king of *Iſrael*.

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SECT. VII.

The History of the JEWS, *under their Monarchical Government.*

Saul, *firſt king of* Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 1904. Year before CHRIST, 1095.

SAUL was the ſon of *Kiſh*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*; he was a very comely youth, well-ſhaped, and taller by the head and ſhoulders than the common ſize. He had been ſent with a ſervant, about the time of the *Iſraelites* defection, to ſeek after ſome ſtrayed aſſes; and after three days uſeleſs ſearch, his man adviſed him to go to *Ramah*, near unto which they were then come, and enquire of the prophet *Samuel*, what he ſhould do next. *Samuel*, who knew him to be the perſon appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bleſs a d ſacrifice which was held in that city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feaſt, where he ſet him in the higheſt place, and diſtinguiſhed him from all the other gueſts, by a particular diſh of meat ſet before him above the reſt. He detained him all that night, and on the morrow early, he called him up to receive his directions, and accompanied him ſome part of the way; and having commanded his ſervant to go on before [u], he poured the oyl upon his head, and ſaluted him king of *Iſrael*. *Saul* behaved, during all this ceremony, with extraordinary modeſty, alledging the ſmallneſs of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for ſo high a dignity; but the prophet aſſured him, that he ſhould e find himſelf endowed with ſuch a ſuperior portion of God's ſpirit, as would give him a new heart, and a new diſpoſition, ſo that he would ſhortly feel himſelf quite another man. He than gave him ſome further directions relating to the occaſion of his journey, and his return home, and taking his leave of him for that time, left him to overtake his ſervant. Among other things that *Samuel* told him, ſhould befal him in his way home, one was, that he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the ſpirit of prophecy, and propheſy with them. This, as well the reſt, came to paſs accordingly, and the ſurprize with which thoſe of his acquaintance beheld it, occaſioned that ſaying, which paſſ afterwards

[t] Ibid. Ch. viii. 1, & ſeq.

[u] Ch. ix. p. tot.

being removed from thence, all kind of religious ceremonies had ceaſed there; for which reaſon it is ſaid, that he built an altar at *Ramah*, the place of his reſidence, that the people might reſort to him, either for judgment, or to offer ſacrifices to God. This thing, however, was far from being according to the *Moſaic* law; but it ſeemed a caſe of neceſſity, becauſe the ark being at one place, and the tabernacle in another, neither of them could be properly reſorted to for ſacrificing, or any other part of publick worſhip.

(Y) This *Samuel* had probably done, either to try how they would behave themſelves in that important poſt, or perhaps for the convenience of thoſe who lived at too great a diſtance from *Ramah*; *Beerſheba* being at one extremity of *Iſrael*, *Dan* was on the other. *Joſephus* adds, that he appointed the eldeſt to keep his reſidence at *Ramah*, the other at *Beerſheba*, and ordered them to take their circuit at proper places, ſo as that each ſhould have one half of *Iſrael* to his ſhare (69); but the text ſays nothing of it.

(69) *Ant. l. vi. c.* 3.

afterwards into a proverb, *Is* Saul *alſo among the prophets* [x]! Soon after this, a *Samuel* called all the heads of *Iſrael* to *Mizpeh*, and cauſed them to preſent themſelves by their tribes before the Lord; and as they paſſed in their order, that of *Benjamin* was taken; then were the families of it called, and that of *Matri* was taken, and next to that the ſon of *Kiſh* [y].

WHILST this was doing, *Saul* who knew where the lot would fall, had hid himſelf ſo well among ſome houſhold lumber, that they could not find him, till they were directed to him by the Lord; and as ſoon as he was brought out, *Samuel* preſented him to the people, as the perſon whom God had choſen to be their head, and immediately the air rang with the peoples ſhouts, *Long live the king*. Here b *Samuel*, who, at their firſt tumultuous meeting, had forwarned them of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, did now think it neceſſary to inform him, before the aſſembly, of what he ought to do, and what to avoid. He therefore read to them the laws which had been preſcribed before, by God himſelf to *Moſes:* laws, which were equally levelled againſt tyranny and anarchy; and to which he perhaps added ſome others, as he was a prophet; becauſe it is added, that he cauſed them to be written, and depoſited by the ark [z], where thoſe, we read in *Deuteronomy* concerning the duty of a king, had been before laid up by *Moſes*. *Saul* being thus proclaimed and anointed king of *Iſrael*, *Samuel* diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the new king returned c to his houſe in *Gibeah*, whither a number of brave honeſt men of *Iſrael* followed him; whilſt another company of looſe fellows, who deſpiſed his youth and comelineſs, and thought him unfit for ſuch a government, refuſed to acknowledge him, or to bring him any preſents, as the reſt did.

BUT it was not long before he had an occaſion to give them an earneſt of his courage, and to let them ſee how well he could uſe his new authority. The inhabitants of *Jabeſh Gilead* were ſtraitly beſieged by the *Ammonites*, and upon the brink of loſing not only their liberty, but their right eye, as a laſting reproach to the whole nation; when, having obtained a reſpite of ſeven days from the *Ammonitiſh* king, they ſent an account of their diſmal ſtate to the elders of *Iſrael*. d *Saul* was then in the fields with his cattle, when theſe heavy tidings came, and at his retnrn, found the people all in tears, and being informed of the occaſion of it, he immediately took a yoke of oxen, and cauſed them to be hewed in pieces, and diſpatched with the utmoſt ſpeed through all the tribes, with this threatning meſſage, that whoſoever refuſed to follow him to the relief of their brethren of *Jabeſh Gilead*, his cattle ſhould undergo the ſame fate. The people, alarmed with theſe news, did immediately repair to *Bezek*, to the number of three hundred thouſand, beſides thirty thouſand of the tribe of *Judah*; and *Saul*, having ſent the beſieged word, that be would come to their reſcue by the next morning, marched all that night; and as ſoon as he came near the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and e fell upon them by break of day with ſuch fury, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, and a very conſiderable loſs [a]. The people, elevated with this ſignal victory, were for putting to death all that had refuſed to acknowledge *Saul* for their king; but he generouſly withſtood it, alledging, that it was not fit to ſtain the beginning of his reign with the ſlaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought ſo great a ſalvation in *Iſrael*. This moderate anſwer pleaſed the people ſtill more, and *Samuel*, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to *Gilgal*, there to confirm the kingdom unto *Saul* by an univerſal conſent, ſince he had ſhewed himſelf ſo worthy of it. This was accordingly done, and the ceremony was accompanied with joy, and f acclamations, and with peace offerings, which where there offered unto the Lord [a].

BEFORE *Samuel* diſmiſſed this numerous aſſembly, he took that opportunity to juſtify his conduct, during the whole time of his adminiſtration, as judge. This was indeed a proper time, becauſe his authority, being devolved upon *Saul*, who was then preſent, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any ſuch they had againſt him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuſe him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion againſt any of them, that he might now make them reſtitution before he died; and he had the ſatisfaction

[x] x. 11. [y] Ver. 21. [z] Ver. 25. [a] Vid. ſup. p. 295. d. [a] Ch. xi. p. tot.

satisfaction of being answered, by the general voice, that he had neither wronged a
nor oppressed them in any case. He was not content with this ample testimony,
but made them take God to witness that they spoke from their heart, which they
readily did. *Samuel* seems to have had a double design in this expostulation,
besides that of clearing his own character; the first was, to shew young *Saul* a pattern
to copy after, and the other, to make the people sensible of their ingratitude to
God, in desiring to be governed in a different way than he had hitherto appointed,
and that, unless they proved more obedient for the future, their new form of govern-
ment would be of little benefit to them, since neither that, nor any other, could
preserve them from their enemies, without the divine blessing which if they
forfeited by their obstinate wickedness, would bring infallible ruin upon their king b
and themselves. To convince them of this, he recapitulated to them all the
grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and disobedience had drawn upon them,
since their being seated in that land; and the many signal deliverances which God
had wrought for them upon their repentance, without the help of a king; and
to add a still greater weight to his words, and to assure them that they did not
proceed from any resentment for their having been so pressing for a king, even in
his life-time, but because God was highly displeased at it; he reminded them,
that it was then the time of harvest, when the air is generally serene, and free
from clouds and stormy rains (Z); but he told them, that he would by his prayers
obtain such an extraordinary storm of thunder and rain, as should convince them, c
that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did so
accordingly, and the people were frighted into a confession of their wickedness, and
of this particular aggravation of it, their asking him for a king. They desired
him, that he would use his prayers to avert the impending storm and danger;
which he readily complyed with, and then assured them, that he would continue
his good offices to them as long as he lived, and that if they and their king did
but continue stedfast in their obedience to God, instead of confiding in their vain
and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them; but that if they relapsed,
both he and they must expect to feel the effects of the divine displeasure [b].

ALL these things were transacted in the first year of *Saul*'s reign; on the next d
he dismissed his numerous army, thinking perhaps, that his late victory had
sufficiently secured him from any attempt against *Israel*; and reserved to himself
only three thousand men, two thousand of whom he put into the garrisons of
Michmash and *Bethel*, and the other thousand he left at *Gibeah* of *Benjamin*, under
his son *Jonathan*. But this young prince, willing perhaps to atchieve something
worthy the son and successor of *Saul*, went and smote a *Philistine* garrison at *Geba*;
the news of which, having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the
trumpet, and to let *Israel* know, that the *Philistines* were coming against them with
a numerous host. They had indeed 30000 chariots and 6000 horsemen, besides
an innumerable multitude of foot, with which they came and encamped against c
Michmash, eastward of *Beth-Aven* (A). The sight of so vast an army injected
an universal terror in *Israel*, insomuch that, forgetting their late victory, and the
valour which their new-made king had shewn upon that occasion, a great part of
that dastardly people hid themselves in caves, dens, saw-pits, or any lurking
holes; whilst another part fled to the other side of *Jordan* for safety, leaving their
country open to their enemies frequent and destructive incursions, and their king to
make the best of the pusilanimous remains of the people that stuck close unto
him. One misfortune, however, attended them, which may, in some measure
excuse

[b] 1 Sam. xii. p. tot.

(Z) This *Samuel* justly calls *the great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes* (70); and the people could not but esteem it such, because that country was observed to be entirely free from such stormy weather all the time of harvest, and to have the former and latter rain before and after it; but whether this was really miraculous, or whether the prophet, by some way or other, foresaw it gathering, it answered his purpose, and wrought the desired effect upon that incredulous and head-strong people, and prevented them applauding their choice of a kingly government, or attributing their late or any future victory to that extraordinary piece of politicks.

(A) Concerning this prodigious number of chariots, we have already given our opinion in the history of that people, to which we refer the reader, where he will also see an account of the whole success of this war, with the reflection of a late learned critick upon it [†].

(70) 1 Sam. xii. 16.

[†] *Vid. sup. p.* 352. *not.* I.

a excuſe their defection, which was, that the *Philiſtines* had taken care to ſtrip them of all kind of weapons, and even of the inſtruments with which they uſed to ſharpen their rural tools, leaſt they ſhould uſe them inſtead of arms. They had neither ſmith nor forge, and ſo naked were they at this time, that there was neither ſword nor ſpear, but thoſe which *Saul* and his ſon had [c], when he came to muſter his little army (B). *Saul*, however, continued with them at *Gilgal*, expecting *Samuel*'s coming according to his appointment; but after he had waited ſeven whole days, and found, that *Samuel* neither came nor ſent, and that his little army was almoſt dwindled away to a ſmall handful, reſolved nevertheleſs to make a brave reſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the enemy; and afraid, leſt b he ſhould be ſurpriſed by them, before he had implored the protection of God in the uſual way of ſacrifices; he ventured, on the ſeventh day, to offer up ſome peace-offerings and a burnt-offering. He had ſcarce made an end of ſacrificing, when *Samuel* came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (C). *Saul* excuſed himſelf upon the preſſing neceſſity he was in; but whether the prophet took it as a preſage of his future diſobedience and want of faith, and deſigned only to intimidate and forewarn him, or whether his rejection had been already revealed to him; he told him, that he had done a very fooliſh action, and that his diſobedience to God's command, would cauſe the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy and faithful perſon. As ſoon as *Samuel* was departed c from him to go to *Gibeon*, or valley of *Benjamin*, *Saul* and his ſon followed him thither with his little army, conſiſting only of ſix hundred unarmed men. There they beheld, with ſorrow the *Philiſtines*, who were ſtill incamped in *Michmaſh*, making a three-fold incurſion in *Iſrael*, and committing great depredations; one detachment towards *Ophrah*, another towards *Beth-horon*, and the third towards the valley of *Zeboim* [d].

THEY

[c] Ch xiii. 19, & ſeq.

[d] Ibid. p. tot.

(E) The reſt of this ſmall body were armed, as one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with ſuch weapons as they could make without the ſmith's help, ſuch as ſlings, flails, clubs, ſtaves, wooden prongs, ſtaves hardened in the fire, and other rural tools, the firſt of theſe the ſlings, in which they were very expert, they might all uſe at the firſt onſet, and the others when they came to cloſer engagement.

(C) It is not eaſy to divine what *Saul*'s crime was, which drew upon him ſuch a ſevere ſentence from the prophet. The *Jews* indeed accuſe him, 1. Of not having waited the full time for him, and 2. Of having preſumed to infringe upon the prieſtly office, by offering up ſacrifices to God with his unhallowed hands (71). *Joſephus* ſeems to ſay much the ſame thing, though not in plain terms; but he adds, that *Saul* had ſent for *Samuel* to adviſe with him, who ſent him word back, that he ſhould continue where he was, and get ſacrifices in readineſs againſt he came to him; which would be at the end of ſeven days, when he would come and offer them up unto God.—*Saul*, adds he, waited out his time, but moſt unhappily failed in another article of his commiſſion, for the prophet he found delayed his coming, and his men perpetually deſerting him, ſo that he offered up the ſacrifice without waiting any longer for *Samuel* (72). As for the firſt of theſe, his not waiting the whole time, it appears of too ſmall a nature, conſidering the ſtreight he was in through the conſtant deſertion of his army, to have deſerved a total rejection; and as to the laſt, it is barely probable, becauſe he had the high-prieſt *Ahiah* with him to perform that office for him, or to have hindered him from doing it, if he had gone about it. Some authors think (73) therefore, that there is a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that the crime for which he was rejected, was his not deſtroying the king of *Amalek* and all the plunder, according to God's command, the ſtory of which we have in the next chapter, wherein *Samuel* reproves him in the moſt ſevere terms, for his diſobedience, and tells him plainly, that the Lord had rejected him from being king (74); but it is more likely, that in the former of theſe places, the prophet only threatens him with what he muſt expect, unleſs he took more heed of what God commanded him. For it is plain, that *Saul* was ſo far from being abſolutely rejected, that he not only was bleſſed with a great and almoſt miraculous victory, immediately after *Samuel* had left him, but that he was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt ſeveral other nations, and above all, received that freſh command from the ſame prophet, to fight and deſtroy the *Amalekites* with a promiſe of victory. As for what is ſaid, *that the Lord hath ſought him a man after his own heart*, and — *ſhall command him to be head over his people* (75); thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the original know, that it may as well be taken in the future tenſe, *the Lord ſhall ſeek*, and ſo on; however, as to the words of the prophet, *the Lord would have eſtabliſhed thy kingdom upon* Iſrael *for ever*; It is plain, they cannot be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, becauſe the ſceptre was promiſed to the tribe of *Judah*, and to no other (76), and accordingly was ſoon after given to *David*, who was of that tribe.

Upon the whole therefore, we think, that *Saul* was only threatned here by the prophet, for having acted fooliſhly, but in the chapter following, he is abſolutely rejected for his diſobedience, in ſparing *Agag* and the beſt of the plunder, contrary to God's expreſs command; for which reaſon *Samuel* charges him not with bare folly, but with downright rebellion, which he there compares to idolatry and witchcraft (77).

(71) Vid. Menoch. in loc. (72) Ant. l. vi. c. 7. (73) Vid. Tirinum in loc. (74) 1 Sam. xiii. 14. (75) Ch. xiii. 14. (76) Gen. xlix. 10. (77) 1 Sam. xv. 23.

THEY were in this dismal situation, when *Jonathan*, moved by some divine a
impulse, ventured, unknown to his father, or to any one but his armour-bearer,
who accompanied him, to climb up on his hands and feet through a couple of
cragged rocks, and to fall upon one of the enemy's out-guards, where he killed
twenty of their men, and put the rest to flight, who ran into the camp and spread
such a pannic terror through the host, that is was easily perceived by *Saul* and his
men; who, finding that *Jonathan* was missing, easily guessed him to be the author
of it. *Saul* had with him the ark of God, and *Ahiah* the high-priest, the great
grandson of *Eli*, and was going to desire him to enquire of the Lord whether
he should fall on the enemy, when the noise and confusion increased so far, as
to assure him, that they were put to the rout. He bid then *Ahiah* to hold b
his hand, and with his few men fell on the flying *Philistines*, his army still
increasing, as well from a number of *Hebrew* captives, who took that opportunity
to turn tail to their oppressors, as from a greater number of those, who, observing
from their lurking holes the success of their brethren, came and joined themselves
to their king.

THIS victory, great as it was *, might have been more compleat, had not *Saul*
unadvisedly adjured his army not to stop their pursuit to take some convenient
refreshment. This rash curse was like to have had several fatal consequences, c
for besides that it hindered his weary soldiers from making so great a slaughter
of the enemy as they might have done, and put too speedy an end to their
pursuit; by that time it came to be evening, they were so famished, that they fell
greedily upon the spoil, and would have eaten some of the cattle with the blood,
had not the king timely prevented it, but what was like to have proved worse
than all the rest was, that *Jonathan*, knowing nothing of his father's imprecation,
and being quite spent with that day's toil, had refreshed himself with a little honey
which he met with in his way, so that, when his transgression came to be found
out by *Urim*, *Saul* would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the
whole army opposed it with one consent, and sworn, that not a hair of his head d
should be hurt, in consideration of the signal deliverance which he had been the
chief cause of. After this *Saul* returned home, and put himself in a condition of
pursuing his conquest, not only against the *Philistines*, but also against the *Ammo-*
nites, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and the kings of *Zobah* and *Amalek*. His head general
was *Abner*, the son of his uncle *Ner*; he had also two sons besides the brave
Jonathan, and next to that of his army his care was to have a guard about
him, made up of the valiantest and stoutest men he could find in his
dominions [e].

THE sacred history gives us no particular account of any of these wars, that
against *Amalek* excepted, of which we have spoken in its proper place †; neither
is it easy to guess at what periods of *Saul*'s reign any of them happened. All e
that we can know is, that he reigned forty years [f]; that he was a valiant and
successful prince, continually at war with some neighbouring state or other; and
that he very much curbed the strength of all his enemies round about. So that,
had he not been unmindful of God's command with respect to the king of *Amalek*
and the plunder of his subjects, he might, in all likelihood, have reigned all his
life without a rival [g]. But here he acted very unlike himself, not only in dis-
regarding the divine *anathema* which had been pronounced against that nation ever
since their coming out of *Egypt* [h], and the prophets charge in pursuance of it [i], but
likewise in that poor pretence he made to *Samuel*, that he had fulfilled his com- f
mand, when every thing about him shewed him, that he had acted quite contrary
to it [k]; and next to this, in meanly excusing his fault, by throwing one part of it
upon the people's zeal to sacrifice the best of the cattle to the Lord [l], and part
upon his own fear of restraining them from it [m]. No wonder then, if *Samuel* could
not, without some indignation, hear a king of *Israel* betray so much meanness of
soul to palliate an unjustifiable action; nor at the severity with which he reproves
him for it, when he was authorised by God to denounce unto him the loss of
his kingdom.

THUS

* See, before p. 353. b. [e] 1 Sam. xiv. pass. † See, before p. 320. d. [f] Acts xiii. 21. [g] See what has been said in the last note. [h] Exod. xvii. 14. [i] 1 Sam. xv. 1, & seq. Ibid. ver. 13. 14. & 20. [k] Ver. 15. [m] Ver. 24. 30, & seq. to the end.

a THIS ſentence, in which his crime was painted in the deepeſt colours, made a deep impreſſion upon *Saul*: he owned the charge, and begged of him, for decency ſake, and to prevent a defection of the people, that he would ſtill ſhew ſome regard to him, and accompany him, whilſt he went and paid his adoration to God; which the prophet complied with; and afterwards, having cauſed the proud *Amalekitiſh* king to be put to Death (D), whoſe deſtroying ſword had bereaved ſo many mothers of their children, he returned to *Ramah*, the place of his abode; and from that time he never came more to *Saul*, but continued mourning for him [n], till he was reproved for it by God, and commanded to go to *Bethlehem*, and anoint one of the ſons of *Jeſſe* in his room.

b *Samuel* was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering up a ſacrifice there; and accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid giving any ſuſpicion to the jealous king, and to diſperſe the fears of the elders of *Bethlehem* at his unexpected arrival. As ſoon as he came to *Jeſſe*'s houſe, he ordered all his ſons to paſs before him in order, and when he beheld the eldeſt of them, whom the hiſtory ſhews to have been a man of valour, he preſently ſuppoſed him to be the perſon choſen to be *Saul*'s ſucceſſor; but God did ſoon let him ſee, that he judged quite otherwiſe, by rejecting him, as he did alſo the other ſix in their turns. *Samuel*, being ſurpriſed at it, aſked their father, whether theſe were all the ſons he had? who anſwered, that he had one more, a ſtripling,

c who was then keeping his ſheep, and was the youngeſt of all. He was bid to ſend for him; and as ſoon as *David* came in, *Samuel* was ordered to anoint him in the preſence of his brethren; and from that minute the ſpirit of the Lord came upon him (E). *Samuel* then made a feaſt to *Jeſſe*'s family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to *Ramah*, and *David* to his flocks.

NOT long after this, the ſpirit of the Lord having forſaken *Saul*, he began to feel himſelf tormented by an evil one, or by a deep melancholy; to diſpel which, he was adviſed to get young *David* to play on the harp before him, who by this time had gained the reputation, not only of an expert muſician, but of a ſober, diſcreet, and valiant youth. He was ſent for accordingly, and the ruddineſs

d of his complexion, and comelineſs of his perſon, joined with the ſweetneſs of his muſick, won *Saul*'s heart ſo far, that he made him his armour-bearer, and obtained of his father that he might ſtill continue near his perſon. Whenever, therefore, *Saul*'s diſtemper came upon him, *David* was ordered to divert him with his muſick, which never failed to give him eaſe [n]; after which he returned home, and went about his uſual occupation. At leaſt it appears by the ſequel [o], that he ſtayed at *Bethlehem* during *Saul*'s lucid intervals, one of which ſeems to have been ſo long, that when he came back to court, neither *Saul*, nor *Abner* his general, could tell who he was, as we read in the very next chapter [p] (F)

Saul

[n] Ch. xvi. paſſ. [o] Ib. xvii. 15. [p] Ib. ver. 55, to the end.

(D) The text ſays, that *Samuel* himſelf put him to death (78); but the *Hebrew* idiom imports no more than his commanding it to be done. And indeed, beſides that *Samuel* is not recorded to have been a ſwords-man, he was then too old to perform ſuch an execution. An antient author (79) tells us, that *Agag* having been reprieved, at his deſire, till the next morning; his wife, who came to ſee him that night, conceived by him that very *Amalekite* who did afterwards kill *Saul*, as a juſt puniſhment for his ſparing that monarch's life; but it is plain, that *Saul* was not ſo much as wounded, till he fell upon his own ſword and killed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place; and that the young *Amalekite*, who brought the news of his death to *David*, did only pretend that he had killed him, in hopes to ingratiate himſelf to him, though it fell out otherwiſe.

(E) It is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that *Samuel* did then explain the whole myſtery of his anointing of *David*; which might have had ſome fatal conſequence, had it come to *Saul*'s ears: but as it was uſual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is more likely, that he left them to ſuppoſe the former; which they might naturally enough do, both becauſe *David* was but a ſtripling, not much above fifteen years of age, and too ſmug and tender to be taken for a promiſing wariour; and becauſe the ſpirit of the Lord is ſaid to have come upon him, as it uſed to do upon the prophets, after they were anointed. *Joſephus* ſays, that *Samuel* only whiſpered the ſecret into *David*'s and his father's ear, and concealed it from the reſt. And, indeed, had his brethren known, or even ſuſpected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, though we dare not ſay how far their envy might have induced ſome of them to have betrayed the ſecret to *Saul*, it is ſcarce credible, they would have uſed him with ſuch roughneſs and ill manners as they did, when their father ſent him to them to *Saul*'s camp (80).

(F) This circumſtance has given interpreters ſome difficulty to reconcile; ſome have thought this interval to have been ſo long, that *David* was quite

(78) *Ibid.* ver. 33. (79) PHIL. BIBL. *vid. St.* PHIL. *Monarch. Hebr. in vit. Saul.* (80) 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

Saul and his army were then encamped by the valley of *Elah*, in order to make a head againſt the *Philiſtines*, who had by this time recovered themſelves from their defeat, and had perhaps alſo taken freſh courage at the news of *Saul*'s diſtemper. They had pitched their camp at *Ephez-dammim* over-againſt them, which place was between *Shochoth* and *Azekah* in the tribe of *Judah*. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themſelves with looking upon one another, without ſtriking a blow, during the ſpace of forty days, ſaving the daily challenges of the vapouring *Goliah*. But that which had chilled the hearts of all the *Iſraelites* did work a contrary effect upon young *David*, who was juſt arrived into the camp, being ſent thither by old *Jeſſe* with proviſions for his three eldeſt brothers, who were then in *Saul*'s army. As ſoon as he heard the news of this gigantick champion's having b defied the army of the God of *Iſrael*, he drew a ſure omen from it, that God would deliver him into his hands; and though *Saul*'s promiſing his daughter, as a reward to the man that ſhould ſlay him, had not been able to induce one *Iſraelite* to engage him, during that whole time, yet was not this young ſhepherd at all diſcouraged from offering himſelf to the combat. At his firſt preſenting himſelf to the king, all that beheld him did indeed judge him altogether unequal to ſuch an exploit; but he gave them ſuch proofs both of his valour and conduct, but eſpecially of his faith in God, that *Saul* ordered him to be armed cap-a-pe with his own armour. But *David* was ſoon forced to put it off, not being able to ſtir himſelf under the weight of it; and, with no other weapon than his ſling c and a few pebble ſtones in his ſhepherd's pouch, ſallied forth againſt this mighty enemy; and in few minutes after, brought his head and ſword, and laid it at the feet of *Saul*, who had by that time ſo far forgot him, that he was forced to inform him afreſh, that he was *David* the youngeſt ſon of *Jeſſe* [q].

WHAT effect this victory had over the amazed *Philiſtines*, we need not repeat here [†]. But *David*'s behaviour wrought ſo much on the generous *Jonathan*, *Saul*'s eldeſt ſon, that it gave birth to the moſt intimate friendſhip between them, inſomuch that the text ſays, their ſouls were knit together [r]; and *David* elſewhere tells us that it exceeded by far the love of women [s]. But it ſoon after made a much different impreſſion upon *Saul*, though at firſt he ſeemed charmed with his d conduct, and gave him a conſiderable poſt in his army. What inſpired that prince with the firſt ſentiments of jealouſy againſt him, was the indiſcretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and inſtrumental muſick, and in their ſongs compared *David* to him, and ſaid, that *Saul* had killed his thouſands, and *David* his ten thouſands; which made him complain, that they would give him the kingdom next. From that time he looked upon him as a dangerous enemy, and himſelf unſafe till he had cut him off.

[q] 1 Sam. xvii. p. tot. [†] See before, p. 353. & ſeq. [r] Ibid. xviii. 1. [s] Ibid. p. tot.

quite altered, his beard grown, features and ſhape become more manly, ſo that he might not be eaſily known again (81). Some, think, that *Saul*, not having ſeen him, but when he was in his melancholy moods, and as it were out of his ſenſes, could retain no idea of him (82). But this is by no means probable, becauſe *Saul* is ſaid to have loved him exceedingly, when he was recovered from his paroxyſms. Some others, and among them *Junius*, think, that there is here alſo a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that *David* had killed *Goliah* ſome time before he was ſent for to play before *Saul*, becauſe he is recommended to him as a man of valour, as well as a muſician (83). But we can by no means come into that notion upon ſuch ſlight grounds. *David* might have acquired the character of a valiant youth upon ſome other account, particularly, for reſcuing ſome of his flock out of the jaws of wild beaſts (84). And as to his being forgot at court, it may be eaſily accounted for, if to the growth of his ſhape, beard, &c. mentioned under the firſt head, we add, that when he played before *Saul*, he appeared in a dreſs ſuitable, and that he was now in his plain ſhepherd's habit, and juſt come from a journey; ſo that the king and his court, who had ſeen ſuch variety of faces ſince his departure, might not eaſily call him to mind.

As for the wonderful effects which his muſick had upon *Saul*, we need not have recourſe to miracles to account for it, as ſome commentators have done (85), who think, that he joined ſome Pſalms or prayers with the melody of his harp, which were a kind of exorciſm againſt the evil ſpirit that troubled him. Every one may be ſenſible of the power of good muſick upon a melancholy perſon; which we take to be *Saul*'s caſe. And as for it's being called an evil ſpirit ſent from the Lord, we take it to mean no more, than that God ſuffered him to fall into that diſmal diſtemper, as a puniſhment for his diſobedience. And this is ſo far from being our particular opinion, that it is at preſent the moſt received, and as we think, the moſt agreeable to the genius of the original (86).

(81) TORNEL. CAJET. *& al.* (82) THEODORET. PROCOP. *in loc.* (83) *Vid.* JUN. & TREMEL. *in loc.* (84) 1 Sam. xvii. 34, *& ſeq.* (85) DE LYR. TOSTAT. FERRAR. CORNEL. A LAPID. *& al.* (86) *Vid.* GROT. CAJETAN. GLAIRE. LE CLERC. *& al. mult.*

off. His diſeaſe encreaſed his fear of him, or rather ſeemed to be wholly turned into jealouſy, of which *David* became the ſole object, and often narrowly eſcaped becoming the victim of it: for even on the very day after this noble exploit, whilſt *David* was endeavouring to eaſe his preſent fit, he threw a javelin at him with ſuch force, that it ſtuck againſt the wall. He attempted the ſame a ſecond time, but *David* eſcaped them both.

AT length, *Saul* obſerving how well *David* behaved, and was beloved by all the people, though he dreaded him the more for it, he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of acting more cloſely againſt him, by raiſing him to a higher poſt, and expoſing him to freſh dangers, in hopes to ſee him fall by the hand of the enemy. He promiſed him, at the ſame time, his eldeſt daughter, as a reward of his next victory; but *David* had the mortification to ſee her given to another preſently after. The next trap *Saul* laid for him was, to get ſome of his ſervants to tell him, that the king, who deſigned in earneſt to give him his ſecond daughter, would accept of 100 *Philiſtines* foreſkins inſtead of a dowry. But here *David* came off again victorious, and brought him double that number; ſo, that *Saul*, having no pretence left to excuſe himſelf from his promiſe, gave him *Michal* in marriage, whoſe ſincere affection, joined to that of her brother *Jonathan*, proved afterwards very ſerviceable to him, by defeating their father's bloody attempts againſt his life, even at the hazard of their own. *David* had again gained a ſignal victory over the *Philiſtines*, and was ſcarce returned to court, before he was in danger of being ſtruck to the wall with another javelin. This made him retire to his own houſe, whither *Saul* purſued him, cauſing the houſe to be beſet by ſome of his ſervants, where he would have been infallibly murdered by the next morning had not his faithful wife contrived his eſcape, by conveying him privily out at a window in the dead of night, reſolved to give her huſband time to go far enough before he was purſued, and at any rate to bear the brunt of her father's reſentment, rather than be wanting in conjugal affection. When therefore the men came on the next morning to kill him; ſhe ſent them away, and told them, that he was very ill, and confined to his bed, ſhewing them at the ſame time the figure of a man, which ſhe had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloths to prevent diſcovery (G). As ſoon as *Saul* heard of his being ſick, he ſent back the men, with orders to bring him alive in his bed, that he might have the pleaſure of ſtabbing him with his own hand; and it was then, that *Michal*'s ſtratagem being diſcovered ſo exaſperated her angry father, that ſhe was forced to make him believe, that it was to ſave her own life, that ſhe had conſented to it.

David thus happily eſcaped, went to *Ramah* to acquaint *Samuel* with the unwelcome news; and both of them went down to *Najoth*, which was not far from *Ramah*, and where was a ſchool of prophets. It was not long before *Saul* heard of it, who ſent immediately ſome meſſengers to fetch him. But they were no ſooner come within ſight of *Samuel* and the prophets, than they fell a prophe-ſying likewiſe, and ſo returned without him. He ſent others a ſecond and a third time, with the ſame ſucceſs, and at length reſolved to go himſelf; and when he came, he propheſied likewiſe, till he came to the place, and there he caſt off his cloaths, and laid down uncovered (H) all that day and night, and gave thereby an opportunity to *David* to get off [t], and to have a private interview with

[t] Ch. xix. paſſ.

(G) *Joſephus* gives a more refined account of this ſtratagem, and carefully avoids the teraphim mentioned in the text: but we have already confuted that ſubtle evaſion in another place (87), and we need no freſh proofs here of the author's partiality to his nation.

(H) The words in the original ſay, that he lay naked; but it were abſurd to underſtand it in a literal ſenſe, God having ſtrictly forbidden all ſuch indecencies (88), in oppoſition to the heathen prieſts, who were not aſhamed to appear naked at ſome of their feaſts (89). It is more than probable therefore, that the words mean no more than the caſting off that looſe upper garment which they uſed to throw over them when they went abroad *, and having nothing upon him but the tunick that was next the ſkin. Which manner of ſpeaking was alſo common to the *Greeks* and *Latins* (90).

(87) *Vid. ſup. p.* 443. *not.* (B). (88) Exod. xx. *ver. ult. & alib.* (89) *Vid.* TIT. LIV. *& al de Lucreal. &c.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 707. *not.* (H). (90) *Vid.* GISBERT. CUPER. *Obſerv. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. ANT. BARREMAN. *Dialog. lit. de poet. & proph.* FULLER. *Miſcel. Theol.* HEINS. GROT. HAMMOND. LE CLERC. LE SCENE. *Eſſ. on a new ver. pt.* ii. *c.* 9. § 1.

with *Jonathan*, wherein they swore to each other perpetual friendship. In a this interview *David* obtained likewise a promise from him, that he would excuse him to his father, on the two following days, which were the feast of the new moon, and in which he was to have sat at the king's table, when he should be observed to be missing, and to let him know, whether he resented his absence, or was satisfied with the excuse. Accordingly, *Saul* missed him on the very first day, but imputed it to some accidental pollution, which made him unfit to appear; but when he saw him not on the next day, and was told by *Jonathan*, that he had begged leave to go to a feast which was held in his family at *Bethlehem*, *Saul* was so inraged, that he upbraided him in the bittereſt terms, with pusillanimous treachery; alledging, that he must never expect to sit on his throne, till *David* b was dead, and therefore ordered him to be immediately fetched to him. Here *Jonathan* ventured to plead for him, but he also narrowly escaped being killed by his father. Seeing then that his friends death was resolved, he went to the stone *Ezel*, a place appointed by them, and, at a signal given, *David* came out to him, and being fully informed how dangerous it was for him to stay any longer within the reach of his implacable enemy, they took a melancholy farewel of one another[u], and *David* hasted to the land of *Nob*, where *Abimelech*, the then high-priest, had his residence.

David was forced to dispel the surprise the high-priest was in at his unexpected arrival, with a pretence of being sent by the king, upon some private business of c importance; but having observed there one *Doeg* an *Edomite*, and one of *Saul*'s shepherds, by whom he foresaw he should certainly be betrayed if he made any stay, he told *Abimelech*, that his business was urgent, and begged, that he would give him some refreshment for himself and the young men that were with him. There was then none but the shew-bread that came off the holy table, which the priests alone were allowed to eat; but *David*, being afraid to stay the baking of some of the common sort, prevailed upon him to overlook that scruple, assuring him, that both he and they were free from carnal defilement, and had been absent from their wives above three days. As soon as they had refreshed themselves, *David* asked him, whether he could not furnish him with some swords, or spears; and was answered, that there was no weapon there but the sword which he took d from *Goliah*, which he desired might be brought to him; and having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-priest, and fled to *Achish* king of *Gath*. He made but a short stay with that prince; for his servants who had not forgot what had been so lately sung by the *Israelitish* women, *that* Saul *had slain his thousands, and* David *his ten thousands*, did not fail to remind him of it; which when *David* understood, the fear he was in of *Achish*, made him resolve, if possible, to change his hatred either into pity or contempt. His stratagem succeeded according to his wish, and he acted the madman so well, that *Achish*, thinking him to be really so, was glad to be rid of him[w]; and *David* went and hid himself in the cave of *Adullam*. e

IN the mean time *Saul*, vexed at his heart to find that he was gone out of his reach, was storming at *Jonathan* and his own servants, as if they had all conspired with the son of *Jesse* against him; when *Doeg*, the *Edomite*, came and acquainted him with what had passed at *Nob*, and how *Abimelech* had furnished *David* with provisions and weapons, and had enquired of the Lord for him. This news put him into such a rage, that, without giving himself leave to consider, how far that high-priest might be ignorant of this unhappy difference between *David* and him, as it is plain from the text he really was; he ordered him and all his kindred to be brought immediately to him; and after many bitter invectives against them, for having leagued themselves with his treacherous son-in-law, as he f expressed it, he swore they should all be put to death. *Abimelech* strove in vain to convince him, that they were all really ignorant of *David*'s having any sinister design, whose behaviour had always been so commendable and upright, that they really believed him to have been sent upon some important design by him. The exasperated king would give no credit to them, but ordered his servants that stood about him to cut them all in pieces. However, as they saw he expressed an uncommon reluctancy against staining their hands with the blood of so many helpless priests, he commanded *Doeg* to perform that cruel office, which he immediately

[u] Ch. xx. pass. [w] Ch. xxi. pass. See before, p. 355. b.

a diately did. *Saul*, not contented to ſee fourſcore and five innocent perſons butchered at his feet, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of *Nob* to the ſword, men, women, children and cattle, and this was alſo executed with ſuch barbarous ſpeed, that none but *Abiathar*, one of *Abimelech*'s ſons, had the good fortune to eſcape. He went immediately to *David*, and acquainted him with the diſmal news; which was no more, he told him, than he foreſaw would happen, when he obſerved the *Edomitiſh Doeg* there. He ſaid all he could to comfort him, and deſired him to ſhare his fortune; promiſing that as ſoon as he was in a condition, he would raiſe him to the high-prieſthood; till when, he would be his ſafeguard, as long as he was able to defend his own life.

b AMONG thoſe who followed *David*, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet *Gad*, who were probably forced to fly to him for ſhelter from *Saul*'s fury. Beſides theſe, there joined themſelves to him multitudes of debtors, and diſtreſſed and diſcontented perſons, to the number of 400. But the prophet *Gad* having told him, that it was no longer ſafe for him to abide in that place, he took his parents into the land of *Moab*, and left them under the protection of the king, whilſt his affairs continued in that deſperate condition †; and himſelf and his men went into the foreſt of *Hareth* in the land of *Judah*. However, he ſtayed no longer there than he reſcued the city of *Keilah* from the *Philiſtines*; for he heard ſoon after, that *Saul*, thinking himſelf ſure of him there,
c was coming againſt him with all ſpeed; and being afraid leſt the inhabitants of that place ſhould deliver him into his hands; and having had his fears confirmed by the high-prieſt, he removed from thence into the wilderneſs of *Ziph* with his own men, who were by this time increaſed to 600. Whilſt he was lurking about the rocks and caves of this place, *Jonathan* heard of it, and came to ſee him there. The deſign of this dangerous interview was to make ſtill ſurer of *David*'s friendſhip, and to obtain a promiſe from him, that when he had gained the kingdom from his father, which he frankly told him he was well aſſured he would, himſelf might be the next in dignity to him; and that in caſe he died before that time, *David* ſhould ſhew the ſame friendly regard to his children, as he had done
d to him. This covenant was ratified with a freſh oath on both ſides, and *Jonathan* returned to his own houſe.

NOT long after this, *Saul* was informed by the *Ziphites*, that *David* lay concealed in their neighbourhood; and was ſo tranſported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear bleſſing them, as the only people that ſhewed any compaſſion for him. He deſired that they would go and watch him as narrowly as they could; for he told them, that he was a ſubtle enemy, and aſſured them, that himſelf would come, with ſufficient force, to fetch him out of his lurking holes. But *David*, having got ſome intelligence of it, was by that time removed to the wilderneſs of *Maon*, on the ſouth of the plain of *Jeſſimon*. *Saul* was ſoon
e told of it, and purſued him thither, and pitched over againſt him, with a deſign to ſurround him; but as he was about it, news was brought him, that the *Philiſtines* had made a freſh incurſion into the land, ſo that he was forced to go back to put a ſtop to their progreſs *; leaving his enemy to recover himſelf of his fright, and to provide for his own ſafety. In memory of this deliverance, *David* called the rock where he then was, *Selah Hammahlekoth*, or *the rock of diviſions*; and preſently after removed with his little army to *Engedi*, and concealed himſelf among the ſtrong holds of that place x. Here *Saul*, who had ſoon drove away the *Philiſtines*, found him out again, and came againſt him with 3000 men; but, whilſt he was in ſearch of him, an urgent occaſion obliged him to retire, for decency
f ſake, into the cave where *David* lay concealed (I). *David* was immediately ſurrounded

† Ibid. p. 290. d. * Ibid. p, 355. c. x 1 Sam. xxiii. paſſ.

(I) עין גדי *Hen gadi*, ſignifies the fountain of wild goats, and the city of that name was ſo called, from the multitude of goats and ſheep which were kept in the rocky parts that were in the neighbourhood of it. Theſe abounded with ſheep-coats, and caverns, into which the cattle uſed to ſhelter themſelves during the heat of the day. It was in one of them that providence ſeems to have conducted *Saul*, to give *David* an opportunity, both of clearing himſelf from any treacherous deſign againſt him, and to give an inſtance of the greateſt generoſity that is to be met with in hiſtory, though at the hazard of becoming the victim of his mens reſentment, for refuſing the only opportunity of ridding himſelf of his enemy, and putting himſelf in a condition of rewarding their ſervices; for which he had all the cauſe in the world to fear, either being forſaken, or, perhaps, even betrayed by them into *Saul*'s hands.

surrounded by his men, who told him, that this was now the time, in which God a had promised to deliver his enemy into his hand, and that he had it now in his power to put a final end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and to free himself and them from all their misery. *David* made as if he had listened to their David' *generosity to* Saul. advice, and, without telling them what he designed to do, rose up, and stole softly near *Saul*, and cut off the skirt of his robe (K), and gave him thereby an opportunity of escaping alive, whilst he appeased his men's resentment, with representing to them, how heinous a crime it was to stretch forth a hand against their lawful prince and the Lord's anointed. He expressed even an uncommon remorse at that which he had done, esteeming it an indignity, or at least, a want of respect to b the regal dignity; though he meant no more by it, than to give his father an irrefragable proof of his innocency and filial duty [y]. As soon, therefore, as *Saul* was got out of the cave, he called after him in the tenderest manner, begged of him not to entertain such unworthy suspicions of him, nor to listen to the whispers of slandering tongues, since he had now given him so signal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was so unjustly persecuted. This humble and affecting speech, backed with the infallible testimony of the piece of his robe, melted *Saul* into tears of tenderness and sorrow: he acknowledged his son's superior vertue and merit in sparing his life, and in the conclusion owned, that he alone was worthy to sit on the throne of *Israel*, which, he told him, he was now satisfied c he would shortly do; and therefore, as a further proof of his unexampled generosity and filial affection, he desired him to swear to him, that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children, but that he would shew the same pity to the one, as he had now done to the other. *David* did readily give him that satisfaction, and after mutual embraces, *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, and *David* and his men to their strong hold [z] (L).

Samuel's *death* ABOUT this time the good old prophet *Samuel* died [a], in the 97th or 98th year of his age, greatly lamented by all true *Israelites*, and was buried at *Ramah* in his own house, or rather, perhaps, in his garden. He had judged *Israel* twenty years Year of the Flood, 1940. Year before CHRIST, 1059 from *Eli*'s death, and had lived about forty-eight more from his anointing *Saul* to the regal dignity. As for *David*, whether he had any intelligence of *Saul*'s d relapse, or whether his own fear suggested it to him, he removed further from the neighbourhood of *Engedi* towards the wilderness of *Paran* near to *Maon*, or *Carmel*, which was also in the tribe of *Judea*. It seems, that *David* kept his men under such strict discipline, that, instead of plundering the neighbouring places, as was generally done by such men, they were rather a safe-guard to them, so that it was usual for them to expect some refreshments from the inhabitants, as a gratification for their watchfulness and forbearance. Here then *David*, according to custom, sent a civil message to a wealthy *Carmelite* named *Nabal*, who was then making a feast to his sheep-shearers, and desired him to send him and his men some portion of his good cheer; but the man, who was rightly called *Nabal*, being naturally e proud and brutish, sent them away with a churlish answer, that he had something else to do with his provisions, than to send it to such a company of vagabonds. *David*, who could not but resent such ingratitude, was just upon the point of making some dreadful havock in *Nabal*'s family, but by good fortune, his prudent wife hearing of it made such haste to bring him an elegant supply of refreshment, that

[y] Ch. xxiv. ver. 5. [z] Ibid. pass. [a] Ch. xxv. 1, & seq.

(K) The text says, that *David* and his men harboured in the sides of the cave (91); or, as the original imports, in crags and holes of it, so that *Saul* coming into it from the broad day-light, could not perceive them; whilst they, who had been there some time, might easily discover him, and know who he was, from his first entring into the place; so that it was easy for *David* to cut off a piece of his robe unperceived, especially, if we suppose it to have been the skirt of his upper garment, which it is likely, they used to throw by, at a small distance, upon such occasions.

(L) It appears by this speech of *Saul*, that he had by that time, some certain knowledge, that *David* was the person whom God had chosen to be king in his stead, and perhaps also of his having been anointed by *Samuel*. So then his crime was not the bare persecuting of an innocent person, or hunting after a flea, as *David* words it (92), but an impious desire of frustrating the design of providence by cutting him off, in order to secure the crown to his own posterity. It was therefore natural for him to intreat him for the safety of his own children, when he saw into what dangers his prepposterous folly brought him, and that nothing but *David*'s vertue could secure them from total excision.

(91) 1 Sam. xxiv. 3. (92) *Ibid.* ver. 14.

a that ſhe prevented all further miſchief, and *David* was ſo charmed with her prudent and modeſt behaviour, that he conceived a real affection for her. *Abigail* returned to her huſband, and on the next day, when ſleep had diſſipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his brutiſhneſs was like to have brought upon him; and as he was of too baſe a nature to think *David* generous enough to forgive him, the dread which then ſeized him did, in few days, break his heart, which as ſoon as *David* heard of, he ſent for her and married her. As for *Michal*, *Saul*'s daughter, ſhe had been given to another during his exile [b].

He was forced ſoon after to retire from *Maon* into the deſert of *Ziph*, and the *Ziphites* failed not to acquaint *Saul* with it; who, having by that time forgot b all that paſſed at their laſt interview, came out againſt him with 3000 choſen men, and gave him a freſh opportunity of evidencing his innocency. The two armies were encamped, the one by the ſide of the hills of *Hachilah*, and the other in the wilderneſs over-againſt him. *David* therefore ſent out ſome ſpies, to know whether *Saul* was come in perſon, and being informed that he was, he took *Abiſhai* with him, and came in the dead of the night into *Saul*'s camp, where they found them all faſt aſleep; *Saul* in his tent, with his ſpear ſtuck into the ground by his bolſter, and *Abner* his general, with the reſt of his officers, encamped round his tent. *Abiſhai* began then to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly that providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the ſlaughter, and that if he miſſed ſo fair c an opportunity of ſticking him to the ground with his own ſpear, he might in vain bewail his folly; but *David* ſoon ſtopped his hand, and contented himſelf with carrying away his ſpear, and the pitcher of water that lay under his head, which he did unperceived by any of *Saul*'s men, God having thrown them all, as the text expreſſes it, into a deep ſleep [c], and ſoon after reached his own camp. Early on the next morning, he got up on the top of a high hill over-againſt them, and having called *Saul*'s general to him, he rebuked him ſharply for being ſo negligent of his maſter's perſon, as to ſuffer his ſpear and cruſe to be taken away by thoſe, who might with the ſame eaſe have taken away his life. *Saul*, who was ſoon appriſed of it, came out, and, in the mildeſt terms, acknowledged himſelf indebted d a ſecond time for his life, to his generous, though much injured ſon-in-law. *David* had then a fair occaſion to upbraid him with his injuſtice and cruelty, which he did; however with expreſſions full of duty and humility: he repreſented unto him, how much beneath a king of *Iſrael* it was, to hunt after a poor harmleſs flea, or a patridge, who meant not the leaſt harm againſt him, and begged of him to deſiſt from perſecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who ſhewed ſuch a tender regard for his life when it was in his power. *Saul* could not reſiſt ſo ſtrong an evidence of his ſon's ſuperior virtue, which he muſt have admired even in an enemy. But though he ſhewed, at that juncture, all the tokens of remorſe, acknowledged his folly and injuſtice, and promiſed never to ſeek his life any more, e yet *David* had ſo little reaſon to truſt to ſuch forced repentance, that as ſoon as they were parted, though with ſeeming tokens of the ſincereſt love and friendſhip, he reſolved to go far enough out of his reach [d]. He retired therefore once more to *Achiſh* king of *Gath*, deſigning to abide with him, till providence ſhould give a better turn to his affairs. The hoſpitable reception he met with from that prince has been ſeen before †; but here though he found ſo generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him from another quarter, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.

A ſecond inſtance of David's *mercy.*

During his abode at *Ziklag*, the place which the *Gathiſh* king had allotted him, which was a year and four months, there repaired unto him ſome of *Saul*'s f kindred, and multitudes of valiant men and commanders out of the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, and ſome from that of *Gad*, which ventured to paſs the *Jordan* to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks (M), beſides

[b] Ibid. p. tot. [c] Ch. xxvii. 12. [d] Ibid. p. tot. † Vid. ſup. 355. d.

(M) The book of *Chronicles* obſerves of theſe *Gadites*, that they could handle the ſhield and the buckler, that their faces were as ſtern as thoſe of lions, and that they were as ſwift of foot as the wild roes (93). The ſame author takes notice, that when *David* ſaw ſuch numbers of the *Benjamites*

(93) 1 Chron. xii. 8.

beſides ſome of the tribe of *Manaſſeh* [c]. With theſe he uſed to make incurſions a
into the countries of the *Geſhurites*, *Gezrites*, and *Amalekites* (N) unknown to the
king *, who was made to believe, that he made them into the land of *Judah*;
and this gained him ſuch confidence, that he had taken him and his army to go
with him againſt *Saul* [f]; but whilſt they were gone, the *Amalekites* came and took
Ziklag, and burnt it, and carried away all their women, children, cattle, and all the
plunder of the place. When therefore they were returned from the *Philiſtine* camp,
from which they had been diſmiſſed by the jealous princes of that nation, and
found what a terrible deſtruction had been made of their city, they filled the air
with their cries. Their deſtroying of men, women, and children, in all their former
incurſions, gave them no room to doubt, that their own had undergone the ſame b
fate; ſo that their grief and deſpair roſe to ſuch a height, that *David* was like to
have become the victim of it. The men began to talk of ſtoning him, as the
cauſe of this miſchief; when he, ſtill confiding in God, called *Abiathar* to conſult
the Lord for him, whether he had beſt purſue after that troop; and upon his
being anſwered that he ſhould do it with ſucceſs, he took 600 men with him,
overtook, and deſtroyed the *Amalekitiſh* band, and recovered all that had been taken
from them, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

After this ſignal deliverance *David*'s affairs began to take a better turn, and
the death of *Saul*, which happened immediately after, not only rid him of an
inveterate enemy, the cauſe of all theſe troubles, but opened a fair and eaſy way c
to the crown, at leaſt over his own tribe. The particulars of this ſignal defeat,
which coſt *Saul* and his three ſons their lives, and among them the brave and
generous *Jonathan*, need not be repeated here ‡. One or two circumſtances
however preceded it, with relation to that unhappy monarch, which made his
condition ſo deplorable and deſperate, that we could not with juſtice omit them.
He ſaw himſelf on the eve of being attacked by a powerful army, whilſt a great
number of his own, eſpecially the chiefs, were gone over to *David*, and perhaps
had he alſo intelligence of his being come with the *Philiſtines* againſt him: he had
killed all the prieſts except *Abiathar*, who was alſo fled to *David*, ſo that he could
not conſult the Lord by *Urim*: *Samuel* was dead, and not a prophet left to adviſe d
him. In this ſtreight, he would gladly have ſought for counſel from witches or
wizards, but he had long ago baniſhed them all out of his dominions. At length,
with much enquiring, they found him out a woman at *Endor*, who had a familiar
ſpirit, to whom he went diſguiſed in the night; and, having promiſed her ſecrecy,
prevailed upon her to raiſe him up *Samuel*. She did ſo accordingly; but when
ſhe ſaw him appear, either in a different manner than ſhe had been uſed to (O),
or

[c] See 1 Chron. xii. 1. 15, & ſeq. * See before, p. 355. [f] Ch. xxviii. 2. † See before, p. 321. b. &c. ‡ Ibid. p. 356. d.

mites, eſpecially of *Saul*'s kindred come to him, he was apprehenſive they came with a deſign to ſurpriſe and carry him off. It ſeems even by what he ſaid to them, that in ſuch a caſe, he was not able to oppoſe them with his ſix hundred men. *For*, ſays he, *if you are come with a friendly deſign to ſuccour me, my heart ſhall be knit with yours; but if your intent be to betray me to my enemies, I leave it to God to puniſh you for your treachery* (94). But they ſoon diſpelled his fears, by aſſuring him, that they were intirely in his intereſt, and reſolved to ſhare his fortune, and to be under his command.

As to the time of *David*'s abode at *Ziklag*, though we have followed our *Engliſh* verſion and archbiſhop *Uſher*, the original ſays only, that he continued there ימים וארבעה חדשים days and four months, which ſome think to imply ſome days above, rather than a year and four months; becauſe *David* came thither after *Samuel*'s death, and left it immediately after that of *Saul*, and they reckon but ſeven months between the death of thoſe two perſons (95).

(N) We beg leave to obſerve here, againſt thoſe who condemn *David* as guilty of a great breach of hoſpitality, that none of theſe three nations were *Philiſtines*. The two former were the remains of the old *Canaanites* (96) and the *Amalekites*, the deſcendants of *Eſau* (97), and all the three under the divine anathema. Notwithſtanding which, *David* might think it proper to tell the king, that he made his inroads into the land of *Iſrael*, that he might think himſelf the more ſure of him; and this is the very reaſon aſſigned in the text for his uſing that pretence (98).

(O) It is not eaſy to ſay, whether her fright proceeded from the extraordinarineſs of the apparition, or from the fear ſhe was in, that *Saul* had only ſet her to work that he might have occaſion to puniſh her for it. The latter ſeems the moſt probable, by what ſhe ſaid to him in her fright, and yet it is not impoſſible, that ſhe was alſo ſurpriſed at the ſtrangeneſs of the ſight. The text doth not ſay how ſhe came to know the king by it; and the notion of the *Jews*, that the ſpirits, which

(94) 1 Chron. xii. 17. (95) *Vid. ſup. p.* 321. *ext.* I. 2 Sam. i. 1, & 7. & Munst. *in* Sam. xxvii.. *ſub not.* 6. (96) *Vid.* Joſh. xii. 5. & xvi. 3. (97) *Vid. ſup. p.* 317. (98) 1 Sam. xxvii. *ult.*

a or in ſuch a manner as gave her to underſtand, that it was *Saul* himſelf that had ſet her on work; ſhe gave a ſhriek, and complained, that ſhe had been impoſed upon. *Saul* bid her go on, aſſuring her ſhe ſhould be ſafe, and aſked what ſhe had ſeen; ſhe anſwered, Gods, angels, or judges, (for the word may ſignify any of theſe) aſcending out of the earth. She deſcribed one, who was an old man covered with a mantle, whom *Saul* underſtood to be *Samuel*, and to whom he bowed himſelf to the ground. Here the apparition, or, as the text expreſſes it, *Samuel*, aſked him the reaſon why he had diſturbed and called him up; and *Saul* owned to him that the diſtreſs he was in from the *Philiſtine* army, being deſtitute of council from God, had obliged him to take that way to obtain his advice b what he ſhould do under thoſe difficulties. But *Samuel* anſwered, *Why doſt thou aſk my advice, ſeeing thy diſobedience to God's commands have alienated him from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to* David? *And now*, continued the viſion, *the Lord is going to give up the* Iſraelites *into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me to-morrow* (P). At theſe laſt words the frighted king, who had eaten nothing

Saul *conſults the witch of* Endor.

which ſhe raiſed by enchantment, uſed to riſe out of the earth with their heels uppermoſt, and that *Samuel* came up upon his feet, by which ſhe knew that it was *Saul* that wanted to conſult him (99), is altogether ludicrous; but if it was the real apparition of that prophet that ſhe ſaw, as we ſhall at leaſt make it probable in the next note that it was, ſhe might eaſily ſuppoſe, that he would not have appeared in that extraordinary manner to any but to the king of *Iſrael*. For as to the notion that it was all done by *legerdemain* and *ventriloqui* on the woman's part, and by ſtrength of fancy and fear in *Saul*'s, we cannot by any means come into it, and ſhall give our reaſons for diſſenting from it in its proper place.

(P) There is hardly a paſſage in the Old Teſtament that has been more canvaſſed and tortured, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties in whatever ſenſe he takes the hiſtory of *Samuel*'s apparition. We have therefore taken that which ſeems the moſt natural and obvious, and ſhall now give our reaſons for preferring it to the reſt.

Firſt then, as to the notion of its being performed by *ventriloqui*, juggle, or confederacy; beſides that it doth too great a violence to the text, and would be a kind of burleſque upon its author; it is not likely, that a woman, cunnning enough to carry on a trade of this nature, would have been ſo impolitic as to give *Saul* ſuch a dreadful anſwer; though we ſhould grant that ſhe was ſo well acquainted with the bad circumſtances of that prince, that ſhe might foreſee that it was likely to prove the caſe; ſuch people are rather apt to flatter thoſe that conſult them, and the fear ſhe was in, when ſhe knew *Saul*, would no doubt have put her upon this rather than upon the former. Add to this, that ſuch a terrible denunciation, would only have proved the moſt effectual means of putting *Saul* upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or by any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.

This laſt argument is equally ſtrong againſt thoſe who think, that the devil took the ſhape, and acted the part of *Samuel*, unleſs we could ſuppoſe him ſo well acquainted with futurity, that he was ſure *Saul* would ruſh into his own deſtruction, notwithſtanding he was ſo ſignally forwarned of it. Again though we grant that he might foreſee, that the enemy would be too ſtrong for *Saul* and his army, yet he could not neither be ſure that he would ingage them, eſpecially after ſuch a dreadful diſſuaſive, nor, if he did, that he would certainly be killed, he had his three ſons. The *Iſraelites* had won many a more unlikely victory, and, at the worſt, they might have eſcaped by flight. We need not obſerve farther, how unnatural and abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that the inſpired writer, would have expreſſed himſelf as he doth, and have introduced the dead prophet as raiſed from the dead, and ſpeaking to *Saul*, if the devil had been the ſole actor in his ſhape; neither do we think it at all probable, that the devil, if it had been he that ſpoke to *Saul*, would have played the ſaint ſo far, as to reprove him for his wickedneſs and diſobedience, but eſpecially for making uſe of an art to raiſe him up, which he was too fond of to diſcountenance in ſuch ſevere manner.

It is indeed urged here, that there were two falſities in this pretended prophecy, which none therefore but either the father of lies, or a juggling old woman, could be the author of. The firſt is, that the viſion ſays to *Saul*, *thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me* — Now ſay they, *Saul* died like a reprobate by his own hands, and could *not be where* Samuel *was*, in the manſions of the bleſſed. But who doth not ſee that it meant no more than *thou ſhalt be dead*, or *in the other world as I now am*. The other is, that the viſion ſays *to-morrow*, whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this were granted, it doth not follow, that the word מָחָר *Mahar* doth poſitively imply here, *that very next day following*, it doth often ſignify *ſhortly*, and ſometimes *hereafter*, *in proceſs of time*; as when *Moſes* ſays, *when thy children ſhall ask thee*, Mahar, *hereafter*, *what meaneth ſuch a ceremony or feſtival*, and ſo on— We ſhall for once diſpence with mentioning the numerous authors of theſe two laſt opinions, to avoid filling up near a whole page with quotations.

Upon the whole then we think, with the far greater number of authors, antient and modern, that it was really *Samuel* that appeared to the woman, and foretold *Saul*'s death and *Iſrael*'s defeat. This appears likewiſe to have been the opinion of the antient *Jews*, from what we read in the book of *Eccleſiaſticus* (100), where it is ſaid, that after his death he [*Samuel*] prophecied, and ſhewed the king his end; that he lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedneſs of the people. This, we have already obſerved, is the moſt obvious and natural ſenſe of the text. We can ſee but two objections that can be made againſt it, and though we have premiſed, at the beginning of this note, that every opinion hath its difficulties, yet we hope we ſhall leſſen theſe ſo far, that they will appear inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe we have urged againſt the other two.

The firſt objection is, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the devil has ſo much power over the ſouls of the dead, eſpecially of the ſaints, as to make them appear viſibly at the deſire of a conjurer: to which it may be anſwered, that there is no

(99) *Vid.* Munst. *in loc.* (100) xlvi. *ult.*

nothing all that day, fainted away, and fell flat on the ground, and remained a
speechleſs for ſome time. His men, at length, came and raiſed him up, and the
old woman beſought him, in the humbleſt terms, that he would take ſome ſuſte-
nance before he went away, to which after long importunity he conſented. She
then went and dreſſed a fatted calf, and ſet it before them, and as ſoon as they had
refreſhed themſelves they went their way, and reached their army before break of
day [g]. A dreadful battle ſoon enſued, which fulfilled all that had been foretold to
His death. *Saul*, whoſe fear of being taken alive, and ill uſed by his enemies, rather than
the wounds he received from them (Q), made him ruſh upon his own ſword, to
Year of the Flood, 1944. Year before CHRIST, 1055. put an end to his unfortunate life. Here the victorious *Philiſtines* could not forbear
venting their reſentment on his dead body and thoſe of his ſons; they mangled b
and hung them upon the walls of *Bethſhan*; which, being near the field of
battle, had been probably abandoned by the inhabitants, as many others were
after this defeat. But the grateful *Jabeſhites*, remembring how *Saul* had ſaved
them formerly from loſing their eyes and liberty, did ſoon after ſend ſome of
their braveſt men to reſcue them; which was no ſooner done, than they gave
them an honourable burial, and kept a ſeven days faſt in memory of their
deaths [h].

David had been returned from the ſlaughter of the plunderers of *Ziklag* about
two or three days, when he received the news of *Saul*'s and *Jonathan*'s death by
an *Amalekite*, who alſo brought him *Saul*'s crown and bracelets. How glad c
ſoever *David* might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved
Jonathan touched him to the heart, and the great defeat of the *Iſraelites* cauſed
a general mourning and faſting in his whole army. As for the meſſenger, he,
having unadviſedly pretended to have given *Saul* his laſt wound at his deſire,
was ordered to immediate death, for having lifted up his hand againſt the Lord's
anointed. *David* did greatly mourn the unhappy fate of the father and ſon, and
their deaths inſpired his poetick genius with one of the fineſt elegies that ever were
penned, which he cauſed to be tranſmitted to future ages [i].

As ſoon as they had done mourning for *Saul*, he conſulted the Lord which
way he ſhould ſteer his courſe next; and being commanded to remove to *Hebron*,
he

[g] 1 Sam. xxviii. paſſ. [h] Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 4. See before, p. 356. [i] 2 Sam. i. p. tot.

no neceſſity for ſuppoſing here any ſuch extraordinay power in the devil, but rather, that God did cauſe *Samuel* to appear to *Saul*, to reprove him for his former, and for this laſt ſin in particular, of ſeeking for helps from wizards, contrary to his expreſs commands; and to bring him thereby, if poſſible, to ſuch a ſenſe of his faults, as might prevent his making ſuch a deſperate exit; and that all this happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant that it was above the power of her art to evocate the ſouls of the bleſſed, and wanted only to impoſe one of her familiar ſpirits upon him, and to ſupply the reſt by policy. It is therefore no wonder that ſhe was ſo terribly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of one of her imps, ſhe beheld the real apparition of that venerable prophet.

But here it will be objected again, that it is very improbable, that God, who had refuſed to anſwer *Saul*, either by *Urim* or by prophets, ſhould now do it, at leaſt ſeemingly, by the miniſtry of a wicked woman. But here it muſt be obſerved; 1. That the text doth not imply, that the Lord refuſed to anſwer him by *Urim* or by prophets, but that he had not the means of conſulting by them; for how could he conſult by *Urim*, when the high-prieſt was with *David* in the *Philiſtine* army? 2. Were it true that God had refuſed to anſwer him in the ordinary ways of *Urim* and the like, yet it doth not follow, that he might not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impreſſion upon him, whoſe character is to have been but too regardleſs of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet: he might likewiſe be ſuffered to ſeek for counſel from a witch, to make him ſenſible, what degree of impiety he had brought himſelf into; ſo that God's ſending *Samuel* to reprove him for it was a ſignal way of diſcountenancing ſuch a wicked and forbidden practice.

However, we do not pretend to remove all difficulties that can be raiſed againſt this opinion, but only to ſhew, that it is attended with fewer, and leſs, than the other two. For this reaſon we ſhall carry our enquiry no farther: whether it were the real ſoul of *Samuel*, or an angel aſſuming his ſhape: whether *Saul* ſaw, or only heard him ſpeak; and many others, concerning which we ſhould loſe ouſelves in a labyrinth, almoſt as dark and intricate, as thoſe do, who ſuppoſe, that two ſuch remarkable events, as the death of *Saul* and his two ſons, and the total defeat of the *Iſraelitiſh* army, could be fotetold ſo poſitively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniſcient power.

(Q) Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid elſewhere †, of *Saul*'s receiving ſeveral wounds before he fell upon his ſword, for want of attending more to the original than to ours and other verſions; we beg leave to obſerve here, that in this place and in the *Chronicles*, where the account of *Saul*'s death is repeated, the root of the verb is חול *Chull*, which ſignifies to be in dread, in pangs, and alludes to the travail of a woman, &c. and not חלל *Challal*, to wound. So that it doth not appear, that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he ſaw himſelf ſo thick beſet with enemies, that there was no way to eſcape (1).

† *Sup. p.* 356. d. (1) *Vid. chald. paraphr.* MUNST. & *al. in loc.*

he brought thither his two wives, his relations, and army. Here he was again anointed king over *Judah* by thoſe of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilſt *Abner*, *Saul*'s general, took his ſon *Iſh-boſheth*, who was then forty years old, and proclaimed him king of *Iſrael* at *Mahanaim*. Thus was the kingdom divided between theſe two, each enjoying his own ſhare quietly, without moleſting the other, during the ſpace of two years (R), the tribe of *Judah* cleaving to *David*, and the reſt, at leaſt the moſt part, to *Iſh-boſheth*. The firſt popular thing *David* did after this, was to ſend a meſſage of thanks to the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-gilead*, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceaſed king and his ſons. After which he married *Maacha*, the daughter of *Tolmai*, king of *Geſhur* [k], by whom he had afterwards *Abſalom* and *Tamar* [l]. But we cannot think, with our learned *Uſher*, that he contracted an affinity with that prince to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his rival [*]; that being expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes*. It is more probable, that he took her priſoner in one of his excurſions againſt that country, as we ſhall ſhew in a following note. At the end of two years, *Abner*, having repaſſed the *Jordan* with his army, came and incamped on one ſide of the pool of *Gibeon*; and *Joab*, the ſon of *Zeruiah*, *David*'s general, came and incamped over againſt him on the other ſide. Iſh-boſheth *ſucceeds him.*

HITHERTO there had paſſed no hoſtilities, nor any war being declared between the two monarchs; and their ſubjects on both ſides being all *Iſraelites*, there was a neceſſity of making ſome kind of hoſtile overture, which might bring on an engagement; the two generals, therefore, bethought themſelves of the following ſtrange one. They agreed to ſend twelve brave men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing ſome warlike exerciſe; but they were no ſooner come within reach of one another, then each man took his antagoniſt by the head, and ſheathed his ſword in his body; ſo that they were all killed upon the ſpot. In memory of this bloody feat the place was called *Helkath Hatzurim*, *the field of the ſtrong men*. There needed no more to ſet the two armies on fighting, and a dreadful battle immediately enſued, in which *Abner*'s army was totally routed, and himſelf forced to fly for his life. *Joab* had two brave brothers with him, one of whom, named *Azahel*, was exceeding ſwift of foot, and he purſued after him with uncommon ſpeed, with a deſign to take him priſoner. *Abner* was ſoon aware of it, and, turning about, adviſed him once and again to deſiſt from his purſuit, and ſo content himſelf with a priſoner of leſs note; but *Azahel* ſtill perſiſting, *Abner* was forced to run him through the body with the hinder part of his ſpear. The ſight of his dead body cauſed ſuch a general ſtop in the flying remains of his army, that he was forced to cauſe it to be removed out of the road, and covered with a garment, that his men might have time to ſhun *Joab*'s victorious hoſt, who were following cloſe at their heels. The purſuit laſted till ſun-ſet, by which time they were got as far as the hill of *Ammah*, within ſight of *Giath*, along the wilderneſs of *Gibeon*. Here the *Benjamites* rallied themſelves again under *Abner*, and poſted themſelves on the riſing of the hill, reſolved to make a ſtout defence; but their general, who was weary of fighting, called to *Joab*, and deſired him to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter of his brethren, whoſe deſtruction could not but cauſe bitterneſs in the end. *Joab* hearkened to him, and cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat; after which, *Abner* and his men took the way of *Mahanaim*, and *Joab* returned to *Hebron*. There were but nineteen men killed on *David*'s ſide, beſides *Azahel*, but *Benjamin* loſt 360. *Azahel*'s body was carried to *Bethlehem*, and buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [m]; and from that time *David* grew ſtronger every day, and *Iſh-boſheth* weaker and weaker; but the war between thoſe two did not end but with the death of the latter, which happened ſhortly after.

IN

[k] 2 Sam. iii. 3. [l] Ib. ch. xiii 1. [*] Annal. p. 35. [m] 2 Sam. ii. paſſ.

(R) At leaſt this ſeems to be the ſenſe of thoſe words, and *Iſh-boſheth reigned two years* (2); for it is plain he reigned much longer, but not peaceably. Much the ſame was ſaid of the beginning of *Saul*'s reign (3). *Abner* alſo might think it proper to take him to *Mahanaim*, which was beyond *Jordan*, that, being free from the *Philiſtines*, he might have time to recruit his ſhatter'd army.

(2) 2 Sam. ii. 10. (3) 1 Sam. xiii. 1. USSER. *Ann. p.* 35.

IN the mean time, *Abner*, who had uſed all his endeavours to ſtrengthen his a
maſter's party, did ſet ſuch value upon his own ſervices, that he made no ſcruple to have a criminal intercourſe with one of *Saul*'s concubines, named *Rizpah*; and when he was reprimanded for it by *Iſh-boſheth* (S), he reſented it ſo highly, that he ſwore, that he would from that minute become a friend to *David*, and bring all the tribes under his obedience. He delayed not to make his words good, by ſending meſſengers privately, firſt to *David*, and then to the elders of *Iſrael*, to contrive a revolt; after which, he found out the following pretence for going to *David* unſuſpected. That monarch had ſent to *Iſh-boſheth*, to deſire of him to ſend him his wife *Michal*, whom *Saul*, during his exile, had married to another; and *Abner*, having obtained an order from him to demand her of her huſband, b
took upon him to convey her ſafe to *David*. Whether *Iſh-boſheth* had any ſuſpicion of him, or not, yet his circumſtances were ſo tottering, that he dared not refuſe him any thing; ſo *Abner* went, accompanied with twenty men, and preſented *Michal* to *David*, and was graciouſly received by him. But as he was returning home, *Joab*, unknown to *David*, ſent for him back to *Hebron*, under ſome friendly pretence, and killed him as ſoon as he was come to the gate of the city, under pretence indeed of revenging his brother *Azahel*'s death; but much more likely to rid himſelf of ſo powerful a rival. As ſoon as *David* heard of it, he proteſted his innocence of that bloody deed, and vented his reſentment in imprecations againſt the author of it; after which he cauſed *Abner* to be c
decently buried, and accompanied his corpſe to the grave, with all the tokens of ſorrow and reſpect [n]. However, as he knew himſelf as yet too weak to diſoblige *Joab*, whoſe power among the people might eaſily have turned the ſcale againſt him, he was forced to ſuppreſs his grief and reſentment for the treacherous murder of ſo conſiderable a perſon.

Iſh-boſheth did ſoon hear of his death; and, as he had been the main ſupport of his kingdom, both he and his men began to fear, that *David* would ſoon be too ſtrong for him. This inſpired two of his captains, brethren of the family of the *Beerothites*, *Baana* and *Rechab*, to conſpire againſt his life, in hopes of recommending themſelves to *David* by it. They took the opportunity of the d
heat of the day, when he was lain down on his bed, to come into his houſe,
Iſh-boſheth *murdered.* under pretence of fetching their allowance of corn; and to enter into his chamber, where they barbarouſly murdered him; and having cut off his head fled away with it, unperceived, to *Hebron*, and preſented it to *David*, congratulating him upon the death of his competitor. It was hardly to be expected, that *David*, who had puniſhed the young *Amalekite* with death, for barely pretending to have killed *Saul*, could forbear expreſſing a much greater horror at this more inhuman regicide, or inflict a milder puniſhment upon the authors of it, whatever advantage his affairs might reap from it. Accordingly he commanded them to be e
immediately put to death, and their hands and feet to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of *Hebron*. As for the head of *Iſh-boſheth*, he cauſed it to be buried in the ſepulchre of *Abner*, which was alſo in the ſame city [o].

David by this time had reigned over *Judah* in *Hebron* about ſeven years and
David *reigns over all the* 12 *tribes.* half; and when the reſt of the tribes heard of *Iſh-boſheth*'s death, they aſſembled themſelves, and came to anoint him king over all *Iſrael*, and to pay their homage to him. Theſe are reckoned, in another place [p], to have amounted to the number of 32,000 men and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes, except part of that of *Benjamin*, which did ſtill ſtick to the houſe of *Saul*. *David* received them with joy, and feaſted them at *Hebron* f
during three days; all that time, not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even ſome of the more diſtant ones, pouring in plenty of proviſions upon them [q].

ON

[n] 2 Sam. iii. p. tot. with xi. 1, 2, & ſeq. [o] See before, p. 698. b. [p] Ch. iv. paſſ. [q] Ibid. xii. ult. [p] Comp. 1 Chron xii. 23, & ſeq.

(S) It appears, by the ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, that it was a very high crime, amounting to no leſs than treaſon, to marry a king's widow (4); much more muſt it have been ſo, to debauch her, as *Abner* did *Rizpah*. So that *Iſh-boſheth*, notwithſtanding his obligations to that general, could not well avoid reſenting ſuch an affront being offered to the royal dignity, as came little ſhort of an attempt upon his crown.

(4) *Vid.* 1 Kings ii. 13, *& ſeq.*

a ON the next year, *David* went and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that it had ſtood out till that time againſt the united force of *Judah* and *Simeon*. Here *Joab* ſhewed ſo much bravery and conduct, that he was made head general of *Iſrael* [r]: he beat the *Jebuſites* that defended it, and carried the fortreſs of *Sion*, or *Zion*, by aſſault †, which *David* made his reſidence from that time. He inlarged and fortified it from *Millo* inward round about, and called it *the city of David*, whilſt *Joab* rebuilt the reſt of the city, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall [s]; and from that time it became the metropolis of *Judea*.

BUT it was impoſſible for him to carry on ſuch a work, without alarming the jealous *Philiſtines*, who could not be ignorant either of the ſtrength of his army, b or of his now reigning over all *Iſrael* without a competitor. They came, therefore, ſo ſuddenly upon him, that they took *Bethlehem*, and put a garriſon into it, before he could make any reſiſtance, whilſt he was forced to retire to the cave of *Adullam* for preſent ſafety [t]. It was here, that, having expreſſed a longing deſire for ſome of the water of the well of *Bethlehem*, three of his chief worthies ventured through the enemy's hoſt, which was encamped along the valley of *Rephaim*, and fetched him ſome water from thence. However, when they brought it to him, he choſe rather to ſpill it upon the ground than to drink it, ſeeing, as he ſaid, they had procured it at the hazard of their lives [u]. He then enquired of the Lord, whether he ſhould fall upon the *Philiſtines*; and having received a favourable c anſwer, he diſcomfited them ſo effectually, both at this time, and upon a ſecond attempt of theirs, that they were never more able to make head againſt him, or any of his ſucceſſors [w]. *David* finding himſelf thus ſtrengthened, his army numerous and well diſciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty worthies, who had all ſignalized themſelvs by ſome extraordinary exploits, and his enemies ſo thoroughly weakened, made a firm alliance with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, by whom he was furniſhed with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen, to build him a palace in his own city. He likewiſe increaſed the number of his wives and concubines, by whom he had a conſiderable number of children born at *Jeruſalem*, beſides thoſe that were born to him in *Hebron* (T); all which did not a little contribute to his d grandeur as well as happineſs.

SUCH a ſeries of ſucceſſes, and the univerſal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inſpired that pious prince with the higheſt ſentiments of gratitude and religion, and with a deſire of making his city the center, as it were, of God's worſhip, by tranſporting the ſacred ark thither, which had continued almoſt fifty years at *Kirjath-jearim* (V), and placing it in one of the beſt apartments of his new palace. He conſulted the elders and chiefs of *Iſrael* upon it, and being anſwered with the univerſal approbation of the aſſembly, he diſpatched meſſengers through

His gratitude.

[r] 2 Sam. v. 8. 1 Chr. xi. 6. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. xiv. 9, & ſeq. † See before, p. 336. d. [u] Ibid. xi. 17, & ſeq. [s] Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9. & 1 Chron. xi. 7. [w] Ibid. xiv. 10, & ſeq. See before, p. 337. b.

(T) *David* is recorded to have had ſix wives in *Hebron*, beſides *Saul*'s daughter, who was then with another husband. He is ſaid to have had a ſon by every one of the ſix former; by which is hardly meant that he had but one by each, but that the text mentions, only their firſt-born (5). As for *Maacha*, the daughter of the king of *Geſhur*, the *Jews* affirm, that *David* had taken her captive, and forced her to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion; becauſe it was forbid by the law of *Moſes* to contract any affinity with the heathens. Either of theſe is far from improbable, becauſe we read of his making ſome excurſions againſt the *Geſhurites* during his abode at *Ziklag* (6); but nothing of his contracting ſuch a forbidden affinity with their king. Neither, indeed, is it likely, that ſo zealous a man, as *David* was, would have married her before ſhe had renounced her idolatry. But as to what they add, of his forcing her to turn *Jew* againſt her will, and that the ill hap of her two children, *Abſalom* and *Thamar*, the former of whom turned rebel againſt his father, and the latter was raviſhed by *David*'s eldeſt ſon, was inflicted on him as a puniſhment for that violence (7), we ſhall not venture to affirm any thing about it.

How many wives and concubines he took, after he came from *Hebron*, the text doth not ſay, but mentions only, that he had ten ſons by them; by which the *Talmudiſts* gather, that he had ſixteen in all, beſides *Michal*, who being barren, was to be excepted out of that number. Hence they have paſſed it into a law, that a king ought to have no more wives than eighteen (8); and they believe, that all *Solomon*'s miſcarriages were owing to his venturing to exceed that number.

(V) Archbiſhop *Uſher* reckons, that it was on the firſt ſabbatical year that it was brought from *Gilgal* to *Shiloh*, and that it was likewiſe upon ſuch another year that it was removed from *Kirjath-jearim* to the city of *David*; and that the 68th pſalm was ſung by the people who accompanied this ſolemn proceſſion (9).

(5) 2 Sam. iii. 2, *& ſeq.* (6) 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8. (7) *Vid.* MUNST. 2 Sam. iii. *ſub. not.* 6. (8) *Vid. Præc. Negat.* ccxxii. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 667: *not.* (R). (9) *Ann. p.* 36.

through the whole kingdom to invite all the prieſts and levites, and as many of the people as were ſo diſpoſed, to come to the ſolemnity. The ark was accordingly ſet upon a new cart, and brought from *Aminidab*'s houſe to *Jeruſalem*, accompanied by *David* and his court, by multitudes of prieſts and levites, who ſang and played upon various inſtruments, and by a numerous concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was ſuſpended by an accident, which filled the king and aſſembly with wonder and fear. The ark was come to *Nachon*'s threſhing-floor (W), when the oxen that drew it, ſtarting at ſomething, were like to have overſet the cart; to prevent which, *Uzzah*, one of *Aminidab*'s ſons, who drove it, clapt his hand upon the ark in a ſurpriſe, and was for his preſumption ſmitten with immediate death (X). *David* could not forbear expreſſing a more than ordinary grief at this ſeverity, which made him call the place *Perez Uzzah*, that is the *breach* or *puniſhment of Uzzah*, and reſolved to have the ark depoſited into the houſe of *Obededom*, the ſon of *Jeduthun* [x], ſurnamed the *Gilhite*, probably, becauſe he was a native of *Gath-rimmon*, a city allotted to the tribe of *Levi* [y], where it continued about three months. *David*, finding ſoon after, that God had bleſſed that *Levite* in an extraordinary manner, ever ſince the ark had been under his roof, reſolved to procure a ſhare of thoſe divine bleſſings by removing it to his own houſe. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a ſumptuous tabernacle for it, by aſſembling the prieſts, and cauſing them to bear it according to God's command, by offering ſacrifices at every ſix paces (Y), and

His zeal. by ſhewing an uncommon joy upon that ſolemn occaſion. For he put on a linen ephod, and danced before the ark at the ſound of a great number of inſtruments, inſomuch, that *Michal*, who ſaw the proceſſion through a window, could not forbear deſpiſing and reflecting upon him, for acting, as ſhe thought, ſo far beneath a king of *Iſrael*. As ſoon as the ark was depoſited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings; and having feaſted the great concourſe of people who came to the city, he diſmiſſed them to their own homes [z].

THE

[x] 1 Chorn. xvi. [y] See Joſh xxi. 24, 25. [z] 2 Sam. vi. p. tot.

(W) Though we have followed our verſion, it ſeems to us more probable, that the word נכון *Nachon*, is rather a participle then a proper name, and ſignifies *ready fitted*, or *proper*, becauſe we find that *David* ſtopped at proper diſtances to offer ſacrifices; and this ſeems to be one of them; and perhaps alſo might it be either the killing of the victims, or ſomething relating to thoſe ſacrifices, that make the oxen to ſtart. There was moreover a very great irregularity in placing the ark upon a cart; which, according to the law of *Moſes*, ought to have been carried by the prieſts upon their ſhoulders. This accident, therefore, made him ſo ſenſible of his error, that the author of the book of the *Chronicles* obſerves, that he acknowledged it to the prieſts at the next removal of the ark, and cauſed them to bear it upon their ſhoulders to his houſe (10).

(X) This ſudden and ſevere puniſhment upon *Uzzah* for his indiſcreet zeal, which *David* himſelf could not forbear being much ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed at (11), has given ſo much offence to ſome interpreters, that they have ſought for a quite different ſenſe of the words, in order to make his crime greater than is commonly apprehended. It is true, that the original runs literally thus, *and* Uzzah *ſent and ſeized the ark, for the cattle ſhook*. From which they would conclude, that he rather offered ſome indignity to it, than endeavoured to prevent its falling. But, beſides that this is contrary to all the antient verſions and to the book of the *Chronicles*, where this fact is more clearly related, it is certain, that if that had been the caſe, *David* would have expreſſed his reſentment againſt him, and not againſt God for puniſhing him. *Uzzah*, being a *Levite*, ought to have remembred, that it was forbid, under pain of death (12), to any, but to the prieſts, to touch the ark; and even theſe were only to touch the ſtaves by which it was carried, which for that reaſon were never to be taken from it. It may alſo be, that *Uzzah* was the contriver of this new way of carrying the ark upon a cart, inſtead of the prieſts ſhoulders. However, if his puniſhment ſhould ſtill ſeem too ſevere, one may ſuppoſe, that God ſuffered it to be ſo, in order to inſpire the people with a greater reſpect and awe for that ſacred ſymbol of his preſence, than they were naturally inclined to.

(Y) This we take to be the meaning of the text here (13), though it only ſays, that when the bearers had proceeded ſix ſteps, he offered a bullock, &c. But ſome think, that *Uzzah* having been ſtruck dead within ſix yards of his own houſe, *David* cauſed theſe ſacrifices to be made at the firſt ſix ſteps of the prieſts, to intreat the Lord to be more favourable this time (14). But we find in the *Chronicles* *, that they repeated the ſame ſacrifices when they came near *David*'s houſe, in thankfulneſs, that God had helped the *Levites* to bring the ark to the place appointed for it, without any accident.

It may be wondered at, that *David* choſe to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, inſtead of ſending for that which *Moſes* had cauſed to be made in the wilderneſs. It may be ſuppoſed, indeed, that the precincture of his palace was not capacious enough for it; but whatever the reaſon be, it is certain, that it continued ſtill, with the altar and all its other ſacred utenſils, at *Gibeon*, till *Solomon*, having built his temple, cauſed them to be brought and depoſited in it, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

(10) 1 Chron. xv. 11, *& ſeq.* (11) 2 Sam. 6. (12) *Vid.* Num. iv. *paſſ. &* ver. 15. (13) 2 Sam. vi. ver. 13. (14) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* * 1 Chron. xv. 26.

a THE ark being thus fixed in its repoſitory, his next care was to appoint the claſſes of prieſts and *Levites* to officiate before it, according to their ſeveral functions. He alſo choſe a number of ſingers and players upon muſical inſtruments to celebrate the praiſes of God in their turns, to ſet ſuch pſalms and hymns as he, or any other inſpired perſon, compoſed, in order to have them ſung upon feſtivals and other ſolemn occaſions. The author of the *Chronicles* has preſerved us one of them in words at length, which he then compoſed as an euchariſtical canticle, and delivered to the muſicians to be ſung upon the removal of the ark to his houſe [a]; which may be juſtly eſteemed one of the ſublimeſt pieces of poetry extant, whether for its elegancy, or for the ſtrain of piety and gra-
b titude that runs through the whole.

SOON after this, he ſent for the prophet *Nathan*, to conſult with him about the building of a temple of the Lord, telling him, that he could not, with any eaſe, dwell in a ſumptuous palace, whilſt the ark was only under a tabernacle. The prophet applauded his pious deſign, not doubting but God would ratify and *Piety.* proſper it; but God who appeared to him that night, directed him to go to the king, and to tell him, that though his Intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, foraſmuch as he had ſo often defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper perſon for ſuch a work, but that he would raiſe him up a ſon and ſucceſſor (Z), whoſe reign he would bleſs with a profound peace, with extra-
c ordinary wiſdom, affluence, and proſperity, and that he ſhould build him a temple. He added, that it was upon him that he would ſettle the throne of *Iſrael* unto the end, and proſper him and his ſucceſſors in proportion to their obedience to him; and that even the moſt ſtubborn diſobedience ſhould not bring upon them a total dereliction, but only ſuch fatherly chaſtiſements as might bring them to a filial repentance. *David*, full of the ſenſe of all theſe gracious promiſes, went and proſtrated himſelf before the Lord, and, in the humbleſt and moſt pathetick terms, acknowledged his extreme unworthineſs of all theſe promiſed mercies, and his reliance on his omnipotent goodneſs for the fulfilling of them in his own good time [b].

c FROM that time, he applyed part of his care in making preparations for that ſumptuous building, and in laying up for it immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, precious ſtones, woods, and other materials. For in thoſe ſucceſsful wars which he had againſt the *Philiſtines* [c], *Moabites* [d], *Amalekites* [e], the kings of *Zobah*, *Syria* [f], and *Edom* [g], of which the beſt account has been given in their ſeveral hiſtories that could be got out of the ſacred records, he got ſuch a prodigious quantity of the richeſt ſpoil, part of which he never failed to dedicate to this deſign, that the wealth which he left his ſon at his death is almoſt beyond belief. His occonomy was not inferior to his ſucceſs; he found, that the keeping of a numerous army would either exhauſt his treaſury too much, or cauſe too great a
e ſhare of his ſubjects lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which he appointed twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, with proper officers over them, to ſerve each their reſpective month in the year; after which, they were diſmiſſed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewiſe appointed twelve expert perſons over his finances (A), under *Aſhmaveth* and *Adoram*; and judges in

[a] 1 Chron. xvi. paſſ. [b] 2 Sam. vii. paſſ. 1 Chron. xvii. paſſ. & alib. [c] See before, p. 357. [d] Ibid. p. 290. [e] Ibid. p. 321. [f] Ibid. 382. [g] Ibid. p. 314. See 2 Sam. viii. paſſ.

(Z) From the words in the text, the *ſeed* or *ſon that ſhall proceed out of thy bowels* (15), the *Jews* infer, that the crown could devolve neither to *Ammon*, *Abſalom*, *Adonijah*, nor to any of thoſe ſons that were born before this promiſe (16); but as the future is often uſed for the perfect tenſe, according to the genius of the original, the argument is no way concluſive, unleſs we throw into the ſcale the objection which is urged againſt the father, being equally ſtrong againſt thoſe ſons, who, being all warriors, had no doubt, embrued their hands in blood; from which *Solomon* was to be altogether free. This exception is not indeed mentioned in the book of *Kings*, but we find it urged in the book of *Chronicles*, as an argument, why God did not think *David* pure enough to erect ſo ſacred an edifice to him (17).

(A) Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been of two kinds, either ſuch as were exacted from his ſubjects, or thoſe that accrued from his own hereditary lands or conquered dominions. Each kind of tribute, whether paid in money, grain, or other produce, were collected by their particular officers (18.)

(15) 2 Sam. vii. 12. (16) *Vid.* MUNST. JUN. & *al. in loc.* (17) 1 Chr. xxii. 8. xxviii. 3. (18) *Ibid.* xxvii. 25, & *ſeq.* 2 Sam. xx. 24, & *ſeq.*

in every tribe, to administer justice to the people; besides those of his great a
council, who had the affairs of religion and state under their care; the former
under the two high-priests, *Zadok* the son of *Ahitub*, and *Ahimelech* the son of
Abiathar (B); and the latter under proper officers, among which *Joab* was general
of the army; *Jehoshaphat* was chief secretary, *Serajah* recorder, *Benajah* over the
Cherethites and *Pelethites* (C); whilst some of the king's sons were set over all these
officers [h] (D).

Gratitude to Jonathan's son

BUT neither the cares of state, nor his uncommon prosperity, could make him
forget his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend *Jonathan*. He
sought out his only son *Mephibosheth*, who was lame of his feet, and under the
care of one of *Saul*'s servants named *Ziba*; he sent for him to court, and after he b
had shewed him all possible tokens of friendship and tenderness, he caused all the
lands of his royal grandfather to be restored to him, commanding *Ziba* to im-
prove them to the best advantage for his master, and appointed him a table in
his own palace, and among his own sons; which he enjoyed to the day of his
death [i].

HIS gratitude to the king of the *Ammonites* did not meet with the same returns:
Nahash, from whom *David* had received some signal favours, being dead, he sent
a congratulatory embassy to his son, with offers of mutual friendship, but that
weak prince, unjustly suspecting the ambassadors were come upon some baser design,
treated them in a shameful manner and sent them away. This affront, however, c
turned

[h] See 1 Chron. xxvii. pass. [i] 2 Sam. ix. pass.

(B) We have already taken notice, that these two were, the one, namely *Zadok*, of the eldest, and *Abimelech* of the youngest branch of *Aaron*'s family, and that the high-priesthood had shifted from the one to the other †, but that one of each branch should exercise that function at the same time, is what is not to be met with either before or since. It is probable, that *Saul* after he had killed all the priests in *Nob*, except *Abiathar* who fled to *David*, might set up *Zadoc* to officiate in that dignity in *Israel*, as *Eleazar* did in *Judah*, and that when *David* came to be king of all the twelve tribes, he did not think fit to deprive either of their office, but suffered them both to continue in it; but whether alternately, or subordinately, whether the one at *Gibeon*, where the tabernacle stood, and the other at *Jerusalem*, where the ark was; or lastly, whether the one in the tribe of *Judah*, and the other over the other tribes, we will not venture to determine. Certain it is, that they are still mentioned together upon several other occasions (19) till the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, when *Zadok*'s competitor was divested of his dignity, for having gone over to the party of *Adonijah* (20).

(C) It is not easy to guess who these were. The *Chaldee* paraphrast renders these words by archers and slingers; and the *Rabbies* understand by it, absurdly enough, some the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and others the grand *Sanhedrim*, deriving the first word from כרת *Careth*, to *break short*, as if they had been כורתים דבריהם men that broke their sentences short, or spoke succinctly and with authority, and the other from פלא *Phele*, *wonderful* (21); and if we have no better helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. But we have already observed elsewhere, that the *Cherethites* were *Philistines**, and we shall now give some further proofs of it.

When the *Amalekites* had burnt *Ziklag*, and *David*, in pursuit of them, met with an *Egyptian*; that youth informed him, that they had made an incursion into the south of the *Cherethites* and so on (22); from which it is plain, that they must have been either *Philistines*, or some people that dwelt among them, as the *Geshurites* did; unless we will suppose with *Tremellius*, that they were a colony of *Israelites* that took possession of that country, after the *Philistines* had been driven out of it, which we see no grounds for admitting. For we find the prophet *Ezekiel* joining the *Cherethites* and *Philistines* together, either as synonymous, or at least cohabiters, in these words, *Behold I will stretch out mine hand against the* Philistines, *and cut off the* Cheretims, *and destroy the remnant of the sea-coast* (23). Another prophet expresses himself much after the same manner, *Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, the nation of the* Cherethites, *the Lord is against you, O* Canaan *the land of the* Philistines (24). Thus far concerning the *Cherethites*.

As for the *Pelethites*, we meet with nothing concerning them, except their being joined with them in this place, and in some chapters after, where they are both mentioned as accompanying *David* when he fled from his son *Absalom* (25). But whether these two people were captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of life-guard, we will not venture to determine.

(D) The text says here, that they were כהנים *Cohanim*, which properly signifies *Priests*, but which our version doth rightly render, *Chief Rulers* and *Princes*, in the margin, according to a parallel text in the *Chronicles*, where they are said to have been הראשונים ליד המלך *The chief about the king*. And it is plain, that in several other places, particularly those quoted in the margin (26), the word is generally taken in that sense. Several learned *Jews* indeed, to extol the piety of *David*, understand by *Cohen* here *the disciples of the priests*, from which they would infer, that that pious monarch caused his sons to be educated under them (27). If that were true, it is certain, that some of them did not much credit their masters; but the text says nothing of it: on the contrary, the author of the first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that *Jonathan*, *David*'s uncle, a person of consummate wisdom, was the person who was intrusted with that important business (28).

† *Vid. sup. p.* 634. b. c. *not.* S. (19) *Vid. int. al.* 2 Sam. xv. 24, & 29. xix. 11, & 12. & *alib.* (20) 1 King. i. 7, 8. ii. 35, & *alib.* (21) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* * *Vid. sup. p.* 344. *not.* I. (22) 1 Sam. xxx. 14. (23) Ch. xxv. 16. (24) Zephan. ii. 5. (25) 2 Sam. xv. 18. (26) Gen. xli. 45. xlvii. 22. Exod. ii. 16. iii. 1. Job xii. 19. & *alib.* (27) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* (28) Ch. xxvii. 32.

a turned to *David*'s advantage; *Joab* was ſent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, and that victorious general gained a compleat victory againſt the *Ammonites* and their confederates, and returned to *Jeruſalem*. The *Syrians*, however, one of thoſe confederates, came again the next year with a freſh army: *Shobach*, general of *Hadadezer*, or *Hadarezer*, king of *Syria Zobea*, who was at their head, came and encamped at *Helam*; but *David* made ſuch ſpeed over *Jordan* with a powerful army, and gave him ſuch an overthrow, that they were glad to clap up a peace with him, and to become his tributaries. The *Ammonites* were likewiſe ſo weakened by theſe defeats, that they would have been glad to have remained quiet; but *David* was too exaſperated and too ſucceſsful againſt them, not to purſue his
b victory to the utmoſt, by ſending *Joab* to invade their country, which that general did with that valour and ſeverity, as reduced them to the loweſt ebb †.

Year of the Flood, 1964. Year before Chriſt, 1035.

WHILST *Joab* was taken up with the ſiege of the metropolis of the unfortunate children of *Ammon*, a place of ſuch ſtrength that it held out two years againſt him; *David*, wholly relying on his valour and conduct, was ſolacing himſelf at home, and became unfortunately enamoured with a beautiful woman, whom he had, from his terrace, obſerved waſhing herſelf one evening in her garden. Upon enquiring who ſhe was, he was informed, that ſhe was the daughter and wife of two his braveſt captains, *Eliam* and *Uriah* (E), who were then with *Joab* at the ſiege; but his paſſion proved too violent to admit of any check from reaſon or religion, or *His adultery.*
c even of a delay. The fruit of their unlawful commerce was her ſudden pregnancy, and the danger ſhe was in of being put to death for it, according to the law of *Moſes*. The king bethought himſelf of an expedient to prevent the latter, by ſending for her huſband from the ſiege, under pretence indeed of informing himſelf how it was carried on, but in reality, in hopes of his ſpending a night or two with her; but whether *Uriah* had any ſuſpicion of the wrong done to him, or whether, indeed, he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to go and ſolace himſelf at home, whilſt his general and fellow-ſoldiers were expoſed to the fatigues of a ſiege; he made this laſt his excuſe for not going home to his wife, and contented himſelf with lying at the gate of the palace, with the reſt of the king's guard. The king,
d thus diſappointed reſolved to try him a ſecond time; he made him eat at his table, and at ſupper plied him ſo well with wine, that he did not doubt but he would, in that merry humour, have gone home to his wife; but *Uriah*, drunk as he was, ſpent that night alſo with the guards; and the king who by this time could not but ſuſpect, that he had ſome more private reaſon for abſenting himſelf from home, reſolved to ſacrifice his life to that of his faithleſs wife. Accordingly, on the next morning he diſpatched him with a letter to *Joab*, wherein he ordered that general, who was the fitteſt perſon for ſuch a bloody deed, to expoſe that brave officer to ſome imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the beſieged. This was accordingly done; and *David* having received the news of his death, *And murder.*
e ſent and acquainted *Bath-ſheba* with it, who put herſelf in mourning for him, and was ſoon after ſheltered from danger by being married to the king [k]. We have ſeen elſewhere, the ſucceſs of this long ſiege, and the hard fate of the conquered *Ammonites* *: all we need to add here is, that what is ſaid there of their monarch's crown, that it weighed a talent of gold, that is upwards of 113 pounds, is rather to be underſtood of its worth than its weight, that is, that the gold and precious ſtones, with which it was adorned, was equal in worth to a talent of gold (F) [l].

IN

† 2 Sam. x. paſſ. See before, p. 296, & ſeq.
[k] 2 Sam. xi. paſſ.
* See before, p. 297. b. c.
[l] 2 Sam. xii. 30.

(E) At leaſt we find one *Eliam* in the number of *David*'s worthies, who was the ſon of *Ahitophel* (29), and is ſuppoſed to have been her father, and that the affront offered to her cauſed that great politician to join in the conſpiracy of *Abſalom*. As for her huſband, he is ſurnamed the *Hittite*, probably, becauſe he was of that nation, and a proſelyte to the *Jewiſh* religion, though ſome will have it, that he is ſo called, only becauſe he was either born or had dwelt amongſt them, or upon ſome warlike exploit he had atchieved againſt them (30). *Joſephus* neither mentions this as a ſurname, or as that of his nation, but only ſays, that he was *Joab*'s armour-bearer (31).

(F) It were indeed abſurd to underſtand it otherwiſe, for what man could bear ſuch a weight, though we ſhould even underſtand it of the common talent of 60 pounds, as *Kimchi* doth. Some *Jews* and others do indeed fancy, that it was only hung over the monarch's head, like the top of a canopy (32); but this is contrary to the plain meaning of the original, which did not want words to have expreſs

(29) 2 Sam. xxii. 34 *Vid.* MUNST. JUN. *& al.*
(30) *Vid.* BERRUYER.
(31) *Ant. l.* 7. *c.* 7.
(32) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.*

IN the interim, God, highly provoked with *David* for two ſuch heinous crimes, a made choice of the prophet *Nathan* to go and denounce his ſevere judgments againſt him, at the time when that monarch, inſenſible of his guilt, was hugging in his arms the fruit of his adultery. The prophet who knew his generous and upright heart, in any caſe wherein this new and criminal paſſion was not concerned, accoſted him with a parable of a wealthy man, who had ſpared his own numerous flocks, and ſeized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feaſt an hungry *His puniſhment.* gueſt. He dreſt his ſtory with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, that the king in anger pronounced ſentence of death againſt the perſon who had been guilty of ſuch an unnatural violence. The words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than *Nathan* made him ſenſible, that he had pronounced it againſt himſelf, by telling b him, with a prophetic boldneſs, that he was the guilty perſon, and much more guilty than that in the parable, in that he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but had murdered him by an enemy's ſword, that he might take the adultreſs into his boſom. He then recapitulated to him all the aggravations of his double crime; particularly his ingratitude to his divine protector and benefactor, and the occaſion he had given to his enemies to blaſpheme (G). He concluded with denouncing the effects of the divine reſentment againſt him, that *Uriah*'s murder would prove an endleſs ſource of bloodſhed in his own poſterity, and that his adultery, how private ſoever, ſhould be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by thoſe of his own family, and in the face of c the ſun.

THIS terrible ſentence brought *David* to ſuch a deep ſenſe of his guilt, that his heart too full of it, could only ſay, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord*; but the ſincere remorſe with which it was uttered obtained an immediate alleviation of the puniſhment. However, the unhappy ſon of *Beth-ſheba* was doomed to death, and *David* tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him, by prayers, and tears, by faſting, ſack-cloth, lying on the ground, and other marks of repentance. As for the other part of the ſentence, which related to his wives, it was ſoon after fulfilled by his unnatural ſon *Abſalom*, as we ſhall ſee anon. The child being dead, according to the ſaying of the prophet, *David* comforted his new wife for the loſs d of it, ſoon after which ſhe found herſelf pregnant, and he called the ſon that ſhe then bore to him *Solomon*, a name ſignificative of his future peaceful reign, to which *Nathan* added that of *Jedidiah* or *beloved of the Lord* [m], ſuch as he proved indeed, at leaſt during the former part of his glorious and ſucceſsful reign.

BUT it proved far otherwiſe with the remainder of that of his father, who, what hopes ſoever he might have conceived, from the birth and promiſed glory of this new ſon, and from his victory over the *Ammonites*, that his repentance had happily diſarmed the divine anger; never ceaſed feeling ſome of the ſevereſt and moſt ſenſible ſtrokes of it, to the laſt period of his life: not indeed from his e enemies without, from whom it doth not appear that he received the leaſt moleſtation, but from thoſe of his own family, even from his own children. *Ammon*, his eldeſt ſon, was ſcarcely eighteen years of age, when he layed the foundation of all the domeſtic troubles of his too indulgent father, by an unnatural inceſt with one of his own ſiſters. *David* had had two children by *Maachah*, the princeſs of *Geſhur*, *Abſalom* and *Tamar* [n], whoſe beauty became the unhappy cauſe of this unlawful paſſion. *Ammon* was obſerved to pine away ſecretly, aſhamed to diſcover the *Ammon's inceſt.* cauſe

[m] 2 Sam. xii. paſſ. [n] Ibid. Ch. iii. 3.

expreſt that circumſtance, had it been fact. But we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew, that the word מִשְׁקָל *Miſhkal*, doth often ſignify the value, though properly and generally the weight, of a thing (33).

(G) This expreſſion of the prophet inclines us to think, that *David* had not been able ſo to conceal his crime, but that it had taken wind among the neighbouring nations, who could not forbear reflecting upon the God of *Iſrael*, for favouring a monarch who could be guilty of ſuch horrid crimes, as themſelves perhaps were ſtrangers to.

David, however, was ſo ſenſibly touched with his guilt, that he ceaſed not compoſing pſalms, full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of humility and repentance. Some of them ſeem even to intimate, that God had ſmitten him with ſome very grievous and painful diſeaſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin (34); but it is poſſible, that they may be altogether allegorical, and ſignificative only of his exceſſive grief and remorſe for it. Among his other penitential compoſitions, the 51ſt is ſuppoſed to have been writ immediately after *Nathan*'s ſevere reproof.

(33) *Vid.* BOCHART. HIEROZ. *p.* 1. LE SCENE *int. al.* Pſ. vi. 38. *paſſ.* lxxvii. 3. *& ſeq.* lxxxviii. *& ſeq. paſſim. & alib. paſſ. pt.* 2. Ch. ii. § 6. (34) *Vid. paſſ.* cii. 3, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.*

a cauſe of his trouble, when a near relation, *Jonadab*, the ſon of *Shimeah*, *David*'s brother, having pumped the fatal ſecret out, not only encouraged him, but furniſhed him with means to perpetrate the deed. According to his helliſh advice, *Ammon*, pretending that his diſeaſe had now confined him to his bed, obtained an order from his father, that *Tamar* ſhould come to him, and make him ſome kind of confectionary meat, to pleaſe his palled appetite; which that innocent princeſs readily complied with. But ſhe was ſcarcely entered with it into his bed-chamber, before he, having previouſly ſent all his attendants far enough, laid hold on her, and, in ſpite of all her prayers and remonſtrances, raviſhed her. His luſt thus ſatisfied, he conceived ſuch a diſguſt againſt her, that, not being able to bear
b her preſence any longer, and finding a juſt and modeſt reluctancy in her to withdraw in that deplorable condition, his barbarity roſe to ſuch a heighth, that he violently cauſed her to be turned out of his houſe by ſome of his ſervants. Her grief and confuſion were now become too great to ſuffer her to think how to avoid expoſing herſelf; ſo that, forgetting every thing but her preſent misfortunes ſhe only ſought how to expreſs her ſenſe of it by the moſt lively tokens; by tearing her virgin robes, covering her head with duſt, by walking with her arms over her head, and filling the air with her cries. In this manner ſhe went to *Abſalom*'s houſe, who being her brother, both by father and mother, was the propereſt perſon to procure her a redreſs, if any could be had. That prince,
c who was naturally haughty and revengeful, could not but feel the deepeſt reſentment againſt ſo barbarous a violence; however, as the revenge he meditated againſt the raviſher was of too deep a nature to be preſently executed, he contented himſelf with deſiring his diſconſolate ſiſter to alleviate, or at leaſt to conceal, her grief, ſeeing it was a brother who was the cauſe of it; and to ſpend the remainder of her days in ſolitude with him; which ſhe did accordingly; whilſt he, young as he was, did ſo well conceal his reſentment, that *Ammon* had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. When the news of this villainous action came to *David*'s ears, he was exceedingly troubled at it, but that was all; *Ammon* was his eldeſt
d ſon, and he could not prevail upon himſelf to inflict any other puniſhment on him, than that of his diſpleaſure.

THIS remiſſneſs did but add fewel to *Abſalom*'s hatred, though he did not find a proper opportunity for his deſign till two years after; by which time *Ammon*'s crime might be ſuppoſed to be forgot. The better to conceal his revenge, he invited his father and all his brothers to a ſheep-ſhearing feaſt, which he was to make at *Baal-hazor*. He eaſily excuſed the king, who declined going, from a principal of oeconomy, becauſe he had only invited him out of formality, and to avoid ſuſpicion; but he inſiſted, in particular, upon his brother *Ammon*'s favouring him with his preſence with the reſt of his brethren, and eaſily obtained his conſent. When they were come to the place, he received them with an air, which ſhewed
e nothing leſs than his murdering intention; but as ſoon as he obſerved that wine had raiſed their mirth to the deſired pitch, he gave a ſignal to a number of his ſervants, whom he had appointed for the deed, and who immediately fell upon *Ammon* and ſtabbed him to death; whilſt the reſt of the king's ſons expecting, perhaps, their turns would be next, made all poſſible haſte to get to their mules, and rode away to *Jeruſalem*. But before they could reach it, word had been brought to the king, that *Abſalom* had cauſed all his brethren to be aſſaſſinated. One may eaſily imagine how he received the dreadful news; he rent his cloaths, caſt himſelf down upon the ground, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt violent expreſſions of grief. The ſervants that were about him endeavoured to bear a part in this tragick ſcene, and ſtood round him with their cloaths rent. *Jonadab*
f only, the infamous inſtrument of *Ammon*'s inceſt, did rightly gueſs, that he alone had proved the victim of *Abſalom*'s revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were ſoon after confirmed by the arrival of the reſt of the young princes, who, with tears in their eyes, told him all that had happened. It was a melancholy meeting on all hands; the king mourned for ſome time the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, whilſt his murderer, not expecting the ſame remiſſneſs from him, went and ſheltered himſelf under the protection of his grandfather, the king of *Geſhur*, where he continued three whole years [o].

Ammon *murdered by* Abſalom.

By

[o] 2 Sam. xiii. p. tot.

By that time, *Joab*, obſerving that the king expreſſed leſs grief for his dead a
ſon, than uneaſineſs for his abſent one, did reaſonably conclude, that if he could work upon him to recal him by any ſtratagem that could but ſave his honour, it would be an acceptable ſervice to them both. To compaſs this, he inſtructed a notable woman, whom he had ſent for from *Tekoah*, a place not far from *Jeruſalem*, to addreſs herſelf to the king under the perſonage of a diſtreſſed widow, juſt on the brink of being bereaved of the only ſon ſhe had left, who was in danger of being put to death for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a final end of her huſband's name and family. The ſtory bore indeed no parallel with that of *Abſalom*; perhaps the politick *Joab* had contrived it ſo, to prevent the king's ſuſpecting of it to be a deſigned thing. b
However, ſhe told it with ſuch pathetick expreſſions of grief, that *David*, moved with compaſſion, gave her his royal word, that her ſurviving ſon ſhould be ſheltered from all future proſecution. He had ſcarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her inſtructions, ſhe took the liberty, though in the humbleſt terms, to repreſent to him the wrong he did himſelf, by ſuffering his ſon to continue longer in his baniſhment, ſeeing that could by no means recal the dead, whoſe life once gone was like water ſpilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, who by this time perceived the woman's drift, failed not to conclude, that *Joab* was at the bottom of it; he taxed the woman with it, and ſhe, in the modeſteſt terms, acknowledged it, adding, that the king was as an angel c
of God, from whom it was impoſſible to conceal any thing. *Joab*, who was preſent all this while, took this opportunity of falling proſtrate before him, ſeemingly to beg pardon for his ſtratagem, but really to lay hold on his promiſe in favour of *Abſalom*; and *David*, as willing to grant as he was to aſk, did immediately order him to fetch him from his baniſhment, but with this condition, that he ſhould not approach the kings perſon, but retire to his own houſe; which was complied with accordingly, for he did not ſee the king for two whole years after his return (H). But being tired at length with living ſo long in diſgrace, and having ſent in vain for *Joab*, once and again, to come to him, he found no d
other way of bringing him, but cauſing ſome of his adjacent corn to be ſet on
Abſalom re- fire. *Joab* ſoon came to him at the news of this unexpected treatment; and,
conciled to his after ſome paſſionate expoſtulations on both ſides, it was agreed, that the king
father. ſhould be applied to in favour of his ſon, which was ſoon after ſucceſsfully done by that general [P].

THIS reconciliation could not but convince *Abſalom* of his father's weak fondneſs for him; but that ungrateful prince fought only how to make the moſt unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, horſes, and running-footmen, to attract the Eyes of the people; and, by an affected popularity, and ſeeming compaſſion for theſe who came to the king for juſtice, and the difficulty of obtaining it from him, it was not long before he e
gained alſo their hearts, and perſuaded them, that they would be much happier under

[P] Ch. xiv. p. tot.

(H) The text doth here take notice of his exceſſive and inſnaring beauty, which did ſo captivate the hearts of the people to him, that it inſpired him with the firſt ſentiments of his unnatural rebellion.

One circumſtance it mentions, relating to the yearly polling of his hair; which, taken in a literal ſenſe, will appear incredible, it being ſaid to have amounted to 200 ſhekels after the king's weight, that is, at leaſt, to three pounds two ounces; but to double that weight, according to ſome, who make the king's *ſhekel* to have been equal to that of the ſanctuary, that is to half an ounce *avoirdupois*. Such a monſtrous quantity of hair, were any head able to bear the weight of it would rather disfigure, than be an ornament to it; we think it therefore more probable, that the word עיקל *Shakal*, is here to be underſtood of the value, and not of the weight of it; that is, that is was worth 200 *ſhekels*, whether half or quarters of ounces of ſilver. Not that we will ſuppoſe that *Abſalom* ſold them, though even that is not impoſſible (35), but that, whether he gave it to his ſervants, as a perquiſite, or to ſome favourite woman, it was reckoned worth that ſum. Some *Jewiſh* doctors do tell us, that his hair being exceeding long and fair, was in great requeſt among the great women in *Jeruſalem*, to adorn their heads with (36).

There is another difficulty in this place (37), where mention is made of *Abſalom*'s three ſons, and of one daughter, named *Thamar*; whereas it is ſaid, in another place, that he reared up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, becauſe he had no male iſſue. All that can be ſuppoſed is, that they died in that ſhort interval, though no mention is made of their death.

(35) H. E. LE SCENE. *Eſſ. on a new verſ. pt.* xiv. 27. (38) *Ibid. ch.* xviii. 18.
(36) *Id. ibid.* (37) 2 Sam.

a under his government. This he continued doing ſome years (I), after which, finding himſelf ſtrong enough to break out into an open rebellion, and being perhaps afraid, leſt his artifices ſhould at length give the king ſome ſuſpicion of his perfidious deſign, he obtained leave of his too eaſy father to go and perform a pretended vow in *Hebron*, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him; whilſt others, who were diſperſed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as ſoon as they heard the ſignal given by the ſound of the trumpet. He took among others 200 men from *Jeruſalem*, who, being altogether ignorant of his deſign, ſerved only to conceal it the more. At his coming to *Hebron*, he ſent for *Ahitophel* (K) from *Giloh*, his native place; and the defection b of that great politician, who had been one of *David*'s chief counſellors, did not contribute a little to increaſe the number of conſpirators. *David* was then at *Jeruſalem*, when news were brought to him of his ſon's rebellion; and being afraid of being ſurpriſed in it, and of being the cauſe, perhaps, of its inhabitants being put to the ſword, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haſte he could out of the city. As ſoon as he came to the next convenient place, he made a halt, to take a melancholy view of the handful of men which followed him, and having obſerved the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* to be of that number, whom we before obſerved to have been ſtrangers; he addreſſed himſelf to *Ittai*, who was probably their commander, and told him, that he did not expect c that they, who were ſo lately come into his ſervice, ſhould ſhare in his adverſe fortune, and adviſed him to return home with his men, ſince it was not in his power now to reward their fidelity. But that brave officer anſwered him with an oath, that he would never forſake him, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his affairs, as long as he was able to draw a ſword in his defence. The king who could not but admire ſo faithful a zeal in a ſtranger, deſired him to paſs before him over the brook *Kedron*, whilſt the reſt of his followers, and the people that came to ſee this ſorrowful ſight, ſhed plenty of tears, to ſee the diſtreſs into which their monarch was driven by his unnatural ſon.

And rebels againſt him.

Year of the Flood, 1976. Year before CHRIST, 1023

AMONG thoſe that followed the king, were the high-prieſts, *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, d at the head of a number of *Levites* who had brought the ark of God with them. *David*, however, did not think fit that they ſhould follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark back to *Jeruſalem*, whence they might ſend him intelligence of all that paſſed there, by their two ſons *Ahimas* and *Jonathan*, and aſſiſt him with their counſel, as they were ſeers; that is, as they had the gift of prophecy; whilſt he went and concealed himſelf in ſome of the plains of the wilderneſs, reſolved to ſubmit to whatever God ſhould decree concerning him. As ſoon as the prieſts were departed, *David* received the melancholy news, that *Ahitophel* was gone over to his ſon; upon which, he prayed earneſtly to God, to confound whatever counſel that old ſtateſman ſhould give to the conſpirators; and went up e ſoon after, he and his ſmall troop, the aſcent of mount *Olivet*, accompanied by his wives and children, and ſome people that followed him from *Jeruſalem*. The march was mournful beyond expreſſion: the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare (L), whilſt his ſorrowful retinue expreſt their deep concern for him, by the livelieſt expreſſions of real grief. When they were come to the top of it, and had offered up their prayers to God, providence ſent him an old friend named *Huſhai*, who came with his cloaths rent, and aſhes upon his head, reſolved to ſhare in his misfortunes. *David* though ſatisfied of his fidelity, did not think fit, however, to take him into his retinue, but rather begged of him to join himſelf to that of his rebellious ſon, where he might do him

(I) The text ſays forty years (39), but the learned *Uſher* has ſhewed, that it can be only meant from *David*'s being firſt anointed by *Samuel*, and not from his reconciliation to *Abſalom*; for this rebellion happened about four years after it (40). That prelate obſerves, that it was before or about *Whitſuntide*, by the new fruits and parched corn, which *Barzillai* brought to *David* in his flight (41).

We may likewiſe obſerve here, that *Abſalom* is the firſt who introduced the uſe of horſes in *Iſrael*; till then the kings uſed to ride on mules, and the greateſt nobles upon aſſes, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the judges.

(K) We have taken notice, in a late note, of the ſuppoſed reaſon of his defection, namely, his near relation to *Bathſheba*, and his reſentment for the injury done to her by *David*, which ſhe did not think ſufficiently recompenſed by his marrying her (42).

(L) This we have ſhewed elſewhere was a token of the deepeſt mourning, and in this guiſe they uſed to accompany their neareſt relations to the grave (43).

(39) 2 Sam. xvi. 7. (40) *Ann. p.* 37. (41) Ch. xvii. 28. (42) *Sub. nat.* E. (43) *Vid. ſup. p.* 696. & *ſeq.*

him much greater ſervice, by thwarting the counſels of *Ahitophel*, and by informing a
him, by means of the two high-prieſts, of every thing that was reſolved among
the rebels. *Huſhai* readily accepted the office, and acquitted himſelf of it with
ſuch faithful zeal, that he proved one main inſtrument of their overthrow [q].

IN the mean time, whilſt the ſorrowful monarch was on his march, *Ziba*, the
treacherous ſervant of *Mephiboſheth*, brought him ſome neceſſary refreſhments;
and being aſked where his maſter was, told him, that he was then at *Jeruſalem*,
where he expected to be ſhortly reſtored to the throne of *Iſrael*. An accident, that
followed upon the heels of this falſe report, helped to convince *David* of *Mephibo-*
ſheth's ingratitude. He was ſcarce come as far as *Bahurim*, a village not very far
diſtant from that metropolis, when he was met by one of *Saul*'s family, named b
Shimei, who had the boldneſs to throw vollies of ſtones at him, accompanied with
the bittereſt curſes and imprecations, for being the author of *Saul*'s misfortunes,
notwithſtanding *David* was, at that time, ſurrounded by his guards and all his
friends. This unexpected indignity did ſo inrage ſome of his captains, that they
offered to go and ſmite off his head; but *David* reſtrained them, by putting them
in mind of his more unnatural ſon, who ſought a tender father's life, whilſt
this *Benjamite* expreſt no more than a natural concern for *Saul*'s houſe; adding,
that if his curſes came from God, as he knew not but they did, patience and
reſignation would more effectually avert them, than ſuch a bloody reſentment.
However, the thoughts of his having a double enemy now to ſtrive againſt, and c
that *Mephiboſheth* had cauſed a new revolt againſt him; touched him ſo to the
quick, that he gave all his lands away to his faithleſs ſervant, which was all that
the wretch ſought for by this falſe accuſation.

BY this time, *Abſalom* and *Ahitophel* were come to *Jeruſalem*, that city not daring
to make any reſiſtance to that hitherto ſucceſsful prince; and here it was, that
Huſhai came to congratulate and offer his ſervices to him. *Abſalom*, who knew him
to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expreſt ſome ſurpriſe at firſt at
this unexpected change; but was anſwered by that politic gentleman, that he
thought it high time to abandon the father's intereſt, when providence had ſo
openly declared for the ſon, who was, moreover, invited to the crown by the d
univerſal acclamations of the people; ſo that he had now no more to do but to
ſerve him with the ſame fidelity, that he had done his father. Such a ſoothing
ſpeech, could not but pleaſe the proud young prince, who admitted him into the
number of his counſellors, without the leaſt ſuſpicion; and repoſed ſuch confidence
in him, that he ſoon after preferred his advice to that of *Ahitophel*, and loſt thereby
the faireſt opportunity of ſecuring the victory and of his father's crown to himſelf.
As ſoon as they were well ſettled in the king's palace, a council was called, in
which *Ahitophel* adviſed the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the houſe,
and to go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the ſun. This, as
we obſerved before, being eſteemed the greateſt indignity that could be offered to e
a crowned head, that helliſh politician told him, was the moſt effectual means to
make his men fight deſperately for him, becauſe they would then look upon the
breach as irreconcileable. It could not be expected, that *Abſalom*, who had already
been guilty of fratricide and of rebellion againſt his own father, ſhould ſcruple to
add adultery and inceſt to his other crimes: he readily complied with the advice,
and thereby fulfilled one part of *Nathan*'s prophecy againſt his adulterous
father [r].

Ahitophel's counſel rejected.

THE next thing which *Ahitophel* adviſed the rebellious prince was, that he
might be ſent at the head of 12,000 choſen men, to fall upon *David*'s little
army, whilſt they were ſtill weary with their flight; aſſuring him, that as ſoon f
as the king was taken off, which himſelf engaged to do, all the people would
gladly come over to him as one man, and a quick end be put to the war. This
counſel was approved both by *Abſalom* and all the elders of *Iſrael*; but as it was
given in *Huſhai*'s abſence, the prince reſolved to have his advice upon it, and
Huſhai being informed of it, and wiſely foreſeeing, that, if it were followed, *David*
muſt be inevitably loſt; omitted nothing to diſſuade him from it. He told the
council, that *David* and his officers were men of too great valour and experience,
to ſuffer themſelves to be thus ſurpriſed: that for ought he knew, they had
fortified themſelves by that time in ſome caverns, or among the rocks, whence
they

[q] xv. p. tot. [r] xvi. p. tot.

a they would ſally out, like a bear bereaved of her whelps, and fall upon them with ſuch deſperate fury, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſtand the ſhock: that if they ſhould be unhappily beaten back in this firſt enterpriſe, the fame of *David*'s valour would quickly ſpread, and magnify his victory to ſuch a degree, as would inject an univerſal terror into all their army, and give the exaſperated king the faireſt opportunity of quaſhing the conſpiracy. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he thought it dangerous to undertake any thing againſt him, till *Abſalom* had wholly diſheartned his men, by calling together all *Iſrael* from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, and pouring his troops ſo thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to eſcape. Thus, added he, if they be hid among the rocks, we ſhall eaſily b hunt or ſtarve them out, and if they be retired into ſome ſtrong city, our army will be able to pull it and them with ropes into the next river, till there is neither man nor ſtone left to oppoſe us. This ſwollen and affected ſpeech could hardly have failed being ſuſpected, had not providence ſuffered both the young prince and the council to be blinded with it. *Ahitophel* was the only perſon who perceived the drift and conſequence of it; ſo that, vexed at the heart to ſee *Huſhai*'s advice preferred to his own, and that *David*, by gaining ſo much time, would, in all probability, recover his kingdom, he ordered his aſs to be ſaddled, and rode away with all ſpeed to his houſe, where, having ſettled his family affairs in the beſt manner he could, he went and hanged himſelf (M).

He goes and hangs himſelf.

c *Huſhai*, in the mean time, failed not to inform the high-prieſts with what had paſt, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not go over *Jordan* that very night. They diſpatched therefore a maid-ſervant to their ſons, *Ahimaz* and *Jonathan*, who lay concealed for that purpoſe at *En Rogel*, with orders, that they ſhould go immediately and inform *David* of it. However, the avenues of *Jeruſalem* were ſo narrowly watched, that they were diſcovered by a youth, who gave immediate notice of it to *Abſalom*. It was not long, before they were cloſely purſued, and forced to hide themſelves at *Bahurim*, where a kind woman concealed them in a well, by ſpreading a cloth over it with ſome pounded corn, as if ſhe had been drying it in the ſun. The meſſengers, having loſt ſcent d of them, returned to *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the two young prieſts haſted to *David*'s camp, where they informed him of all that had been tranſacted at *Abſalom*'s court. *David* loſt no time, but croſſed the *Jordan*, with his little army, in the dead of the night, and on the next morning, when he came to *Mahanaim*, and took a review of them, he found, that they were all ſafely got thither with him. As ſoon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, ſeveral of his friends came thither to him, with a timely ſupply of proviſion for himſelf and his men, with tents, couches, and other neceſſary utenſils. Among theſe were *Shobi*, the ſon of *Nahaſh*, an *Ammonite*; *Machir* of *Lodebar*, with whom young *Mephiboſheth* had been brought up[s]; and old *Barzillai* of *Rogelim*, a wealthy *Gileadite* (N). e On the other hand, *Abſalom*, hearing that his father was removed to this place, came againſt him with an army, under the command of *Amaſa*, and incamped in the land of *Gilead*[t].

David, having refreſhed himſelf and his troops, and ſupplied the vacancy of thoſe officers who were gone over to *Abſalom*, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of *Joab* and his two brothers, reſolving to appear in perſon againſt his rebellious ſon; but the people ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alledging, that his life was of too great a conſequence, to be hazarded at a time, when his enemy would prefer his ſingle death before the defeat of his whole army. The king acquieſced to them, and ſtayed at *Mahanaim* with a ſmall reinforcement; and whilſt

[s] See, Ch. ix. 4.

[t] xvii. p. tot.

(M) The text adds, that he was buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors; for the only difference, which the *Jews* made between thoſe that died a natural or a violent death, was, that the latter, whether they died by their own hands, or by that of juſtice, were not buried till ſome time after ſun-ſet (44).

(N) Thoſe proviſions were wheat, barley, flour, parched corn, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe, honey, butter, cheeſe, with ſome ſmall cattle. There might be alſo ſeveral other ſorts, though not mentioned in the text, ſuch as bread, wine, dried raiſons, and figs, and ſome others, which we read were brought to *David*, at other times, by *Abigail* and *Ziba* (45).

(44) *Vid.* Joseph. *de Bell. jud. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *& ſup. p.* 698. *c.*

(45) 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2. Sam. xvi. 1.

whilſt the reſt of his men marched out before him, under their reſpective officers, he failed not to give them a ſtrict charge to be very tender of *Abſalom*'s life. A fierce battle was ſoon after fought in the foreſt of *Ephraim*, wherein the rebel army was diſcomfitted with the loſs of 20,000 men, who were killed on the ſpot, beſides a great number of others, who periſhed in the wood and in their flight. *Abſalom* himſelf, mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly from a party of *David*'s men towards the wood, where the bough of a thick oak having taken hold of his buſhy hair, the mule, running with full ſpeed, left him ſuſpended between heaven and earth. *Joab*, being informed of this accident by a ſoldier, ſtayed only to reprove him for not having diſpatched him, and went himſelf to the place, and run three darts through his body; after which he cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat, to prevent a further effuſion of blood. *Abſalom*'s body was taken down, and flung into a large pit, and covered with a heap of ſtones; and the reſt of the rebels were no ſooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his home. All this while the king ſtayed at the gate of *Mahanaim*, impatient to hear the ſucceſs of the action; but in his heart more ſolicitous for the life of his unnatural ſon, than for that of his friends, or even for his own; inſomuch, that when he received the news of his death, not able to ſuppreſs his tears, he was forced to withdraw himſelf to the chamber over the gate, to hide his extream weakneſs, and give a full vent to his grief [n].

Abſalom, *hung by his hair, is killed by* Joab.

THIS untimely ſorrow of the king did ſo damp the joy of his whole army, that they retired into the city, more like cowardly runaways, than like victorious ſoldiers. *Joab* eaſily foreſaw the conſequence of it, and that it would cauſe a general defection; and, as he was naturally bold and haughty, he made no difficulty to go up, and upbraid him with his ingratitude to his faithful friends in ſuch inſolent terms, though covered with a ſhew of loyalty and concern, that the afflicted king was forced to ſuſpend, or at leaſt conceal, his grief, and ſhew himſelf to the people with a ſeeming chearful countenance. As ſoon as they heard of his appearing publickly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even thoſe who had followed *Abſalom*, came in crowds, and ſtrove who ſhould ſhew the greateſt affection to him. They remembred, that he had often delivered them from the oppreſſion of their enemies: *Abſalom* was now dead, and *David* victorious; ſo that they had nothing now to do, but to regain his favour by a timely ſubmiſſion. As ſoon, therefore, as the king perceived, that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to *Jeruſalem*, he ſent word to the two high-prieſts, to haſten the elders of *Judah* to come and accompany him back to his palace, and to promiſe to *Amaſa*, *Abſalom*'s general, that if he would come over to him, he ſhould be his chief general in the room of *Joab* (O). Among thoſe that came over *Jordan* to meet the king, *Shimei* was one of the firſt; he came at the head of a thouſand men of his own tribe, and, falling proſtrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be forgiven, in conſideration of his being foremoſt of all the tribes to congratulate him upon his late victory. *David*'s generals did indeed think it a poor recompence for his late indignity to his prince, and were urgent to have him made an example to all *Iſrael*, but the king, willing to ſignalize, as it were, his new reign by an unparallelled clemency, did not only reprove their untimely zeal, but generouſly confirmed his pardon with an oath.

David *is acknowledged by all the tribes.*

Shimei *forgiven.*

Mephiboſheth came next, to expreſs his joy at the king's return, and to juſtify himſelf from the baſe aſperſions of his treacherous ſervant. He gave him indeed ſome

[n] xviii. p. tot.

(O) It appears by this, that *David* had conceived an averſion for *Joab*; he had indeed done enough to deſerve it, by his inſupportable inſolence, by his treacherous murder of *Abner*, but more particularly for having dared to kill *Abſalom*, contrary to his expreſs orders, whom he ought to have brought alive to his father, and left it to him to have puniſhed his rebellion, as he thought fit. On the other hand, *Amaſa* was a conſiderable perſon, the ſon of *David*'s ſiſter (46), whom, either the fear of the king's reſentment, or a deſire of keeping up his poſt of general, might eaſily induce to raiſe ſome new troubles in favour of *Saul*'s houſe. Upon theſe accounts, *David* thought it worth his while to bring him over to his intereſt by a generous pardon, and by giving him the command of his army, which would, at the ſame time, effectually ſuppreſs *Joab*'s inſolence. But this laſt, who ſtuck at no baſe action to rid himſelf of a rival, did ſoon after break all the king's meaſures, by the murder of his new-made general.

(46) Conf. Ch. xvii. 25, & xix. 13.

a ſome evident proofs of his gratitude and fidelity, and of *Ziba*'s perfidy, and the king ſeemed outwardly to be ſatisfied with them; but whether he was not really ſo, or that he cared not wholly to reverſe the grant he had made to the ſervant, he ordered the lands to be divided between his maſter and him. Whilſt the king was getting ready to paſs over *Jordan*, his old friend *Barzillai* came to accompany him over that river, and to take his final leave of him. *David* would fain have perſuaded him to have gone with him to *Jeruſalem*, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding his ſervices; but the good old man excuſed himſelf from it on account of his old age, which had rendered him incapable of taſting the pleaſures of a court; deſiring him, that he would beſtow his favours on his ſon *Chimham*,
b who was ready to accompany him thither; which was readily granted.

HITHERTO there had appeared nothing but an univerſal emulation between the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by the greateſt tokens of ſubmiſſion and zeal; but the partiality which *David* ſhewed for his own tribe, in inviting it to come foremoſt to receive him, raiſed ſuch jealouſy in the other ten, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than a new revolt. The ten tribes, on the one hand, thinking themſelves injured, that that of *Judah* was preferred to them, in guarding the king homewards, complained in the bittereſt terms, that they had ſtolen him from them, with a deſign to deprive the reſt of their intereſt in him. *Judah*, on the other ſide, alledged, that their near relation to him entitled them
c to that preference; which, however, they had made no other advantage of, than that of being neareſt to his perſon, without expecting any gratuity from him. To this the others anſwered, that *David*, as a king, being equally related to them all, their ſhare in him bore a ten-fold proportion to theirs, for which reaſon they ought to have been the firſt invited, and the neareſt to him [w]. The conteſt grew ſo fierce at laſt, through the obſtinacy of the tribe of *Judah*, that *Sheba*, a factious fellow of the tribe of *Benjamin*, took that opportunity to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the malecontents to him, who immediately diſclaimed all further intereſt in *David*, and bid open defiance to thoſe that adhered to him; upon which, he ſaw himſelf at the head of all the ten tribes, that only of *Judah*, which had occaſioned
d this defection, following their king from *Jordan* to *Jeruſalem*.

A new revolt againſt David.

As ſoon as *David* was come to his metropolis, he ordered his new general to ſet out, and gather what forces he could out of *Judah*, and to come to him within three days, whilſt himſelf took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and aſſigned them a ſuitable maintenance and another houſe, where they might ſpend their days in a kind of widowhood. But *Amaſa*, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outſtayed his time, the king gave the command of his guards and of thoſe few troops he had about him, to *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his army againſt *Abſalom*, and ordered him to purſue *Sheba* before he could get
e into ſome fenced city. It is plain by this, that *Joab* was then in high diſgrace; however, he went along with *Abiſhai*, though not as a commander, and by that time they were come to the great ſtone of *Gibeon*, *Amaſa* joined them with his troops. Here the treacherous *Joab* came forth, ſeemingly to welcome him, and, taking hold of his chin with one hand, as if he had intended to kiſs him, ran his ſword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As ſoon as he had removed his body out of ſight, which he found did cauſe a general ſtop of his army; he marched with them directly to *Abel-Beth-Maachah*, into which he heard the rebel had retired with ſome troops. He had ſcarce began to beſiege that place in form, when a prudent woman ſpake to him from the top of the wall,
f and deſired him to liſten to the advice of an inhabitreſs of a place, which he knew had been always famed for council and wiſdom [x], and to forbear his hoſtilities againſt a mother city of *Iſrael*; promiſing him, upon that condition, that the head of *Sheba* ſhould be flung to him over the wall. *Joab* conſented to the propoſal, and as ſoon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, he raiſed the ſiege and returned to *Jeruſalem*. This ſucceſsful action, which quaſhed, as it were, a dangerous revolt in the birth, and reſtored an univerſal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raiſe the credit of the diſgraced general among all the tribes, inſomuch, that though he had undertook it without order, yet the king ſaw himſelf forced

Quelled by Joab.

to

[w] Ch. xix. p. tot. [x] xx. ver. 18, 19.

to expreſs his approbation of it, by reſtoring him to his former poſt, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death [y].

A famine in the land.

Year of the Flood, 1978. Year before CHRIST, 1021.

Two years after this [z], began a famine in the land, which laſted three years; at the end of which, *David* conſulted the Lord concerning the cauſe of this heavy judgment, and the means of averting it. He was anſwered, that it was for the murder of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* and his bloody houſe had unjuſtly cauſed to be ſlain (P); upon which he ſent to know what ſatisfaction they required for the wrong, that they might afterward intercede for *Iſrael*, and remove that judgment from it. The *Gibeonites* ſent him word, that they deſired neither gold, ſilver, nor any valuable conſideration, but only, that ſeven males of *Saul*'s family might be ſent to be put to death by them, as a retaliation for *Saul*'s cruelty. The king loſt no time, but cauſed them to be ſought out of that unfortunate houſe; but gave expreſs orders, that *Mephiboſheth* ſhould be ſpared, out of friendſhip to his father. The unhappy victims of the *Gibeonites* reſentment were two ſons of one of *Saul*'s concubines named *Rizpah*, who had been formerly debauched by *Abner* [a], and five ſons of *Michal Saul*'s daughter (Q); and as ſoon as they were put to death, the famine was ſtayed. Whilſt their carcaſſes were ſuffered to hang in the open air, which was almoſt a whole ſummer, *Rizpah* ſhewed ſo much concern for them, that ſhe kept them night and day from being devoured by either fowls or wild beaſts; which pious deed ſtruck *David* with ſuch remorſe, that he cauſed them to be taken down, and buried with thoſe of *Saul* and *Jonathan* in *Zelah*, the burying-place of the houſe of *Kiſh*. After this, *David* had four ſucceſſive battles with the *Philiſtines*, which the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of that nation †; in the firſt of theſe he hazarded himſelf ſo far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantick champions, but was timely ſuccoured by one of his worthies; for which reaſon his officers ſwore, that he ſhould never more expoſe his perſon to ſuch dangers [b]. Theſe victories gave birth to a moſt excellent euchariſtical poem, which that monarch compoſed in memory of his late deliverance, and is now the 18th pſalm [c].

David *numbers the people.*

David had not long enjoyed the fruit of his victories, before he brought a heavier puniſhment upon his kingdom, by taking it into his head to have the people numbered. *Joab* indeed, wicked as he was, did in vain repreſent to him the danger of his diſpleaſing God by it (R); the king would be obeyed; and he, with the reſt of the commiſſioners, were forced to ſet about it. Theſe travelled through the land on either ſide of *Jordan*, and, at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the ſum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom; namely,

[y] Ch. xxi. p. tot. before, p. 357. b. [z] USSER. Ann. ſub ann. mund. 2983, & 2986. [a] 2 Sam. iii. 7. † See

(P) It is not eaſy to ſay when this ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites* was committed; they *Jews* do indeed pretend, that *Saul* had took into his head, in one of his phrenetick fits of zeal, to cut them all off (47), but they give us no authority for it; ſo that the moſt received opinion is, that it happened when he ſlew all the prieſts and inhabitants of *Nob*; for the *Gibeonites*, as we have ſeen elſewhere †, were a kind of ſervants to them, employed in ſome of the loweſt and moſt laborious offices.

(Q) Not that which had been given from *David* to *Phaltiel*, and was ſent to him again by *Iſhboſheth*; for it is obſerved, that ſhe was barren (49), but another of the ſame name, married to one *Adriel* of *Meholah*; or rather, as the *Jews* affirm, and with greater probability, *Merab Saul*'s eldeſt daughter (50), who had indeed been given to that very *Adriel* (51); ſo that it is ſuppoſed, that *Michal* is accidentally crept into the text, inſtead of *Merab*; though the *Jews*, unwilling to admit that, will have it, that *Merab* was their real mother, and *Michal* only by adoption (52).

(R) The text ſays, that the *Iſraelites* had provoked God's anger againſt them (which is no great wonder, that being generally the returns they made to him, whenever they were bleſſed with any interval of peace and proſperity); and that he ſuffered *David* to be tempted to this deed; or, as the author of the *Chronicles* (53) words it, ſuffered *Satan* to tempt him to it. Not that the thing itſelf was forbidden, on the contrary, they had an expreſs permiſſion from *Moſes* for it, provided they paid half a ſhekel for every perſon ſo numbered (54). The reaſon, therefore, of God's being provoked with it was, in all probability, becauſe *David* did it from wrong motives, without any neceſſity, in time of profound peace, after ſo many miraculous deliverances, with a ſeeming confidence in his own ſtrength, and contrary to his continual profeſſions of truſting in God alone. As for that part of the puniſhment which fell ſo heavy upon ſo many thouſands of the people, it is ſuppoſed to have been owing to their neglect of paying the ranſom appointed by the *Moſaick* law (55).

(47) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc. ſub not.* a *ſup. p.* 331. e. (49) 2 Sam. vi. *ver. ult.* MUNST. *ub. ſup.* (51) 1 Sam. xviii, 17, 19. (52) *Chald. paraph. Rabbin mult. & al.* † *Vid.* (53) 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (54) *Vid.* Exod. xxx. 12, 13. (55) *Ita. Rabbin. vid.* MUNST. NICHOL. *& al. in loc. & in* Exod. xxx.

namely, of *Iſrael* 800,000, and of *Judah* 500,000 (S). But before this time, *David*, having ſome evident tokens of the divine diſpleaſure [d], was ſo far from receiving any ſatisfaction at the vaſt number of his ſubjects, that he was ſtruck with a lively ſenſe of his folly, which broke out in expreſſions of the deepeſt remorſe. On the next morning, the prophet *Gad* was ſent to him, to chuſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin, either a ſeven years famine (T), or to be three months purſued by his enemies, or a three days peſtilence. The humble monarch owned it to be a hard choice; but, conſidering that war and famine ſeldom fall ſo heavy on the great, as on thoſe of the lower rank, choſe the three days peſtilence, as the more equal puniſhment, and more immediately under the divine direction. No ſooner had *David* pronounced his choice, than that dreadful diſtemper received the divine commiſſion, and executed it with ſuch amazing ſwiftneſs, that it had deſtroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. It had then began to fall upon the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, when God was pleaſed to put a ſtop to it at *David*'s prayer; who, beholding the miniſter of divine vengeance (V) ſtanding by the threſhing-floor of *Araunah*, a prince of the *Jebuſites* (W), humbly entreated the Lord, that he would ſpare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himſelf and thoſe of his court, who bore a ſhare in his guilt. Whilſt he was offering up this mournful ſupplication, the prophet came to him, and commanded him to erect an altar on that ſpot of ground, where he had ſeen the deſtroying angel ſtand; and as *David* haſted towards the threſhing-floor, *Araunah* came forward to give him a reſpectful meeting; and as ſoon as he underſtood *David*'s purpoſe of buying it of him, he made him a generous offer both of the floor, the threſhing-oxen, carts, and all the wooden inſtruments that were upon it. *David* thanked him for his offer, but told him, that it was not fit for the king of *Iſrael* to offer ſacrifices to God at other peoples coſt; and deſired him to ſet a price upon it. So *Araunah* ſold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty ſhekels of ſilver (X). *David* haſted

which brings a peſtilence upon the land.

[d] See 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

(S) It appears by the book of *Chronicles* (56), that *Joab*, though in no other caſe ſcrupulous, went about this work with ſuch an unwilling mind, that he prolonged it as much as he could, in hopes the king would ſee his error, and put an end to it; which it ſeems he did; for *Joab* came back before he had numbered the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Levi*. The account which that general gave here doth likewiſe differ, in ſome particulars, from that of the *Chronicles*; from which we may probably gather, that *Joab* was not over exact in his, and that it was afterwards rectified under the reign of *Jotham* (57). Others think the latter to be the leſs authentick of the two, and to have been corrupted rather than rectified; but it is better to ſay, that *Joab*, not having finiſhed ſome of the tribes, becauſe he found that God was diſpleaſed at it (58), the reſt were afterwards added to it; which is the reaſon, that the number of *Iſrael* in the *Chronicles* doth ſo far exceed that in the book of *Samuel*; as for the difference in that of the tribe of *Judah*, the former may alſo be the moſt exact, and the latter only a round number.

(T) The book of *Chronicles* ſays three years famine (59), ſo that it is likely, the prophet means here ſeven years, including the three years which were ſent upon the account of the *Gibeonites*; and the next year, which could not be very fruitful through ſcarceneſs of ſeed, the *Philiſtine* war, and, as *Uſſher* conjectures (60), becauſe the fourth year being a jubilee, there was to be neither ſowing, nor reaping, but for the poor.

(V) The text ſays expreſly, that *David* ſaw the angel of the Lord that ſmote the people (61), and the book of *Chronicles* adds (62), that he ſaw him ſtanding between heaven and earth, with his ſword drawn, and that both he and the elders of *Iſrael*, who were with him, fell on their faces; and that *Araunah* and his ſons, who were threſhing there, did likewiſe ſee him, and went and hid themſelves (63); ſo that theſe two places compared together will by no means admit of an allegorical ſenſe.

(W) At leaſt he is generally believed to have been ſuch by *Jews* and Chriſtians, from the words (64), *all theſe did* Araunah *the king give unto the king*; for that is the true ſenſe of the original.

(X) The book of *Chronicles* ſeems again to claſh ſtrangely here with that of *Samuel*, in making the ſum, which *David* paid to the *Jebuſitiſh* prince, amount to 600 *ſhekels* of gold. Some rabbies have fancied, that every tribe paid fifty *ſhekels*, which made it amount to 600. But were that true, as it is not, becauſe *David* reſolved to be at all the charge himſelf, 600 *ſhekels* of ſilver would make but the 12th part of 600 *ſhekels* of gold, for that is the proportion theſe metals did bear to one another. Some learned men (65), obſerving that the words *keſſeph* and *ſhekel*, did often ſignify money and value in general, think, that the firſt ſum was 60 *ſhekels* of gold, and the ſecond 600 *ſhekels* of ſilver, amounting in value to 60 *ſhekels* of gold; ſo that either ſum anſwers to 547 pounds *Sterling* (66). But we think, that they remove the difficulty beſt, who ſuppoſe, that the 60 *ſhekels* of ſilver were paid only for the floor, oxen, and wooden inſtruments; and the 600 *ſhekels* of gold, for all the adjacent grounds, which were the place which *David* had choſen to build the temple upon (67).

(56) 1 Chron. xxi. 6. (57) Conf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. v. 17. xxi. 5, 6. & xxvii. 24. (58) *Ibid.* (59) *Ibid. ver.* 12. *Vid.* Munst. Jun. & *al. in loc.* (60) *Ann. ſub A. M.* 2987. (61) 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. (62) 1 Chron. xxi. 16. (63) *Ibid. ver.* 20. (64) 2 Sam. xxiv. 23. (65) Villalpand. in Ezek. Bochart. Hieroz. *tom. i. lib.* 1. *c.* 38. & *al.* (66) *Vid.* Le Scene. & *Eſſay on a new verſ. pt.* ii. *c.* 2. (67) Munst. Jun. Calm. & *al. in loc.*

haſted to rear an altar there upon the ſpot, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon it; and a miraculous fire, which deſcended from heaven, and conſumed the victims, ſoon gave them a manifeſt proof, that God was again reconciled to the land [e].

By this time *David*, who was about ſeventy years of age, had ſo exhauſted his ſtrength and natural heat, by a continual ſeries of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm; ſo that his ſervants were forced to ſeek him a young beautiful virgin to wait upon, and cheriſh him, and lie in his boſom. His declining ſtate made *Adonijah*, who was now his eldeſt ſon, being next in birth to *Abſalom*, begin to look upon himſelf as already inveſted with the regal dignity. He got a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen, whilſt by *David*, out of a natural fondneſs for his children, beheld it without ſhewing any diſlike. It plainly appears, that young prince knew already, that his father deſigned *Solomon* to be his ſucceſſor; and it was to prevent it, that he made what haſte he could to get himſelf proclaimed. To this end, he leagued himſelf with *Joab* and *Abiathar*, and with them invited all his brothers, *Solomon* excepted, with a conſiderable number of his father's officers, and of the elders of *Judah*, to a ſumptuous feaſt, which he had prepared at *Zoheleth*, in order to be proclaimed king of *Iſrael* there.

Adonijah's conſpiracy.

HIS deſign, however, was ſuſpected by *Nathan*, *Zadok*, and ſome of *David's* worthies, who were in young *Solomon's* intereſt; the prophet, therefore, went and adviſed *Bathſheba* to go and inform the king of it, and to put him in mind of his promiſe in favour of her ſon. Whilſt he was ſtill ſpeaking, *Nathan* came, as it had been preagreed, and gave the king an account of *Adonijah's* feaſt, company, and of the deſign of it: deſiring to know, whether it was done with his conſent. The king, ſurpriſed with this report, ordered immediately *Solomon* to be ſet on his mule, and to be carried to *Gihon*, accompanied with his guards, with *Zadok*, *Benajah*, and ſome others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king; and then to be brought back, and ſeated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his ſucceſſor by the ſound of the trumpet.

Solomon proclaimed.

THE king's commands were executed with ſuch ſpeed, that *Adonijah* and his company had not the leaſt knowledge of it, till they were alarmed with the univerſal ſhouts of the people, who cried, *Long live king* Solomon. *Jonathan*, the ſon of *Abiathar*, came ſoon after to them, and gave them an account of the whole ceremony, aſſuring them, that it was all performed by the king's expreſs order, who had teſtified an uncommon joy, at ſeeing his favourite ſon ſeated upon his throne before he left the world, whilſt the air was filled with the acclamations of all the people. This unexpected news ſtruck them with ſuch amazement, that they all fled with the utmoſt ſpeed; and *Adonijah*, ſeeing himſelf forſaken, and expoſed to the reſentments of *David* and *Solomon*, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar. *Solomon*, being informed of it, ſent him word, that if he behaved himſelf for the future like an honeſt man, he would not hurt a hair of his head; but aſſured him, that his next diſloyal attempt would certainly be puniſhed with death. This meſſage brought *Adonijah* upon his knees to the new king; after which, he was ordered to retire to his own houſe [f].

David, now finding himſelf near his end, aſſembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the prieſts and *Levites*, and acquainted them with his old deſign to have built a magnificent repoſitory for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that that work was reſerved for *Solomon's* peaceable reign. Notwithſtanding which, he told them, he had made great preparations for it, and laid up immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, and other materials (Y); all which, together with the plans and models of that edifice, the order and

David's ſpeech to his officers.

[e] 2 Sam. xxiv. p. tot. [f] 1 King. i. paſſ.

(Y) The book of *Chronicles* ſays, that the gold, which was that of *Ophir*, amounted to 3000 talents; and the ſilver, which was of the pureſt ſort, to 7000 talents; as to the baſer metals, they are ſaid to have been without number (68).

Prideaux obſerves * two things concerning the immenſe quantity of gold, which *David* dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; the firſt is, that it was that of *Ophir*; from which he concludes, that he muſt have eſtabliſhed a navigation in his time, without which it cannot be conceived, how he could have heaped it up to that degree; for as for that which he

(68) 1 Chron. *ult. ver.* 4.

* Connect. *book* 1.

a and diſpoſition of the ſeveral branches of the divine ſervice, the courſes of the prieſts and *Levites*, of the muſicians, ſingers, and Porters, the deſign for eſtabliſhing judges and courts of juſtice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations [g], he now reſigned up to him, to be perfected and improved as his wiſdom ſhould direct him. He deſired them to aſſiſt him in ſo deſirable a work, and that thoſe, who were deſirous to contribute towards that building, ſhould bring their free-will offerings into the treaſury. He concluded with exhorting both his ſon and the reſt of the aſſembly, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſervice of God, ſeeing that was the only condition upon which they muſt hope for happineſs. This ſpeech ſtirred up ſuch a ſpirit of magnificence in the rich
b men of *Iſrael*, that they outvied one another in the richneſs of their preſents towards the building of the temple; ſo that *David* had the pleaſure to ſee an incredible quantity of gold, ſilver, copper, and other metals (Z), beſides precious ſtones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought from all parts of the kingdom. The ſight of ſo much wealth, brought in with ſuch readineſs and alacrity, did as it were revive the monarch's poetick muſe, and made him break out into an euchariſtical rapture, full of the deepeſt Gratitude to God, and good wiſhes for the proſperity both of his ſon and of his kingdom, which were ſeconded with a hearty and univerſal Amen, and accompanied with ſolemn ſacrifices and other tokens of joy. On the next day, the king ordered 1000 oxen, 1000 rams,
c and the ſame number of lambs, to be offered up, beſides the daily ſacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink-offerings, with which the aſſembly was feaſted all that day, with a magnificence worthy ſo great and good a monarch [h]. In this aſſembly *Solomon* was anointed a ſecond time by *Zadok*, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes; *Zadok* was at the ſame time declared ſole high-prieſt, for his ſtrict adherence to *Solomon* [i], and *Abiathar* reduced to the ſecond rank, for his defection to *Adonijah*.

AFTER this, the king ſent for his ſon to give his laſt inſtructions; and firſt of all he put him in mind, that all the gracious promiſes, which God had made to
d him and his poſterity, were only conditional, and depended wholly upon their obedience to his laws, ſo that they muſt expect their proſperity to riſe and fall in proportion to their obedience. He then proceeded to recommend to him the family of the good old *Barzillai*, and thoſe other friends, who had ſtuck to him in his adverſe fortune, and charged him to expreſs a grateful ſenſe of their friendſhip; as for *Joab*, added he, thou knoweſt how many vile actions he has been guilty of towards me, and how treacherouſly he has imbrued his hands in the blood of two brave generals, *Abner* and *Amaſa*, after I had taken them into my ſervice and friendſhip. I was not then in a condition to puniſh him for it; but I need not tell

David's *laſt inſtructions to* Solomon.

[g] 1 Chron. from Ch. xxiii. to xxix. paſſ.

[h] Ch. xxix. paſſ. 1 King. ii. 1, & ſeq.

[i] 1 Chron. xxix. p. tot.

he got out of the ſpoils of war, and his publick revenue, it makes an article by itſelf, excluſive of theſe 3000 talents.

His next obſervation we ſhall give in his own words, as they ſtand in the note under the former. "This ſum, ſays he, is ſo prodigious, as gives "reaſon to think, that the talents, whereby this "ſum is reckoned, were another ſort of talents, of "a far leſs value than the *Moſaic* talents, of which "an account is given in the preface. For what is "ſaid to be given by *David* [1 Chron. xxii. 14, "15, 16. & xxix. 3, 4, 5.], and contributed by "his princes [xxix. 6, 7, 8.], toward the building "of the temple at *Jeruſalem*, if valued by theſe "talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred "millions of our money, which was enough "wherewith to have built all that temple of ſolid "ſilver."

What ſeems to prove our author's laſt remarks is, that thoſe talents are only mentioned in the *Chronicles*, which were undoubtedly written after the return from the captivity. This appears, 1. From its mentioning of *Cyrus*'s decree for rebuilding the temple, and, 2. From its carrying the genealogy beyond *Zorobabel*, who was one of the chiefs that returned from *Babylon*; ſo that they might, by that time, be uſed to compute, either by *Babyloniſh* talents, which were ſomewhat above half the value of the *Moſaic* one, or perhaps by the *Syrian*, which is but a fifth of this. We need not to add, that the difficulty ſeems as great, with reſpect to the prodigious quantities of ſilver, braſs, and iron, which, if computed by the large talent, amount to ſuch an incredible ſum, that one will be at a loſs to gueſs how it could be diſpoſed of in that building, and yet leave room enough for ſo much timber and ſtone.

(Z) Theſe offerings are ſaid to have amounted to 5000 talents, and upwards, of gold, 10,000 talents of ſilver, of braſs 18,000 talents, and 100,000 talents of iron, beſides precious ſtones, marble, wood, and other coſtly materials (69).

(69) 1 Chron. *alt. ver.* 7.

tell thee what to do, thou knoweſt but too well, that he has forfeited his life, and on how many accounts he is unworthy of it. *Shimei* doth not leſs deſerve a violent death, for his horrid curſes and indignity to me, when I laboured under the deepeſt affliction; but as he took an opportunity to acknowledge his crime, at a time, when I thought it more proper to forgive than to puniſh it, I ſealed then his pardon with an oath; but thou, who art not under the ſame obligation, mayeſt, if thou thinkeſt fit, inflict ſuch a puniſhment as his crime deſerves. The king died ſoon after, in the 70th year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Judah*, and thirty three over all the twelve tribes. He left an immenſe treaſure behind him, beſides that which he had dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; and was buried in a ſtately tomb (A), in that part of the city, which he had cauſed to be built, adjoining to the old *Jebus*, or *Jeruſalem* [k]. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that his hiſtory was penned by three cotemporary prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad* [l]. His zeal, piety, and repentance are likewiſe celebrated in ſeveral places of the Old and New Teſtament; but that which raiſes his character above all the reſt is, that the promiſe of the Meſſiah, which had been made to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Judah*, was fixed to that monarch's poſterity. Accordingly, the ſacred genealogiſts have given us the two lines of it, in which his birth was joined, namely that of *Nathan*, from whom his virgin mother was deſcended, and that of *Solomon*, from which was ſprung *Joſeph* his reputed father [m].

His vaſt riches and burial.

Year of the Flood, 1984. Before CHRIST 1015.

Solomon, being ſeated on the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's laſt injunctions. *Adonijah* obliged him to go the ſooner about it by an action, which, though owing perhaps to a youthful indiſcretion, could not but render him ſuſpected of ſome further deſign, in concert with the turbulent *Joab*. We have lately obſerved, that it was looked upon as a treaſonable deſign againſt the regal dignity to marry, court, or to debauch any of the king's concubines; notwithſtanding which, *Adonijah*, obnoxious and diſgraced as he was for his late attempt upon the crown, was raſh enough to make uſe of *Bathſheba*'s interceſſion, to obtain the king's leave to marry *Abiſhag*, the young *Shunamitiſh* virgin, who had been the cheriſher of *David*'s old age; aſſuring her, that he deſired no other recompenſe for the loſs of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. *Bathſheba*, glad perhaps to find, that her ſon's rival would be ſatisfied at ſo eaſy a rate, made no difficulty to promiſe him her intereſt, not doubting of ſucceſs. *Solomon*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a requeſt from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen and a mother, and had already promiſed to grant her ſuit; but when he heard the purport of it, he was ſo inraged at his ambitious brother, that he ordered him to be put to immediate death. *Joab* alarmed at the news, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar, and there met with the puniſhment of his crimes, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of general by *Benajah*, who had been before appointed his and *Adonijah*'s executioner. The next in guilt was *Abiathar*, who had been one of the chiefs of *Adonijah*'s conſpiracy; but the king contented himſelf with diveſting him of his ſhare

Adonijah and Joab put to death.

[k] 1 King. ii. 1. & ſeq. [l] Ub. ſup. ver. 29. [m] Compare Math. i. 1, & ſeq. & Luk. iii. 23, to 31

(A) We have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore of this ſtately tomb, and of the immenſe treaſure that had been laid up in it, by him and his ſucceſſor, according to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian †. The *Jews* have added many fables concerning that monarch, too extravagant to be inſerted; the reader may gueſs at the reſt, by that which follows. They tell us, that *David*, foreſeeing that he ſhould die on the Sabbath, begged of God, that he might die on any other day, becauſe on that, he could neither weep for his ſins, nor order any thing concerning his burial. All he could obtain was, that he ſhould die towards the cloſe of the Sabbath; whereupon, the devil, who owed him a ſpight, and had tried part of that day, in vain, to divert him from reading the law, that he might take that time to diſpatch him, bethought himſelf, at length, to go and ſhake ſome of his apple-trees, which made the king haſten down a wooden ladder to go and catch the thief; but, in the mean time, Satan pulling it from under him, broke his neck with the fall. The conſequence was, that his corps was to remain there till the Sabbath was over, in danger of being devoured by his own dogs. They conſulted their *Sanhedrim* what muſt be done in that caſe, and were anſwered, that they ſhould ſtrew a good quantity of bread round his body, which pleaſing the dogs better than his fleſh, they left it untouched till ſun-ſet, when it was lawful to remove it to a fitter place (70). The *Mohammedans* have not been behind-hand with the *Rabbies*, in ſtuffing his hiſtory with monſtrous extravagancies; the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee them in the author quoted in the margin (71).

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 589. b. 698. e. (70) *Vid.* BARTOLIC. *Bibliot. Rabbin.* BASNAG. *Hiſt. Jud. & al.*

(71) D'HERBELOT. *Bibliot. Orient. ſub. voc.* David.

a ſhare of the high-prieſthood, and confining him to his own territories at *Anathoth*, in conſideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a ſharer in his afflictions. The king then ſent for *Shimei*, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet, out of regard to his father's promiſe, he would put it in his power to ſave his life, by confining himſelf within the walls of *Jeruſalem*; but he aſſured him, at the ſame time, that if ever he ſtirred out of it, without his leave, his diſobedience ſhould coſt him his head. The old man, glad to come off ſo well, thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing ſome years after to tranſgreſs his orders, and to ride out after two run-away ſervants, he was put to death for it at his return [n].

b *Solomon* did not think it enough, that he had rid himſelf of two ſuch powerful enemies as *Adonijah* and *Joab*; he ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more by marrying the daughter of the king of *Egypt* (B), who was then one of the moſt powerful princes about him, and *Pharaoh* gave her for dowry the city of *Gezer*, which he had taken from the *Canaanites* and burnt down to the ground; but which being rebuilt by *Solomon* became a very conſiderable place [o].

HITHERTO the people uſed to reſort to ſeveral high places, to offer up their devotions and ſacrifices; but the moſt conſiderable was *Gibeon*, becauſe the tabernacle, altar, and all the other ſacred utenſils, except the ark, were there. Whilſt therefore the temple was building, *Solomon* uſed likewiſe to repair thither upon all
c ſolemn occaſions, with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity. Here, having at one time offered a thouſand ſacrifices, the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. The young monarch, conſcious of the weight of his kingdom and the ſtubbornneſs of his ſubjects, begged only for ſuch a degree of wiſdom, as might enable him to govern with that prudence and ſagacity, as became a king of *Iſrael*: which modeſt requeſt was ſo pleaſing to God, that he not only gave him ſuch a ſhare of wiſdom and knowledge, as had never been poſſeſſed by any mortal, but ſuperadded to it a promiſe of ſuch other earthly bleſſings, as he had ſo judiciouſly overlooked. It was not long, before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wiſdom and diſcernment, in the method he
d took, to paſs a right judgment between two women, both contending for a living child, and diſclaiming the dead one with ſuch equal ardour, that it was thought impoſſible to adjudge the infants to their right mothers. But he ſoon found out an expedient to make nature itſelf unravel what reaſon could not, by ordering the living child to be divided by a ſword between them, which ſo alarmed the real mother, that ſhe choſe rather to reſign him up whole to the pretended one, than to have him butchered before her eyes [p]. After this, the aſſembly could not be at a loſs where to aſſign the living child, nor what judgment to make concerning their young monarch's wiſdom, which was ſo much the more ſurpriſing and extraordinary, as he was then, at moſt, but twenty years of age, according to the chronology of
e our bibles and the learned archbiſhop *Uſher* †.

Solomon's choice of wiſdom.

A pregnant proof of it.

IT became no leſs conſpicuous in the choice he made of his officers, and in the order and magnificence of his court, the proviſions for his houſe (C), the number and

His magnificence.

[n] 1 King. ii. paſſ. [o] Ibid. Ch. ix. 16. [p] Ibid. Ch. iii. p. tot. † Sub. Ann. M. 2971. & 2991.

(B) Theſe kind of alliances were indeed forbidden by the *Moſaic* law (72); but it is ſuppoſed, that *Solomon* cauſed that princeſs to be inſtructed in, and to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion before he married her; becauſe we do not find, that God did reprove him for it in that intercourſe, which he had ſoon after with him, but, on the contrary, ſeemed well pleaſed with what he had hitherto done. It is true, that he is ſaid afterwards to have been inticed to idolatry by his ſtrange wives (73); but they were thoſe whom he married towards the latter end of his reign, after he had, as it were, forſaken God. But *Pharaoh*'s daughter ſeems to be excepted out of the caſe, unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that ſhe relapſed to her former idolatry, when ſhe ſaw him immerſed in it.

However that were, he is generally believed to have compoſed the 45th *Pſalm*, and the book of *Canticles*, as an epithalamium upon his marriage with that princeſs. As for her dowry, the city of *Gezer*, it had formerly belonged to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and had been given by them to the *Levites* (74); but had been retaken by the *Canaanites*, and now, by her means, returned and continued in *Iſrael*.

(C) Theſe proviſions are ſaid to have amounted every day to thirty meaſures [each meaſure containing about eight buſhels and a half] of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted, and twenty paſture oxen, and an hundred ſheep; beſides veniſon, poultry, wild-fowl, fiſh, pulſe, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were ſent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his reſpective month, and out of his reſpective canton (75).

(72) Deut. vii. 3. (73) 1 King. xi. 1, & *ſeq.* (74) *Vid.* Joſh. xxi. 21. (75) 1 King. iv. 7, & *ſeq.*

and richneſs of his tables, chariots, horſes, ſtalls (D), and equipage; in the ſettling of his cuſtoms and finances (E), and the regulating of his guards and his army (F); which, added to the vaſt number and valour of his ſubjects, and his immenſe riches, gave him ſuch a powerful ſway, that he lived in the profoundeſt peace, plenty, and grandeur of any prince of his time; beloved by his friends and allies, who were conſtantly pouring the richeſt preſents upon him; feared by his enemies, receiving large tributes from ſeveral crowned heads (G), and reſorted unto, from all parts of the world, for his excellent wiſdom and magnificence, which brought in a continual concourſe of ſtrangers to his metropolis, and enriched it to ſuch a degree, that gold and ſilver ſeemed to have loſt their intrinſic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very revenue which his navy brought him in, excluſive of his cuſtoms, amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold. All this while his *Iraelitiſh* ſubjects, not only enjoyed the ſweets of peace and plenty, but alſo of an univerſal freedom. There were no other ſlaves, during his reign, except the poor *Canaanites*, and ſome captives of other nations [q].

Hiram's *embaſſy and treaty with* Solomon.

OF all the princes that ſought his friendſhip, *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, *David*'s old friend and ally, was the firſt, who ſent embaſſadors to congratulate his acceſſion to the crown, and to offer his ſervice to him, as he had formerly done to his father. *Solomon* returned the embaſſy, and acquainted him with the deſign of his building the temple, deſiring him to ſend a ſufficient number of workmen, to join with his artificers, for the work; particularly, ſome that were well ſkilled in working in gold, ſilver, and other baſer metals, precious ſtones, ſcarlet, crimſon, and other fine dyes, all which was readily granted by the *Tyrian* king; in conſideration of which, *Solomon* agreed to furniſh him yearly with 20,000 meaſures of wheat, and 20,000 barrels of fine oyl for his houſhold, beſides the ſame quantities of barley, wheat, wine, and oyl, which he engaged to give to his ſervants that did the work. On the other ſide, *Hiram* was to ſend the cedars, fir, and other woods upon floats to *Joppa*, there to be delivered to *Solomon*'s ſervants, and thence brought to *Jeruſalem*. He ſent him alſo a man of his own name, a *Tyrian* by birth, who was a ſecond *Bezaleel*, and was ſuch an excellent workman in all kinds of metals, ſtones, carving, engraving, embroidery, tapeſtry, and in making all ſorts of fine cloaths, that *Hiram* honoured him with the title of father. Him *Solomon* made overſeer of all the artiſts, whom *David* had formerly procured out of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Theſe two princes made likewiſe an alliance together, which only ended with their lives (H) [r].

To

[q] 1 King. iv. 20, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ix. paſſ. [r] Ibid.

(D) There is a conſiderable difference in the number of his ſtalls, between the book of *Kings* and that of the *Chronicles*; the former reckons them forty thouſand, and the latter but four thouſand (76), which laſt is preferred to the former, as the moſt reaſonable, becauſe *Solomon* is ſaid to have had but 1400 chariots (77); for if we allow four horſes to a chariot, which is double the number that chariots of war uſed to have, it will make in all but 5600, at which rate, there muſt have been more than ſix ſtalls to one horſe, contrary to common cuſtom, which allows ſeveral horſes to one ſtall (78). Some other authors take another way of reconciling the difference, which we cannot dwell upon (79). Theſe horſes, whatever their number was, were to be furniſhed with barley, ſtraw, and other provender, by the ſame twelve commiſſioners, we mentioned in the laſt note (80).

(E) *Solomon* was the firſt that brought chariots and horſes into uſe in *Iſrael*, at leaſt to any quantity: theſe he ſent for out of *Egypt*; not only for his own uſe, but for ſeveral neighbouring kings, who were obliged to pay him ſix hundred ſhekels for every chariot and four horſes, and a hundred and fifty for every ſingle horſe. He had likewiſe abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities out of *Egypt*, which he ſold to his ſubjects and merchants at a certain price (81); all which brought him a vaſt revenue, beſides his navy, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon.

(F) What ſtanding army he kept, the ſcripture doth not tell us, and as he was in peace with all the world, and was either loved or feared by his neighbours, he doth not ſeem to have needed a great one. But beſides the number of his chariots and horſes, mentioned in a former note, the text ſays, that he had 12,000 horſemen (82), which ſome take to have been rather ſaddle-horſes, and others his life-guard. However, it is certain, that this multiplying of chariots and horſes was expreſly forbidden by the *Moſaic* law (83), whatever ſalvo he might find out to evade it, in a time of the profoundeſt peace. Theſe he did not keep all at *Jeruſalem*, but diſpoſed of them in ſeveral of his ſtrong cities, reſerving only a convenient number about his perſon, either for guards or grandeur (84).

(G) The text ſays, that his dominion reached from the river *Euphrates*, or even beyond it, to the *Nile*, or borders of *Egypt*, and that all the kings of thoſe countries were tributary to him (85).

(H) *Joſephus* aſſures us, that the letters which paſſed between them were ſtill preſerved in the archives

(76) *Conf.* King. iv. 26. & 2 Chron. ix. 25. (77) *Ibid.* i. 14. 1 King. x. 26. (78) *Vid.* LUD. CAPEL. BOCHART. POOL. *Synops.* LE SCEN: *Eſſay on a new verſ. p. 2. ch. 7.* (79) *Vid.* CALM. *Com. in 1 Reg. 4. 25.* MUNST. JUN. & *al. ibid.* (80) *Ibid. ver. 27. 28.* (81) 1 King. x. 28, 29. (82) *Ibid. ver. 26.* (83) *Vid.* Deut. xvii. 16. (84) 1 King. x. 26. (85) *Ibid.* iv. 24. 2 Chron. ix. 26.

2 To carry on this ſtupendous work with greater eaſe and ſpeed, *Solomon* cauſed an account to be taken of all the *Canaanites*, and other foreign ſlaves, that were in the land, and it was found to amount to 153,600; 70,000 of whom he appointed to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and ſtone in the mountains, and the remaining 3,600 he appointed to be overſeers over them[s]. Beſides theſe ſtrangers, over whom he appointed ſome of his chief officers to overſee the work, he levied 30,000 men out of *Iſrael*, whom he appointed to work in *Lebanus* one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inſpection of *Adoniram*; theſe were likewiſe imployed in hewing wood, marble, and other ſtone, which was afterwards wrought by the *Tyrian* maſons and carvers, and thence conveyed to *Joppa* by water[t]. Whilſt theſe were preparing, *Solomon*, who had been ſtill adding immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other rich materials to thoſe which *David* had prepared before his death; did put them into proper hands, to be wrought into an almoſt infinite variety of ornaments. And the vaſt number of hands imployed, and the diligence of the overſeers and workmen was ſuch, that he was able to lay the foundations of this vaſt ſtructure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the ſecond after *David*'s death, and the 480th after the exod[u]. This great work was begun on *Monday* the ſecond day of the month *Zif*, which anſwers to the 21ſt of our *April*[w], being the ſecond month of the ſacred, and eighth of the civil year; and was carried on with ſuch prodigious ſpeed (I), that it was finiſhed in little more than ſeven years; if not in that magnificent manner, in which we have ſeen it repreſented in a vaſt number and variety of plans, and by ſome late models expoſed to publick view; yet, at leaſt, in ſuch rich and ſumptuous manner, as did eaſily excel any thing then extant of that kind. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that every piece of it, whether timber, ſtone, or metal, was all finiſhed before it was brought to *Jeruſalem*, ſo that there were no other tools wanted or heard, than what were neceſſary to the joining of them to each other.

The building of the temple.

The building finiſhed.

Year of the Flood, 1978. Year before CHRIST, 1021.

AND here it will be doubtleſs expected, not only, that we ſhould give our readers an exact deſcription of that wonderful edifice, but perhaps alſo, that we ſhould make ſome improvements upon thoſe authors, who have gone before us, and diſcover new ornaments and excellencies, which they had overlooked. This is, indeed, no more than they pretend to have done with reſpect to one another, eſpecially of late years, not from any greater inſight they have gained into the ſacred language and writings, but from what they have fetched either out of the deſcription of the prophetick temple of *Ezekiel*, or from that of *Joſephus*, or from what the *Jewiſh* rabbies have been pleaſed to ſuperadd out of their own heads, in order to raiſe this ſacred fabrick to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and richneſs. The truth is, whilſt thoſe paper architects can have their work and materials at ſo cheap a rate,

[s] 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18. [t] 1 King. v. 9. [u] Ibid. vi. 1. [w] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub an. A. M. 3001.

archives of *Iſrael* and *Tyre* (86); he adds likewiſe, out of *Dio* and *Menander*, that thoſe two kings uſed to puzzle one another with riddles, and that the nonſolvent was obliged to pay ſome conſiderable forfeit to the propoſer. So that *Hiram*, having once received ſuch a one as he could not ſolve, was forced to pay *Solomon* a large ſum; which he however made him to refund ſoon after, by getting one *Abdemon* a *Tyrian* to invent another, which proved too hard for that wiſe monarch (87). There is nothing improbable in all this; but what he and other learned *Jews* add, by way of appendix, to what the text records, concerning his extraordinary wiſdom, deſerves notice, though it were but for its abſurdity; for he makes one part of his knowledge to have conſiſted in the deepeſt receſſes of magick, in charms, evocation, and ejection of demons, and ſuch-like witcheries, in which he was not content to be the experteſt man living, but took the pains to propagate that art, by writing ſeveral books upon that worthleſs ſubject (88). *Credat Judæus.*

(I) This foundation, which took up the whole group of mount *Moria*, did likewiſe coſt an immenſe labour to level, becauſe it conſiſted of ſeveral gibbous eminences, all of them ſolid rock, except the ſurface, ſome parts of which were to be conſiderably lowered, and others raiſed in proportion, in order to bring them to that capacious area; inſomuch, that *Joſephus* ſays, a man could hardly believe his own eyes, when he beheld the ſtupendouſneſs of that work, the very contriving of which was enough to have craſed any brain, but that of *Solomon* (89). It will, indeed, appear very ſurpriſing, how ſuch a foundation could be laid, and the materials for the building could be in ſuch a forwardneſs, in ſo little a ſpace as four years, as to have been finiſhed in the ſeventh year after its foundation. But we ſee no reaſon againſt ſuppoſing, that *David*, who had alſo ſent for a great number of *Tyrian* workmen long before his death, had already ſet them to this work, to prepare ſtone and timber, and to level the ground.

(86) *Ant. lib.* viii. c. 2. (87) *Lib. cont. Ap.* p. 2. (88) *Antiq. ub. ſup. vid.* & BARTOLOC. *Bibliot. rabbinic. ſub voc. Salom.* (89) *Ant. ub. ſup. vid. ſup.* p. 414. a.

a rate, it is next to impoſſible to keep a luxuriant fancy within due bounds, and not to act the panegyriſt, rather than the hiſtorian, in the rearing of this ſtately building. This is therefore what we would carefully avoid, though at the hazard of being taxed with running into the other extreme, whilſt we ſtrike off their three evidences, as far as they jar with, or exceed the account, we have of it in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

FOR, after all, who has aſſured thoſe authors, that the temple of *Ezekiel*, which was only ſeen in a viſion, and was, for ought appears, only a type of that ſpiritual one under the goſpel, did bear a conſtant analogy with that of *Solomon*, with reſpect to its members, dimenſions, ſymmetry, and the like? Who knows not, that that of *Joſephus*, allowing it to have been equal in beauty and magnificence to that author's b deſcription of it, had received ſuch conſiderable additions and improvements from time to time, as might eaſily render it quite different from, not to ſay vaſtly excelling, that of *Solomon*? Laſtly, what diſcoveries can we hope for in this reſpect from the *Talmudiſts* and *Jewiſh* rabbies, who lived ſo many centuries after its final deſtruction, but what are of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe they have made with reſpect to religion; mere pious fables and forgeries, calculated to raiſe the honour of their nation? And if *Ezekiel*, *Joſephus*, and the rabbies muſt be ſet aſide, where ſhall we find an author that has done ſo, or a deſcription of this edifice, that has not borrowed more from them, than from the ſacred hiſtorians? For theſe reaſons, we had once reſolved to ſpare our readers the charge of a new draught c or deſcription of it, ſeeing we could offer them nothing new or authentick, without being at the pains of delineating it afreſh, according to the account we have of it in the books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without any farther regard to the others, than as they helped to explain a doubtful paſſage, or ſome obſcure terms, ſuch as muſt unavoidably occur in great plenty, in deſcriptions of this nature, written at ſuch a diſtance of time, and in a language ſo little known, as the *Hebrew* now is.

BUT whilſt we were deliberating, whether we ſhould undertake ſo laborious a taſk, we were agreeably informed by a curious gentleman, a friend and encourager of this hiſtory, that having ſeen all the various deſcriptions of that edifice, and d being diſſatisfied with their borrowing ſo much from thoſe authors we excepted againſt; he had ſome years ago prevailed upon a learned clergyman of his acquaintance, to make ſuch a delineation as we have been ſpeaking of, out of the two ſacred books above-mentioned. He then favoured us with a ſight of the plans, and gave us time and leave to examine and compare them, and their proofs, with the original text; and when he found how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very uſeful and acceptable to the curious, he not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to be communicated to the world, but gave us ſome opportunities of receiving farther ſatisfaction from his learned friend, touching any difficulties that might occur. However, as his e demonſtrations from thoſe ſacred books, curious and exact as they are, would too ſenſibly interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple in that ſuccinct and explanatory method, in which he has been ſince prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, that ſo both may at one view be compared, either with each other, or with any of thoſe deſcriptions that have hitherto appeared in the world (K).

As

(K) It will not be amiſs, however, to obviate two objections which may be made againſt theſe new delineations; the firſt is, that it is more than probable, that the ſacred hiſtorians have omitted ſeveral particulars in their deſcriptions of that building, which, though perhaps of leſs conſequence, are yet of ſuch a nature, that one cannot well frame a juſt idea of the whole without them. This both our friend and we do readily grant, and therefore are far from giving this as a compleat and perfect plan of the whole; all that is pretended is, that it contains all that the ſacred hiſtorians have mentioned of it, without having recourſe to *Ezekiel*, *Joſephus*, or the *Talmudiſts*, for a ſupply of what they have omitted. And we think, it cannot be unacceptable to the curious, to ſee how much thoſe, who have followed the laſt mentioned authors, have added to what we find in the text; and to be able to diſtinguiſh what is authentick, from what is not ſo, by comparing this with theirs.

The next objection is, that the tears, which the antients of *Iſrael* ſhed at the ſight of the ſecond temple, when they ſaw how far ſhort it was of the firſt †, ſeem to argue, at leaſt, that that of *Solomon* muſt have exceeded by far this of ours, ſeeing it is ſo much inferior to the deſcription which *Joſephus*, who had ſeen it, has left us of it. To this it may be anſwered,

1. That

† Ezra iii. 12.

The Explanation at Large of SOLOMON's *Temple, according to the Sacred Hiſtorians.*

FOR the right underſtanding the *deſcription* in the foregoing *plate*, we ſhall lay down the following *preliminary obſervations:*

I. *Firſt*, The *temple of Solomon* being our chief and proper object, we give the plan or *ground-plot* of it (which we declare to be our *only taſk*) whole and complete, juſt as we conceive it to have been: but *Jeruſalem* we repreſent only with an eye to thoſe parts which bore ſome relation to the temple; ſuch as the *palace* on the ſouth, and the *ſuburbs* to the weſt, the *valley* between both, the *horſe-gate* towards the eaſt, and the like.

II. *Secondly*, We pretend to no other knowledge of the temple, but what we have from ſcripture *in terminis*, or the clear ſenſe of it; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the uſe of *criticiſm*, and *reaſonable* or *plauſible conjecture*; for beyond theſe we have no other evidence. How great ſoever the learning of ſome *moderns* may be, much greater, we own, than any we pretend to, yet what they aſſert has no weight, unleſs they can bring ſuch manner of proof as that which we ourſelves intend to uſe. Whether they, or we, beſt ſtand the teſt, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, that will be at the pains of peruſing theſe ſheets with ſome attention, and of comparing our plan with any other now extant. As for *antient authors*, we have none to produce beſides *Joſephus*, and other *Jews*, rather of a later date than he. Now all we might learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew, or pretended to know, from *tradition*, but that, we preſume, is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had beſide thoſe we have ourſelves: And the *Hebrew tongue*, properly ſo called, being a ſort of dead language at the time theſe authors writ, it may be well doubted, without ſinning againſt modeſty, whether they, who had no other books to learn it by than thoſe that are now in uſe, could underſtand it better than thoſe that ſtudy it at preſent. Nay more, it might be ſhewn, we dare ſay, that *Joſephus* underſtood not ſome of thoſe few *Hebrew* words he pretends to explain in his *Hiſtory of the Jews* (A).

III. *Thirdly*,

(A) This is the more to be wondered at, becauſe *Joſephus* boldly aſſerts, at the end of his *Jewiſh* antiquities (1). That there were none of his countrymen ſo perfect in that ſort of learning as he was. But we are not alone in our opinion of him; though the late editor of his works, taking his bare word for it, ſets him off in the margin (2) as *a very learned hebræan*: *Bochart* (3) and *Huetius* (4), not to name any more, have openly declared themſelves quite oppoſite to that eulogium of *Joſephus* by Dr. *Hudſon*. Some indeed have tried to bring him off upon a ſuppoſition his writings were interpolated; which is not unlikely in ſome inſtances (5), and truly he himſelf ſhould not be charged with the blunders of either his tranſcribers or tranſlators. We ſhould think what is read in his manuſcripts (6) that the *Hebrews* called the ark *Heoron*, and many ſuch other ſtrange names (7), is no fault of the hiſtorian, but of thoſe that copied his writings, and the ſame we judge of the tranſlations. The *French* one, though much valued, ſays, *The ark was made of an incorruptible wood, the* Hebrews *call* Heoron; and truly ſo the *Latin* has it, which the *French* exactly followed, though pretending, in the title, the tranſlation was made from the *Greek* original; and *Roger L'eſtrange* here treads in *Dandilly*'s ſteps heartily. However, to us it is probable, that *Joſephus*, being about to give in *Greek* the word in *Hebrew* for the ark, he wrote ἡ δὲ ἄρων, or as Dr. *Bernard* of *Oxford* would have it (8), ἡ δὲ ἔρων. Now pronounce it either way, *Aron* with the *Hebrews*, or *Eron* with the *Chaldæans*, the word itſelf ſignifies *a Trunk*, as was the ark, and *Joſephus* is right enough, though others have wronged him in relating his words. But what ſeems thereabouts (9) to be *Joſephus*'s own fault, is the interpretation of what his manuſcripts and editions both call *Chethomene*; which, he ſays, ſignifies *a linen coat*, becauſe it is *Chethon* we call linen: now begging his pardon, *Chetoneth*, the *Hebrew* word, or *Chethoneh*, as the *Chaldæans* pronounce it, may be alſo a coat of wooll. Not to obſerve the *Chethoneth* of many colours *Joſeph* wore (10), or that that hanged like a robe about *Thamar* (11), poſſibly were not of linen, thoſe,

(1) *Lib.* xx. *c.* 10. *p.* 903. (2) *Joſephus in hebræis litteris verſatiſſimus.* (3) *Hieroſ. lib.* ii. *c.* 9, *p.* 154. (4) *Dem. Evang. Prop.* iv. *p.* 175, 199. (5) *Vid. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 7. *p.* 112. *De Veſt. Sacred. & V.* 8. 213. *etym. Samſon.* (6) *Lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *p.* 110. (7) ἑώρων, ἱερώνυμον, ἱερωνυμία, ἐρευνυμία, ἱερὸν. (8) *In loc. ed. Sheld. p.* 166. 4. (9) *Ubi ſup. Numb.* 2. (10) *Gen.* xxxvii. 3. (11) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 18.

III. *Thirdly*, We do admit of *Ezekiel* as a divinely inſpired prophet; and therefore what he has ſaid or written ought to be received by us as moſt true. But then we take it, he has not given us a deſcription of the temple of *Solomon*, but of quite another; a *prophetic* or *emblematical* temple, that never exiſted but in the revelation that was made to him, and the repreſentation he has ſet down in his prophecy. He himſelf ſays[a], *In the viſions of God brought he me into the land of* Iſrael —— *and ſaid unto me, Behold with thine eyes, for to the intent that I might ſhew unto thee art thou brought hither. Declare all that thou ſeeſt to the houſe of* Iſrael——and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Now it does not ſeem probable at all, that there wanted ſo much care and ſolemnity to ſhew the prophet a temple he had himſelf ſeen a hundred times over and over; he, as it is well known, being a prieſt[b] who had there officiated, and had no need of divine inſpiration to tell his countrymen the *Jews* what moſt of them could not well be ignorant of, or rather were well inſtructed in. And, if it ſhould be urged, that this might well be forgotten in a captivity of 70 years (B), I will readily allow it, and all that can be drawn from this conceſſion, provided it be proved, that any uſe was made of this ſo ſolemn a deſcription, in their building of the temple, after the return from the captivity; but ſo far was it from it, that at the ſight of the ſecond temple many tears were ſhed, this ſecond temple built by *Zorobabel* being much inferior to that they had ſeen of *Solomon*'s building[c]; and what then, if compared with that of *Ezekiel?* for this temple (and that is the thing we dare rely upon) had no proportion as to its meaſures with that other of *Solomon*. Whether any body has ever apprehended *Solomon*'s temple to have been of each ſide above 500 cubits (C), we do not know: but that would be nothing to *Ezekiel*'s, which was 500 reeds[d], that is to ſay, 3000 cubits, for it is well known that *a reed* was *ſix cubits* (D), ſo that here is a difference as of *ſix* to *one* in their capacity or encloſure, which is impoſſible to be thought or ſaid of one and the ſame temple. But you will ſay, it might be the ſame except the encloſure: I anſwer, No, becauſe the mountain had no proportion to ſuch a one, no not by any jettees, or other ways you can imagine; for the ſquare being 2000 reeds, will not give you leſs than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now *Jeruſalem* itſelf was never ſo large (E); how then can we ſuppoſe the *temple* to

[a] Ezek. xl. 2,—4. [b] Ezra i. 3. [c] Ibid. iii. 15. [d] Ezek. xlii. 15. 20. [e] Ibid. xl. 5.

thoſe, moſt ſurely our firſt parents were cloathed with are ſaid (12) to be of ſkin. Accordingly, we are told, thoſe of the prieſts were of linen (13), on purpoſe, that they ſhould not be thought of ſome other ſtuff. But finding *Chethon*, or *Kethan*, for linen, in the vulgar language of *Jeruſalem*, *Joſephus* thought *Chethoneth* in holy writ to ſignify *a coat of linen*; which indeed does not look ſo ſtrange as the etymology he ſeems to give (14) of *Jeruſalem* being a compound of the *Greek Hieron*, *a ſacred thing*, and the word *Solyma*, unleſs this alſo be an interpolation. And the ſame one might ſay concerning *Bezetha*, which *Joſephus* (15) makes to ſignify the *New City*, when no ſuch thing can be made out of that word. But if it be worth while to gueſs at it, בסת *Baſath*, as it is a root, or radical word, ſeems to be preſerved in that well known derivative among the *Turks*, viz. *Boſtangi*, *a gardener*; and among the *Rabbins* in *Buſtan*, *a garden*. So that it is not unlikely, that part of *Jeruſalem*, that lay northward of the temple, *viz. Bezetha*, before it was built into ſtreets, was the gardening place for the city, and kept its ancient name, as is ſtill cuſtomary among ourſelves in ſuch like occaſions.

(B) This revelation was made to *Ezekiel* in the 20th year of the ſaid captivity, and but the 14th after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by the *Babylonians* (16).

(C) The temple may well be taken for the whole ground on which it ſtood, with all its courts, and truly that name muſt be taken in this latitude, in our tranſlation of the goſpel; in *Greek* it is ἱερον, which might be properly turned into *Engliſh* by *a conſecrated place*, or *ground* (17); and the *Jews*, who commonly call it *Har habbaith*, *mountain of the houſe*, ſay it was a ſquare of 500 cubits (18).

(D) What theſe cubits were, has been obſerved chap. 7. of this hiſtory (19), to be almoſt equal to 22 inches, which is not improbable. Some indeed would increaſe the cubit to a greater length, and others reduce it to ours of 18 inches, which yet could not affect our argument, becauſe which ſoever of the divers hypotheſes be the nearer the truth, it makes no difference here in the main, the cubit not being conſidered in itſelf, but comparatively to the *meaſuring reed*, ſaid to be (20) *ſix cubits by a cubit and a hand-breath*, or, according to the *Septuagint*, *ſix cubits and one hand-breadth beſides*.

(E) Though we know what he does relate out of *Hecateus*, who, in the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, makes the circuit of *Jeruſalem* almoſt 50 ſtadia πενήκοντα μάλιστα (21) σταδίων τὸν περίμετρον, which indeed *Joſephus* does not correct, though he himſelf does not reckon this renowned city's largeſt extent to have been above 33 ſtadia, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὅπως κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν (22). Now a ſtadium, as is well known, being 125 paces, 33 ſtadia

(12) *Gen.* iii. 21. (13) *Exod.* xxviii. xxxix. *paſſ.* (14) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 3. *p.* 287. (15) *Bell. Jud. lib.* v. *c.* 4. *p.* 1223. (16) *Ezek.* xl. 1. (17) *Matth.* xxi. 12. *Mark* xi. 16. *Coll.* 17. *& al. paſſ.* (18) *Tract. Midd. c.* 2. *cui tit.* הר־בית. (19) *See before, p.* 652. *Vid. Cumberland's Eſſay on weights and meaſures, p.* 39, *&c.* (20) *Ezek.* xl. 5. (21) *Ap. Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib.* 1. *p.* 1343. (22) *Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib.* 5. *c.* 4. *p.* 1223.

to have been ſo, that was but part of that city? Beſides, *Joſephus* [f], in the dimenſions he gives us of *Herod's temple*, that he had himſelf ſeen, and was by far the largeſt of the three; does not exceed 4 *ſtadia*, or 500 *paces*. In a word, never any real temple, built upon *Moria*, was any thing near ſo big as that temple *Ezekial* ſaw and delineated by inſpiration.

IV. A fourth obſervation very neceſſary to be attended to, is the true *ſituation of Jeruſalem*, as to its two principal parts, well known by the names of two mountains, *viz.* *Sion* and *Acra* [g], on which ſtood the upper and lower city; for *Sion* was a good deal higher or loftier than *Acra*. They roſe like two huge heaps one againſt another, with a valley between them, by which they were ever, and are ſtill parted, though not, as it is eaſy to imagine, without ſome very great alteration in their particular form or figure. The temple was built upon mount *Moriah* [h], which was either part of mount *Sion*, or a hill of leſs compaſs near it. That *Moria* ſtood to the eaſt is not diſputed; but whether *Sion* was on the *ſouth* or the *north*, has been a queſtion among the learned. This an *eye-witneſs* could eaſily have determined, if any one had favoured us with a *map* exactly drawn, or anſwered the queſtion in expreſs terms: For all this, we could try to clear it by the help of the ſacred monuments, which, thanks to the learned *Reland* [i], would prove an eaſy taſk, but too prolix for this performance; and therefore we chuſe to refer to that author for a full ſatisfaction about it. However, it is pretended, that *Iſaiah* [k] leaves room to think, that *Sion* lay northwards of the lower city: For, ſays the king of *Babylon*, as he is introduced ſpeaking by the prophet, *I will ſit upon the mount of congregation in the ſides of the north.* But it is not ſaid here mount *Sion* lay on the north of *Acra*; what is ſaid ſeems to be, that the conqueror would eſtabliſh his dominion where was the *king's palace*, bordering upon the ſouth of the temple, and ſituate on the northern ſide of mount *Sion*. There the *Babylonian* thinks himſelf ſecure, and in full poſſeſſion of the city. But ſays the prophet to him, alluding to the valley bordering upon mount *Sion*, towards *Acra*, *Thou ſhalt be brought down to the ſides of the pit.* This ſituation of *Sion*, which might be further proved from *Joſephus* [l], beſides our judicious traveller the Rev. Mr. *Maundrell* [m], and the *Paris* citizen *Anthoine Regnault* [n], we did inſiſt upon, becauſe very great men [o], have appeared on the oppoſite ſide, who by their uncommon learning may draw others into the ſame error.

V. THE fifth obſervation will give us the true *ſituation of the temple.* 'Tis known that when the *Hebrews* did worſhip, they turned themſelves towards the moſt holy place or temple [p]. Now we learn from what *Ezekial* ſaw, that it lay weſtwards of its door or entry. His words are very plain, *Behold*, ſays he [q], *at the door of the temple were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple, and their faces towards the eaſt; and they worſhipped the ſun towards the eaſt*; therefore the front of the temple was *turned towards the eaſt* (F); and this is confirmed by *Joſephus*,

[f] Antiq. xv. ult. p. 702. [g] Vid. *Feroſ.* Deſcript. ap JOSEPH. Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1221. coll. & 1235. [h] 2 Chron. iii. 1. comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, & 1 Chron. xxi. 18.—28. xxii. 1. [i] Vid. *Palæſt.* illuſtr. p. 839. [k] Cap. xiv. ver. 13. [l] Ubi ſup. p. 1222. & 1230. [m] A Journey from *Aleppo*, &c. p. 67. 76. 78. 86. 99. 100. [n] Diſcours du voiage d'ontremer au S. Sepulcre, 1573. p. 47. 92. 140, &c. Add LE BRUYN. Voiage au Levant, tom. ii. c. 53. 55. [o] DRUS. ad voc. N. T. voce Sion. LIGHTFOOT, CELLARIUS, CALMET. [p] 1 Kings viii. 48. Pſal. cxxx. 12. Dan. vi. 10. & paſſ. [q] Ezek. viii. 16.

ſtadia will produce 4125 paces, which would reduce the whole extent of the city to three ſtadia, 375 paces leſs than that of the temple. There is indeed a book written in *Dutch* (23) by the learned *Camp. Vitringa*, wherein he undertakes to make void this our argumeut, by obſerving, That the 2000 reed are to be underſtood only of ſo many cubits, as the *Septuagint* have expreſſed it in their tranſlation; and to make it anſwer in the *Hebrew* text, he ſuppoſes the word there (24) to ſignify by an ellipſis, cubits of a reed, that is to ſay, ſuch cubits as ſix of them make up one reed. But whether this will ſatisfy we muſt leave to the judgment of our readers.

(F) *Theodoret*, it ſeems, gives a very good reaſon for it, *viz.* That as the *Iſraelites* were commanded to worſhip God alone, they might have the ſun behind their backs, turning themſelves towards the tabernacle, and not adore the ſun, but his maker; and truly when the cuſtom prevailed among the *Chriſtians* of turning their faces towards the eaſt in their worſhip, the *Pagans* did upbraid them with adoring the ſun (25). But the author of the apoſtolical conſtitutions, knew well how to put it in another view, for the holy apoſtles are introduced by him, ſaying, προσευχέσθω δὲ κατὰ ἀναλολάς, κ. τ. λ. (26).

(23) קנה Bikneh, *with a reed*; *or, with the meaſuring reed. Ezek. xlii.* 16, &c. (24) *Den Tempel Ezechiel's, cap. xli.* (25) *Solem credunt Deum noſtrum, ſays Tertull. Apol. cap. xvi.* (26) *Lib. vii. c.* 44.

Josephus, r, who so far must be right, the temple having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

VI. *Lastly*, Though our proper enquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of *Solomon*'s temple, yet we do not pretend, that all that is true of it has been said by us, because it is possible, many things about it may have been omitted by the sacred historians, and therefore, as has been intimated, cannot in any wise be said by others. Neither do we aver, that all we intend to say is exactly true or certain. Once more we must be so plain with our readers, as to let them know, that we do not pretend to give demonstrations, but probable conjectures. And if our weak endeavours are not satisfactory, we should be very glad by them to put others upon gratifying the world with a scheme more accurate, wherein all things, appearing better connected, might also better answer, or be more agreeable to the several passages or texts of holy writ here under consideration. All then we do engage on our part is carefully to distinguish between those things we have a full proof of, and those things wherein we only try to make some near approaches towards the truth; and upon this foot will now be explained the several particulars in the *plan* before us, according to the indication of them by the *letters* in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may seem to want a review, or deserve to be more narrowly looked or inquired into.

a. We begin with the *Oracle* (G), where God did speak from between the cherubim s; accordingly it is called the *Oracle of his Holiness*, or, as it is otherwise translated, *His Holy Oracle* t, towards which the *Israelites* turned themselves when they did worship u; and this was a square room of 20 cubits, as appears from 1 *Kings* vi. 2, 20. 2 *Chron.* iii. 8.

b. The holy place, or *Sanctuary*, 40 cubits long, and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 *Kings* vi. 2, & 3. where it is also called the *Temple of the House*. For the *House* (H) might properly be the name of the two apartments w, but that of the *Temple* (I) the proper name x for the second apartment: However, *the length* of both these together, being the *House and* (K) *Temple of God* y, *was sixty cubits*, 1 Kings vi. 2.

c. Before the *Sanctuary* stood a *Porch*. *Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof*, as is said ver. 3. and so far we have a certainty from the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. To which we might, if needful, add the authority of *Josephus* z and numbers of others.

d. As for the *Wall* between the porch and the temple, any one sees it ought to be there admitted, though never mentioned in so many words by the sacred historians. We say it appears to have been of great use, not only better to sustain the building, but also to separate the temple from the porch belonging to it; that so this temple might stand wholly by itself and also be shut up when there was occasion for it.

But

r Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 342, s Exod. xxv. 22. ult. Psal. xcix. 1. t Psal. xxviii. 2. u See before, p. 660. & comp. Psal. xxviii. 2. w 1 Kings vi. 5, & Psal. v. 5. comp. xxviii. 2. x Ibid. ver. 17. y Psal. z Pag. 342.

(G) In *Hebrew*, דביר *Debir*, as if one should say *Locutorium*, or speaking-place. For there it was that God used to speak, or give his orders, or instructions, to his lieutenant, if one may so call the judge or prince, and to the high-priest, his first minister. Besides, it was called *the oracle of the house*, and *most holy place*, Heb. *holy*; or, as the Septuagint (27), *holies of holies*, and as it is translated (28) concerning the tabernacle, *the holiest of all* (29).

The Septuagint have kept the *Hebrew* word reading it δαβειρ or δαβιρ, except in one place, where it is translated ναὸς, or temple.

(H) הבית *Habbaith*, or בית *Baith*, *an House* (30), by way of excellency. It was the house of God, and in some sense that of the *Israelites* also, wherefore they say (31), *Our holy and beautiful house where our fathers praised thee*. However, the *house of the Lord* is indifferently taken for the whole, or part of the building.

(I) היכל *Hecal* is properly *a palace*, witness the [*hecal*] *palace* of *Ahab* (32), and by this name seems to be called the different parts belonging to the tabernacle (33). The Septuagint translate it ναὸς most frequently, and sometimes οἶκος.

(K) Well might it be called so, when it was the place of his residence among the *Israelites*. So says *Solomon* (34), *I have surely built thee an house to dwell in; a settled place for thee to abide in*. And therefore the *Jews* have given the name of *Shekinah* to this habitation not improperly, for there was God's symbolical presence upon the ark (35), or, as it were, his throne; and there also was a real presence conspicuous by its operations, I mean by the oracles which God delivered there.

(27) *Exod. xxv.* 22. *Numb. vii.* 89. (28) 1 *Kings viii.* 6. *Psal. xxvii.* 28. (29) *Hebr. ix.* 3. (30) 1 *Kings viii.* 16. (31) *Isaiah lxiv.* 11. (32) 1 *Kings xxi.* 1. (33) 1 *Sam. i.* 9. *iii.* 3. (34) 1 *Kings viii.* 13. (35) 1 *Sam. iv.* 4. 2 *Sam. vi.* 2. *Psalm. lxxx.* 1.

e. BUT further, our conjecture is ſtrengthened by this plain inference, that the temple had doors. Thus it is ſaid [a], *For the entering of the oracle he made doors* [b], —— *ſo alſo made he for the entering* (L) *of the temple poſts of olive-tree,* —— *and the two doors were of fir-tree.* Now a door ſeems to ſuppoſe a wall, where-ever a wall appears to be neceſſary, as was here. And ſhould it be objected, that the oracle had a door as well as the ſanctuary, though we do not conceive any wall between them, it might be anſwered, That there is nothing upon record concerning ſuch a wall (M); that we ſee no neceſſity for one; and laſtly, that there might be ſomething elſe in lieu of it.

f. FOR a very rich and ſtrong *Veil* was made to ſeparate the moſt holy from the holy place [c], the ſame we ſuppoſe, as St. *Matthew* calls the *veil of the temple* that *was rent in twain* when *Jeſus yielded up the ghoſt* [d]. *Joſephus* [e] poſitively tells us, that *Solomon* made a *partition wall*, different from the veil; but this is not ſo clearly expreſſed in the ſacred books. The tranſlation indeed ſays [f], *He made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle:* and accordingly we may underſtand, that there was both a *partition* and a *veil*, the partition being fixed, and the veil hanging before it, ſo as to be moved like our curtains. But we do not warrant, that this is the true ſenſe of the *Hebrew* (N), which is rather, *He placed chains (bars or bolts) croſs the oracle:* However, there was a *door* to it, as we have ſeen already. And although we may eaſily conceive a *door* without a wall, properly ſo called, we muſt ſuppoſe ſome ſuch thing as a partition. Beſides, what bolted this door, or went acroſs before the oracle, was of gold, and therefore not the veil itſelf. At leaſt the *Hebrew* text allows us to ſay the oracle was ſhut up with golden bolts. Yet whether there was a partition beſides the door of each ſide [g], or whether the door itſelf ſerved inſtead of a partition, we ſhall not determine (O), but conclude this article by ſaying, that the doors of the porch are mentioned as ſuch in one paſſage [h], and called the doors of the houſe of the Lord in another [i].

g. WHAT we are now to conſider are the *Chambers*, built againſt the wall of the houſe round about, both of the temple and *the oracle*, the *nethermoſt* ſaid to be *five cubits broad, and alſo five cubits high* [k]; but of their length we find nothing in the books we refer to. It ſeems they were ſquare rooms: *Joſephus* tells us [l], they were thirty in number all about the temple, which, it may be, he took from that of *Ezekiel* [m], who ſays, *The ſide chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order:* So that thirty being multiplied by three, according to the number of ſtories in the firſt book of *Kings*, thoſe chambers will amount in all to ninety, that are called the *nethermoſt*, the middle, and the third. And ſuch a number may eaſily be placed about the houſe, ſuppoſing them to have been each of five cubits length, as

[a] 1 Kings vi. 31. [b] Ibid. 33, 34. [c] 2 Chron. iii. 22. [d] Matth. xxvii. 50, 51. [e] Ant. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 343. [f] 1 Kings vi. 21. [g] 1 Kings vi. 31. [h] 2 Chron. xxix. 7. [i] Ibid. xxviii. 24. [k] 1 Kings vi. 5, 6. [l] Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 342. [m] Ezek. xli. 6.

(L) The word in *Hebrew* is פֶּתַח *Petach*, the ſame as for the oracle above, and therefore *entring* ought to be kept in *Engliſh*, not *door*, as in our tranſlation; although *Petach*, *an entring*, is in other places tranſlated *a door*, by a true analogy.

(M) This muſt be underſtood of *holy writ*, wherein no mention is made of any ſuch *wall*, though indeed our tranſlation ſays, as to the door of the oracle, "the lintel and ſide poſts were a fifth part "*of the wall.*" But thoſe laſt words are not in the *Hebrew*, and truly another interpretation is given in the margin, *viz.* that they were *five ſquare*; however, the reading in the text may well be admitted relatively to the height of the oracle, ſo that this is meant, that the lintel, *&c.* were five cubits high.

(N) וַיְעֲבֵר בְּרָתִיקוֹת *Vajchabber Beratikoth*, or, according to the keri, *Beratoukoth*, which is *verbatim*, he *made paſs with chains*, ſuppoſing *ratikoth* to be *chains*, for that word occurs in no other text but this, and may be as well tranſlated *bars*, or *bolts*, or any thing equivalent. Hence then it ſeems, *Joſephus* (36) took, "the in and the out-"ſide of the temple was all lined with cedar, and "that the cramping of the cedar together with "ſtrong chains, (ἁλύσεσι, not *irons*, as *L'eſtrange* "has it) was a great ſtrength and ſecurity to the "building." However, *pro materiâ ſubjectâ, to make paſs with chains*; or as it might be tranſlated without the particle (37), *to make chains paſs*, ſeems to be nothing elſe but to chain, or tie with chains, to bolt, or bar; unleſs the word *veil* be ſupplied to fill up the gap of this expreſſion, well underſtood at that time, though afterwards, being obſcure and obſolete, it was omitted by the Septuagint. The Vulgate ſays, *he faſtened the ſhelfs with nails.*

(O) It will hardly be expected we ſhould here take particular notice of thoſe ſacred veſſels and utenſils that adorned this holy houſe, *viz.* the ark, and cherubims, the table of ſhew-bread, the golden candleſticks (38), and the altar of incenſe; ſince we could hardly add any thing, that is needful concerning them, to what hath already been obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory.

(36) *Antiq.* viii. *c.* 3. *p.* 343. (37) *Coll. Lament.* i. 17. *Pſal.* lv. 18. (38) *See* 1 *Kings* vii. 49.

as well as height, for in the breadth they differed from five to ſix, and from ſix to ſeven; the reaſon of which is there given. Upon this ſcore they will undoubtedly appear ſomewhat ſmall, and ſo indeed *Joſephus*[n] calls them. However, if their uſe was well known, that might give ſome light into this matter. But concerning their uſe, we find only[o], that *Joas was hidden in the bed-chamber* (P) belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted, that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lye in, we may venture to ſay, that they were ſufficient for that purpoſe, eſpecially thoſe of the middle and third ſtory. Beſides that, the *bed-chambers* among the *Jews* were generally upper rooms, as has already been obſerved in this *Univerſal Hiſtory*[p].

h. ONE thing more remains to be attended to about the temple, properly ſo called. It is ſaid[q], *The door for the middle chamber was in the right ſide of the houſe, and they went up with winding ſtairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.* Where we may well imagine an opening was left in the thickneſs of the wall for a pair of ſtairs, to go up to the ſecond ſtory of the chambers about the temple, and alſo a paſſage from the temple to the porch, for there might be ſeveral occaſions that required the miniſters of the temple to go up to thoſe chambers, as well as in and out of the temple, of which we ſuppoſe a detail is not here expected.

i. WE are now come to the *Porch*, where we meet with thoſe celebrated *columns*, or pillars, *Solomon* adorned it with. It is ſaid[r], *He ſet them up in the porch of the temple*, and[s] *he made before the houſe two pillars*, and[t] *he reared up the pillars before the temple*; which expreſſions taken together ſufficiently ſeem to imply the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite ſo eaſy to aſſign the height of them. In one place it is ſaid of *Solomon*[u], *He caſt two pillars of braſs of eighteen cubits high apiece.* In another[x] we read, *He made two pillars of thirty and five cubits high.* This ſeeming inconſiſtency between the two ſacred hiſtorians we ſhall preſently reconcile; only we will firſt beg leave to take notice, that this is an inſtance of their not combining together, of their not being corrected or amended by one another. Now let us only ſuppoſe the pedeſtal or baſis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high, this added to the 18 cubits (1 *Kings* vii. 15 *Jer.* lii. 21.) for the ſhaft, will, added together, make exactly 35, the number mentioned 2 *Chron.* iii. 15. Laſtly, taking from 1 *Kings* vii. 16. five cubits, being the height of the chapiter, we ſhall have the true height of the pillars, *viz.* 40 cubits. It is true that in another place[y] the height of the chapiter is ſaid to have been *three cubits*; but here we apprehend we have the dimenſion of the chapiter only, ſtrictly ſo called, *Cotherith* in the *Hebrew*, or *Crowning*, which is expreſſed to have been three cubits; and there is left to be underſtood *the wreathen work on it round about*, which was two cubits more; both which ſums added, make that of *five*, the number ſet down before by the ſame author. We can ſay but little concerning the thickneſs of the ſhaft of thoſe pillars, only that *a line of twelve cubits did compaſs either of* (Q) *them round about*[z], and therefore the diameter was four cubits, which is the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be further obſerved, that one of the pillars

[n] *βραχιστην οικοις* ubi ſupr. [o] 2 Kings xi. 2. [p] See before p. 700. [q] 1 Kings vi. 8. [r] 1 Kings vii. 15. [s] 2 Chron. iii. 15. [t] Ibid. ver. 17. [u] Kings ubi ſup. [x] Chron. ubi ſup. [y] 2 Kings xxv. 17. [z] 1 Kings vii. 15.

(P) In *Hebrew*, חדר *Heder* or *Cheder*, and ſeems to be underſtood of one of the three ſtories about the temple (39), where might be the beds for the prieſts in waiting, and among thoſe rooms, or chambers, one, or more, eſpecially reſerved, or ſet apart for the high-prieſt; which alſo ought therefore to have been a retired place, and not eaſily acceſſible but to himſelf and conſort, with thoſe they truſted. Theſe rooms we find alſo called *inner-parlours* (40), where for *parlours* the *Hebrew* hath *Chadarim*, and there diſtinguiſhed from the lower apartments, *Ganſakim*, (the treaſuries in our verſion), and from the upper-rooms. So as we have here the ſeveral parts of the *Jaziah* (41), it ſeems, by their proper names.

(Q) Some will ſay, the *Hebrew* differs from our tranſlation, for what is here *either of them*, is there (משני *Haſheni*) *the ſecond*, and we acknowledge this is a ſeeming, though no real, difference. It is ſaid, *Eighteen cubits was the height of the firſt column, and a line of twelve cubits did encompaſs the ſecond*, which is an elliptical expreſſion, where, in a period, one branch of it not expreſſed, is underſtood by what the other expreſſes (42). So here the height of the *firſt* column gives you the meaſure of the *ſecond*, and the thickneſs of the *ſecond* the meaſure of the *firſt*. But this not being agreeable to our ſtile, another turn ought to be took, which is uſual and intelligible in our way of ſpeaking.

(39) *See* 1 *Kings* vii. 25. (40) 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 11. (41) 1 *Kings* vi. 5. (42) *Vid. Prov.* x. 1. *Iſai.* xxxii. 3. *Deut.* xv. 12. *Pſalm* cxlii. 4. *Conf. Jerem.* lii. 21, 22.

pillars was to be ſeen on the right of the porch, and called *Jachin*, and the other on the left called *Boaz* [a]. Now Jachin ſignifies *he ſhall eſtabliſh*, and Boaz, *ſtrength is in him*. By which it ſeems *Solomon* would give to underſtand, that he depended only on an Almighty Power for the continuance and duration of this temple. But by way of conjecture one might ſuppoſe, there was an *inſcription* in ſome ſuch ſenſe upon the baſis of each of the pillars, that on one beginning with the word *Jachin*, and that on the other with the word *Boaz*; from whence the pillars might have their denomination; as we ſee the books of *Moſes* called by the firſt word they begin with *. Laſtly, as to their ſituation; we take it they ſtood before the temple [b], in the porch of the temple [c]: So ſays our tranſlation, which we chuſe here to follow (R).

k. Going now out of the porch, we muſt take notice firſt of the *Altar* ſtanding *before the porch* [d], or *before the houſe* [e], as in the *Hebrew*, not improperly tranſlated the *fore-front of the houſe*: and there it ſeems to have ſtood in the *middle of the court* (S), of which court afterwards. This altar for burnt-offerings did anſwer to one of the ſame uſe in the tabernacle, whereof we have ſpoken at large [f]. What remains for us to obſerve, is only the new altar, which was *in length two cubits, and as many broad, beſides ten cubits high* [g]; and ſince no ſteps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altar [h], it ought to be ſuppoſed, there were none for that uſe in the temple, but only an eaſy aſcent up to the altar.

l. Of the court itſelf we muſt own it is our opinion, that it went at firſt all about the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle an oblong ſquare, *the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where* [i]. Now as we find no dimenſion given of the court in the temple, all we can well do, to go ſomewhat by a ſcriptural rule, is, to make this laſt court twice as big as that in the tabernacle, becauſe it ſufficiently appears king *Solomon* kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of the temple itſelf. Again, as in that oblong ſquare the tabernacle ſtood weſtwards, and that by that means the court had on the eaſt two third parts or more of the whole ſpace, we conceive, the court in the temple, as *Solomon* at firſt built it, to have been much the ſame.

m. But a wall is placed here on the weſt ſide of the court before the porch, for which no warrant will eaſily be found in that part of ſcripture that was to be our guide in our preſent enquiry, and therefore does not ſeem to be built upon any ſure foundation; but yet what we have to ſay for it may be ſeen in the next note (T).

A

[a] 1 Kings vii. 21. * See before, p. 595. not. A. [b] 2 Chron. iii. 17. [c] 1 Kings vii. 21. [d] 1 Kings viii. 64. coll. 2 Chron. vii. 7. xv. 8. [e] Ibid. xv. 8. [f] Ubi ſup. No. IX. p. 661. [g] 2 Chron, iv. 1. [h] Exod. xx. 26. [i] Ibid. xxvii. 9. 12.

(R) One reaſon is the difference to be obſerved between the two particles in the texts of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. In that it is עַל־פְּנֵי *Alpene*, which cannot otherwiſe be tranſlated than by *Before*. But in this it is ל *Le*, which may be tranſlated ſeveral ways, and eſpecially by *In*; ſo you read *Lerouach* (43), *in the cool* of the evening; *Lekiſſe* (44), *in the throne*, and ſuch like expreſſions (45). Beſides, the Vulgate has *in porticu*, and the Septuagint do not much differ as to the ſenſe: They tranſlate, *he ſet up the pillars τῦ αἰλὰμ of the porch*; which ſeems to imply, that the pillars were an appurtenance of the porch, and therefore very properly placed in it. *Joſephus*, as to this, ſays only (46), *Solomon* placed one of them on the right poſt of the porch, and the other on the left. The *French* and *Engliſh* tranſlations add, at the entrance of the porch. We have declared our opinion to be that they were within; but after all, if one likes them better without, we would not much oppoſe it, ſince ל may ſignify *At*, as where it is ſaid of *Zabulon* (47), "He ſhall ſtand "ל *at* the haven of the ſea;" or *For*, as in the very ſame expreſſion, *viz.* לְאֳנִיֹּת our own interpreters have taken it elſewhere (48), ſaying, *for the porch*.

(S) In the tabernacle, the altar of burnt-offerings was to be placed (49) *before the door*, and at a convenient diſtance *, ſo that our tranſlation ſeems to be very right in ſaying *by* (50) and *at* (51) it, which could not be well otherwiſe, the court being of a ſmall compaſs. But as that in the temple was much larger, the altar might here ſtand in the *middle of the court*, and this further appears from its relation to the *King's Seat*, which was in the midſt of the other court, and *before* this altar, as will be ſeen hereafter (52).

(T) By ſaying this we would not be underſtood wholly to deny there might be ſuch a wall in *Solomon*'s time, for we read (53) concerning the houſe he built for his queen, *The great court round about was with three rows of hewed ſtones, and a row of cedar-beams*: As *for the inner court of the houſe of the Lord, and for the porch of the houſe*. Inſtead of *As*, our tranſlation renders *Both*, the *Hebrew* וְ *We*, whoſe ordinary ſignification is *and*. But in the way of a compariſon, (as it plainly appears to be here uſed) if we conſult our tranſlation in other places (54), it would, we think, be more properly rendered by *as*. However, the wall for the porch of the houſe may, it ſeems, be underſtood of this wall that ſtood before the porch of the temple, though others, with ſome probability, underſtand it of a porch before the queen's houſe.

(43) *Gen.* iii. 8. (44) *Pſalm* ix. 4. (45) *Pſalm* xvi. 10. *Dan.* ii. 1. *Os.* v. 12. *Zephan.* ii. 15. (46) *Antiq. lib.* viii. *c.* 3. *p.* 344. (47) *Gen.* xlix. 13. (48) 1 *Kings* vii. 12. (49) *Exod.* xl. 6. * *See before, p.* 660. e. (50) *Levit.* i. 5. (51) *Ibid. ver.* 7, 8. (52) *Notes* Y & Z. (53) 1 *Kings* vii. 12. (54) 1 *Sam.* xii. 15. *Prov.* x. 25.

n. A new court is plainly mentioned in ſacred hiſtory. Thus we read [l], *That* Jehoſaphat *ſtood in the congregation of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *in the houſe of the Lord, before the new court* (V). That here by the houſe of the Lord is underſtood the whole compaſs of the temple, with its ſeveral courts, wants no proof, after what has been ſaid above [m]. But what that new court is, we are now to conſider. Some will have it to have been the court of prieſts *repaired*, as indeed the altar was, by king *Aſa* [n], and therefore called the *New Court*.

But though, by the analogy of the temple with the tabernacle, the court of prieſts ſeems to have been round about the holy and moſt holy place, and not divided by a wall; yet afterwards ſuch a wall being found convenient to be made between the altar and the porch, that part of the court about the temple becoming now a ſort of a court by itſelf, might be called the new court, the old name, *viz.* the court of the prieſts, remaining with that part where ſtood the altar. Now whether this will be judged a rational conjecture muſt be ſubmitted to the reader.

o. We have a few words to add concerning the other, but undoubted, wall of the court of prieſts. It is ſaid [o], Solomon *built the inner-court with three rows of hewed ſtone, and a row of cedar-beams.* It is elſewhere [p] called the court of prieſts, and bore the name of the inner, becauſe of another round about it. But what theſe rows were, is not ſo eaſy to explain. Some indeed do not ſpare buildings that coſt them nothing, and of theſe rows make ſo many ſtories; but whether the ſingle *Hebrew* word, *Tur*, i. e. *row*, will uphold ſuch a heavy building, we very much doubt: To us there appears no more than a kind of parapet wall, of ſome four or five foot high, (conſiſting of three rows of ſtone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar-beams over them) ſufficient to keep off the people from being an hinderance in the court of prieſts, but low enough for the *Iſraelites* without to ſee all the prieſts were doing within.

p. One thing remains to be conſidered, which is the ſeveral entries into the court; for though we ſhould not find any mentioned, as they are ſufficiently [q], they muſt, in the nature of things, have been there, and we therefore place them where we find it moſt proper, *viz.* over-againſt the gates that are ſaid to have been in that court where the people did meet for their ſolemn devotions.

q. Now this court (X) was called the *Great Court* [r], becauſe of its bigneſs, comparatively to that of the prieſts, which was a good deal leſs; both of them being ſaid to be the *two courts of the houſe of the Lord* [s]. And that *Solomon* himſelf did build the one as well as the other, we read in theſe words, *Furthermore he made the court of the prieſts, and the great court, and doors for the court, and over-laid the doors of them with braſs. Joſephus*, not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a tranſmutation of it into ſilver [t], and has, at no other expence than his fancy, built a large court upon a mount raiſed on purpoſe 400 cubits high. It is eaſy to preſume he has ſpared neither columns, nor porticoes, nor all the embelliſhments a fruitful imagination could prompt him to adorn it with (Y).

Haste

l 2 Chron. xx. 5. m Note C. & al. n 2 Chron. xv. 8. o 1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12.
p 2 Chron. iv. 9. q Ibid. r Ibid. s 2 Kings xxi. 5. t Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 346.

(V) The name given by the Septuagint to this court deſerves ſome attention: They call it αυλην της σκηνης, *the court of the tabernacle*; which, well underſtood, ſeems to be a very proper name; for the houſe in *Solomon*'s building did anſwer the tabernacle of *Moſes*, and here and there equally was the *Shekinah*, or *inhabitation*, of the divine majeſty, to which St. *John* alſo ſeems to have an eye, when he ſays, *the* λογος *word* εσκηνωσεν εν ημιν *dwelt among us.*

Now this ſituation of the *New-Court* being allowed, we may, by it, further explain and fix the place where *Zechariah*, the high-prieſt's ſon, was killed. It is ſaid, this happened in the court of the houſe of the Lord (55), between the temple and the altar (56), which muſt be as he came out of the temple, into this *New-Court*, towards the wall before the porch.

(X) The Septuagint call it αυλην ιερα, where ιερα ought not to be taken for *hecal* commonly rendered, as has already been obſerved (57) by another *Greek* word, but never, as we know, by ιερον. This laſt word, as made uſe of both by them and *Joſephus* (58), does ſignify either the whole of the building, or ſome out-part of it, and is properly a ſacred place, or conſecrated ground; the court of *Iſrael* being its proper court, as it encompaſſed round about immediately that of the prieſts, and mediately the temple itſelf and oracle.

(Y) His words are, "Beyond this partition was "another ſquare court, (*gr.* ιερον) or building, with "large porticoes or galleries about it, and four "ſtately gates that opened eaſt, weſt, north, and "ſouth, the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. "This place was common to all the people.—The "erecting of this outward building was ſo ſtupen-

"dous

(55) 2 *Chron.* xx. 5. (56) *John* i. 14. (57) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 4. *Coll. Ezik.* xlv. 19. (58) *Antiq.* viii. c. 3. p. 346.

r. HASTE we now to fix the gates. There were three on three ſides of the temple, eaſt, north, and ſouth; beſides two on the weſt ſide. Theſe gates were kept by wardens, truſted with power and authority, who had under them numbers of *Levites*; for we read [u], Among theſe were the diviſions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one againſt another, to ſerve in the houſe of the Lord; and they caſt lots, as well the ſmall as the great, for every gate. We have nothing remarkable to ſay concerning the north and eaſt gates; but juſt by that to the ſouth, we find *the houſe of Aſuppim* [x], and what this houſe was is not eaſy to determine; however, as this belongs properly to our ſubject, we ſhall make our beſt endeavours towards a diſcovery that way.

s. THE radical verb *Aſap* ſignifies to *add*, *aſſemble*, or *gather together*, and the ſeveral nouns derived from it keep all this primitive ſenſe; ſo that it is to be preſumed, it is alſo preſerved in the word *Aſuppim*; but as this idea is indefinite, we muſt try to fix it by the uſe of this word, to be found only in the place already quoted, and a little lower [y], and in *Nehemiah* [z]. In the firſt quotation, the tranſlation is word for word *the houſe of Aſuppim*, but the ſenſe ſeems rather (Z) to imply each of the two houſes, for ſo many there were under the direction of *Obed-edom* and his ſons. In the ſecond text, the tranſlation ſays, *toward* Aſuppim *two* and *two*, (adding the word *and*, which is not in the *Hebrew*) and as far as can be judged, the true ſenſe is this, There were four *Levites* truſted with the care of the *Aſuppim*, two to the one, and two to the other. This ſeems to be confirmed by the third paſſage, that in *Nehemiah*, for one reads, according to the *Hebrew*, *Porters keeping the ward at the* Aſuppim *of the gates*. In the verſion it is *at the threſholds*, and in the margin *treaſuries*, or *aſſemblies*. It would have been better to have preſerved in the tranſlation the *Hebrew* word *Aſuppim*, which, though a proper name, is there a caſe governed. And if the three above-mentioned paſſages are carefully compared together, it will plainly appear, that there were near the gate we have been ſpeaking of, two houſes, or diſtinct apartments, one on each ſide of this gate, where either the prieſts or the levites, or it may be both orders, aſſembled at times, either about buſineſs relating to the temple, or depoſited all things of uſe in that conſecrated place, ſince *gathering* and *aſſembling* are equally an apt tranſlation of the word *Aſuppim*. Beſides, we find in holy writ, that there were ſuch apartments or houſes within the incloſure, or precinct of the temple, or its courts. So, for example, *Jeremiah* [a] *brought the* Rechabites *into the houſe of the Lord, into one of the chambers, where he did put before them pots full of wine*, and ſo on. This room, which, for that very reaſon, we may ſuppoſe to have had ſome extent, did belong to the offspring of *Igdaliah*, *a man of God*, that is to ſay, *a prophet*; and its ſituation is ſaid to have been next to the chamber of the *princes*, or chief men, which in the temple can be underſtood only of the prieſts, or chiefs of the levites. Beſides, it is ſaid, that this chamber was *above the chamber of* Maaſejah, *the keeper of the door*. It was an *upper room*. And it is well known, that about buſineſs of moment they met in ſuch rooms among the *Jews*, which was ſtill a cuſtom in the time of the apoſtles [b]. Let that be as it will, there are ſeen here in the ſame houſe large rooms, different or diſtinct both in relation to the uſes they were put to, and the perſons that occupied them, whether they met or lodged in them, in order to be of ſervice to the temple, or its miniſters; or whether in particular the lower part, or ground floor of theſe houſes, ſerved as ſtore-houſes, or treaſuries, which, it ſeems, may be gathered from what is related

[u] 1 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13: [x] Ibid. ver. 15. [y] ver. 17. [z] Chap. xii. ver. 25. [a] Chap. xxxv. 2, &c. [b] Acts i. 13, & paſſ.

" duous an undertaking, that no tongue can ex-
" preſs the difficulties of raiſing it, and a man
" would have much ado to believe his own very
" eyes that ſaw it. Such hollows, ſuch depths to
" be filled up, as a body would hardly have look-
" ed upon, or but ſo much as fancied, without
" turning his brain; 400 cubits to be brought up
" to a level with the top of the mountain, only to
" make the work regular and the ground even.
" This port was encompaſſed again with a kind of
" double cloyſter, and two rows of pillars to ſup-
" port it, every pillar being cut whole out of the
" rock; the doors were all ſilver work, &c.

(Z) According to an uſual way of ſpeaking in ſcripture; as where we read, *The* fool *hath ſaid* (59). *How ſweet thy* word (60). *Let us lurk for the* innocent (61). *The* wicked *flee* (62). She, *that is, the* woman, *ſhall be ſaved* (63). For, by what follows, the ſenſe appears to be *each* or *either* of the things and perſons mentioned. See above, letter O.

(59) *Pſ.* xiv. 1. (60) cxix. 103. (61) *Prov.* i. 11. (62) xxvii. 1. (63) 1 *Tim.* ii. 15.

related elſewhere [c], *That* Amaziah *took all the gold, and the ſilver, and all the veſſels, that were found in the houſe of God with* Obed-edom (A).

t. It will be pertinent enough, before we go to the other gate, to put here together what we have more to ſay concerning the other apartments we have delineated in this court of the people. Upon which two things are very diſtinctly to be conſidered, the firſt relates to the form and particular ſituation of theſe apartments, and this we muſt frankly own we are ignorant of. But as it was abſolutely neceſſary to place them ſome where, we have diſpoſed of them, in the plaineſt manner we could, to the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and repreſent them as may be thought moſt proper. The ſecond thing we have to ſay about theſe chambers is concerning their real exiſtence, of which there is no room to doubt. For ſetting aſide what has juſt now been inſtanced of the *Aſuppim*, and apartments mentioned by *Jeremiah*; and ſuppoſing them to be different from thoſe we are now ſpeaking of, it is plain from holy writ [d], that *David gave to* Solomon *the pattern of the courts of the houſe of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treaſuries of the houſe of God, and of the treaſuries of the dedicated things*; and this order was executed, for [e] *Ahijah was over the treaſuries of the houſe of God, and over the treaſures of the dedicated things* (B). To this it may be added, that in the temple of *Zorobabel*, in *Nehemiah*'s time, when to be ſure there had been no thoughts of exceeding *Solomon*'s temple, *Eliaſhib* [f] *the prieſt having the overſight of the chamber*, or rather of each chamber (C), *of the houſe of God, had prepared for* Tobiah, *one allied unto him, a great chamber, where afore-time they laid the meat-offering, the frankincenſe, and the veſſels, and the tythes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the offerings in the courts of the houſe of God.*

We would have theſe laſt words to be attended to, becauſe theſe chambres ſhould be carefully diſtinguiſhed from thoſe already mentioned [g], which immediately joined the temple. For beſides that theſe laſt, as has been ſeen [h], were very ſmall, and did not ſeem to have been capacious enough for thoſe uſes the others were put to; the difference of their names makes it probable, that theſe chambers were different. Thoſe about the temple are called *Jaziah* (D), and thoſe in the courts *Leſhacoth*, and they were the chief porters that were over thoſe chambers, or, as in the margin, ſtore-houſes and treaſuries of the houſe of God [i]; and very large they ought to have been indeed, ſince in one of them the chamber of *Gemariah*, in the higher court (E), which was that we are about. *Baruc* did read the words of *Jeremiah* in the ears of all the people [k], which cannot well be underſtood but of a conſiderable number there met together (F).

Let

[c] 2 Chron. xxv. 24, [d] 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. [e] Ibid. xxvi. 20. [f] Nehem. xiii. 4, 5.
[g] Supra Litt. g. in marg. [h] Ibid. [i] 1 Chron. ix. 26. [k] Jerem. xxxvi. 10.

(A) Not ſurely the ſame *Obed-edom*, who, from the foundation of the temple, had been chief warden of the *Aſuppim*, with his ſons under him, but one of his family, or poſterity, who now was in the ſame employment or office; either bearing the ſame name, or going by it in that his publick capacity, or as ſucceſſor to him. Somewhat like we ſee in the names of *Iſrael*, *Judah*, *David*, &c.

(B) It may be not unworthy taking notice, that the ſame word אֹצְרוֹת *Ozroth*, is equally in both texts, though it be differently tranſlated, *viz. Treaſuries* and *Treaſures*.

(C) According as has been obſerved above, though it may be the four *Hebrew* characters there לִשְׁכַּת are not rightly punctuated for *Liſhcath*, in the ſingular, a *chamber*, but ought to have been ſo for *Leſhacoth*, in the plural, *chambers*. Yet, one way or other, the ſenſe is much the ſame.

(D) יציע we take to have been ſomewhat like the *Italians corridore*, which ſome derive from *currere*, where one may *run in*, round about an houſe, as you have ſome furniſhed with bed-rooms in our hoſpitals and colleges. And truly the *Hebrew* word comes up to that notion, for יצע *jazah*, is to *lay*, and יצוע *jazuah*, a *bed*, *Pſal.* 132. 139. However, in the *jaziah*, belonging to the temple, the rooms were of a ſmaller ſort, but לשכות *Leſhacoth*, the larger ſort of them, like our dining-rooms, parlours, or halls. And indeed in that emblematical temple of *Ezekiel*, where all is repreſented, in the height of grandeur and bigneſs, far above that of *Solomon*'s temple, there is no mention of any ſuch thing as *jaziah*, but, in its ſtead, ſo many *Leſhacoth*. Yet it may be objected, that *David* gave to *Solomon* the pattern of the court of the houſe of the Lord, and of all the chambers, *Leſhacoth*, round about (64). True they were ſuch rooms, but not joining to the houſe, as the *jaziahs* which *Solomon* built againſt it (65).

(E) This is an expreſſion that occurs but once, and is therefore the harder to be underſtood; though of itſelf a plain one, which ſeems to be in relation to a court that ſtood lower. But it may be, no more is intended than thereby to ſignify the *great court*. However, if *higher*, muſt be taken in the proper ſenſe; to us it appears, 'tis the *new court* that is here called the *higher*, becauſe thereon was the temple, in the eaſt of the hill, where, it is commonly ſuppoſed, was its top.

(F) It may be ſaid indeed, he might read it out of a window or balcony, which we are not willing to oppoſe; but then we do further remark, that this chamber, out of which he read, was at the *entry of the new gate*, ſuppoſed to be the caſtern, and near it, in either courts, might be large apartments.

(64) 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 12. (65) 1 *Kings* vi. 5. 10.

w. LET us now conſider the gates to the weſt, which deſerve a particular attention. Thus ſays the ſacred hiſtorian [l], *To* Shuppim *and* Hoſah *the lot came forth weſtward with the gate* Shallecheth, *by the cauſey of the going up, ward againſt ward,* and [m] *at* Parbar *weſtward, four at the cauſey, two at* Parbar. As to the firſt at ſouth-weſt, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a projecture, as we call it from the *Latin*, or a jutting or leaning out in a building. The word is found only in two places of ſcripture, this of *Chronicles*, and another [n] where it is ſaid of oaks, whoſe *ſubſtance* is in them *when they caſt their leaves*, ſays our verſion, but the *Hebrew be-ſhallecheth*, where the particle *be* ſtands for *in*, and *Shallecheth*, we ſhould think to be, *what is riſen, or above ground*, for here ſuch trees very well *ſtand* or *ſubſiſt* (G).

HOWEVER, when the name of *Shallecheth* is given to the gate we are ſpeaking of, we ſee it at the ſame time joined to a *cauſey*. This was a jettee, bank, terraſs, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here, it ſeems, ſhould be placed the *miſhad*, made for the temple by the king [o]. The tranſlation calls it *pillars* in the text, but in the margin *rails*, *(Heb. a prop)* and in another place it bears the name of [p] *Meſilloth*, rendered by *terriſes* in the text, but in the margin *ſtays*, *(Heb. high-ways)* the ſenſe of all which comes to one; for the ground without the temple ſeems to have been very uneven, and in order to make the coming to it not only commodious, but delightful, *Solomon* contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which anſwered the gate *Shallecheth*, and the other the palace, over-againſt the ſouth-ſide of the temple, to the north of mount *Sion*. It is in this diſpoſal or order we are to conſider what is called [q] *his aſcent, by which he went up into the houſe of the Lord*; which aſcent was built by *Solomon* in ſo coſtly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of *Sheba*. Thus have we aſſigned a cauſe why this gate ſhould be called *Shallecheth*; and as there was the greateſt concourſe of thoſe about court, and in general from the high city, here were two diſtinct guard-houſes, parallel to one another, one under *Shuppim*, and the other under his co-partner *Hoſah*.

x. BUT the ſecond to the weſt, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has ſince been called the *lower*; and this gate was called *Parbar* (H), the way from it leading to the ſuburbs named in ſacred hiſtory *Parvarim* [r], from which this gate ſeems to derive its name, but ſlightly altered, the *b* and *v* conſonant being capable of permutation, as is eaſy to be ſeen in moſt languages, both antient and modern. Now as the temple might be more expoſed on that ſide than any where elſe, and there was a very great concourſe of people, the out-let of the road near the gate was guarded by *four Levites*, and the gate itſelf by *two* more. But now let us return to the temple by the terraſs-gate.

y. HERE we find *the covert for the ſabbath*, and *(z) the king's entry* adjoining to it; for we read in ſacred hiſtory [s], that *king* Ahaz *cut off the borders of the baſes, and removed the laver from off them, and took down the ſea from the brazen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of ſtones: and the* covert for the ſabbath *that they had built in the houſe, and the* king's entry without, *turned he from the houſe of the Lord, for the king of* Aſſyria. We preſume ſomewhat of a commentary on this paſſage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

We muſt firſt form to ourſelves an idea of this *covert*, called in *Hebrew Miſac*, or, as the *Maſorites* read it, *Muſac*; which pronunciation is not of great concern, for this word is to be found only in this place, the ſignification of which it is no eaſy matter to aſcertain. *Sacah* is *to cover*, and *Maſac a covering* or *veil*. As for the thing itſelf, we muſt look for what may relate to it among thoſe things built by *Solomon* in the temple. At the time of its dedication one finds [t], *he had made*

[l] 1 Chron. xxvi. 16. [m] Ibid. ver. 18. [n] Iſaiah vi. 13. [o] 1 Kings x. 12.
[p] 2 Chron. ix. 11. [q] Kings ubi ſupr. ver. 5. Ch. v. 4. [r] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. [s] 2 Kings xvi. 18.
[t] 2 Chron. vi. 13.

(G) This, to us, appears to be the true notion the *Hebrew* text gives of what we have ſeen rendered by the word *Subſtance*, which is מצבת *Mazebeth*, the *ſubſiſtence*, properly, or *ſubſiſting* of a thing, wherefore it ſignifies a *pillar* and *monument* *Gen.* xxxv. 14. 20.

(H) Which word the *Targum* does expound by that of בראי *barr*, i. e. *without*; and this ſenſe of it ſeems very probable, ſince *Parbar* had its iſſue, or out-let, into the then out-parts of *Jeruſalem*.

made a brazen ſcaffold, (in *Hebrew* it is *Kior*) *of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had ſet it up in the midſt of the court, and upon it he ſtood,* and ſo on. Here it is eaſy to imagine a raiſed up place, where ſtood the king. It might be in the ſhape of a hemiſphere, or hollow veſſel, almoſt like the concha, or triumphal car of the *Romans*; but whatever might be this *Kior*, it muſt of neceſſity have reſted upon, or been ſupported by a pedeſtal or column. This the *Vulgate*, following the *Septuagint*, expreſſes by the word *baſe*, inſtead of the *Hebrew Kior*. Much the ſame figure therefore would have been made uſe of, both in the text and tranſlations, where the whole takes its denomination from a *part* of the throne. We ſhall try to diſtinguiſh every one of them that made up this royal ſeat.

Firſt, We take notice of the *baſe* or *column*; for it is ſaid of *Joas*, when he was proclaimed king [u], *He ſtood upon the pillar:* this is the true meaning of the *Hebrew*, the ſame turn of expreſſion already made uſe of in relation to *Solomon*, although in the tranſlation it is *by a pillar*; and, what is very remarkable, the text adds *Cam-miſhphath*, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were uſed to do in the temple, in their uſual place or throne. According to this, *Joſiah*, in order to renew the covenant [y], *ſtood upon the pillar*, according to the text; and this ſame pillar the king ſtood upon is, even in our tranſlation [z], called *his place wherein he ſtood.* It is plain to be ſeen this *place* was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the *Iſraelites*, in their *court*, in the *midſt* of which the ſacred hiſtorian has fixed the throne [a] *before the altar* [b]. But it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that the king did not ſtand or ſit there, when he came to the temple in the form of an humble ſupplicant to the God of *Iſrael*, or to aſk his council; for in this caſe, it ſeems, the kings were mixed and confounded among the crowd of their ſubjects. At leaſt it is ſaid of *Hezekiah* [c], after he had received the threatning letter of the *Aſſyrian* king, *He went up into the houſe of the Lord, and ſpread it before the Lord, and prayed*, &c. where no mention is made of his ſtanding upon the pillar. And we are the more apt to judge he did not, for that *Jehoſaphat* before him [d], when, in fear of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, he had proclaimed a faſt, *He ſtood in the congregation of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *in the houſe of the Lord*, before the new court, *and there prayed.* There the king would not appear upon his throne, but went as near to the temple as he could, which, in our opinion, is intimated by his ſtanding before the *new court*; for we have ſeen this court was immediately next to the temple, whereas the court of the prieſts, properly ſo called, before which ſtood the throne, was further off. However, the throne was the ordinary ſeat upon all ſolemn occaſions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there alſo it was young *Joaſh* was ſeated, in all the pomp of a king, at his inauguration. So the hiſtorian ſays [g], *The king ſtood upon his pillar at the entring in, and the princes and the trumpets*, &c. Our tranſlation here again is *ſtood at his pillar*, but we do not chuſe to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, Upon this pillar was a ſort of alcove, or ſmall gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the ſame ſhape as our *pulpits*. This reſted on the central point of its convex ſide upon the pillar: There the king might either ſit or ſtand, and turn himſelf about to the temple, altar, or conſecration, as he had occaſion, as is obſerved of *Solomon* at the conſecration of the temple [f].

Thirdly, The *Kior* ſeems to have been covered, as is at preſent the throne of our kings, and for this reaſon it was called *Muſac*, which may be explained by canopy or cloth of ſtate, this third part denominating the two firſt.

But it is not eaſy to conceive, for what reaſon, to the idea of covering is joined that of *Sabbath*. The word *Sabbath* properly is reſt, and figuratively the ſolemn day on which one did reſt. If you take it in the firſt ſenſe, it muſt only be underſtood, that the *Muſac* covered the place where the king reſted, or ſat down (I), every one elſe ſtanding [g]: if you take it in the ſecond ſenſe, it may imply, that the *Kior*, or *throne*, was covered with the *Muſac*, or *cloth of ſtate*, only on the laſt day

[u] 2 Kings xi. 14. xxxiv. 31.
[x] עמד אל עמוד Homed al-hamoud.
[a] Ibid. vi. 13.
[b] Ubi ſup. ver. 12.
[c] Ibid. xxiii. 13.
[d] 2 Chron. xx. 5.
[e] 2 Kings xix. 14.
[f] 1 Kings viii. 14. 2 Chron. vi. 3, 12, 13.
[g] Ubi ſup. ver. 3.
[y] 1 Kings xxiii. 3.
[z] 2 Chron.

(I) The ſeventy interpreters ſeem to have taken it in this ſenſe. For they tranſlate the covert of the ſabbath by το θεμελιον της καθιδρας, the *foundation of the chair*, or *ſeat*.

day of the week, the day of reſt or ſabbath; and then it was laid up till the next ſabbath-day, unleſs ſome high feſtival intervened that required the king's preſence in the temple.

It may give ſome air of probability to this ſecond conjecture to take notice, that the *Muſac* was ſurely a very rich and valuable piece of work, ſince *Ahaz* made uſe of it with a deſign to glut the avarice of the king of *Aſſyria*, whom he had very imprudently called to his aid againſt the king of *Damaſcus* [h].

It will now be proper to ſhew the agreement between what we have been ſpeaking of and the *King's entry without*. In order to do this, it will be needful to conſider what is written in the New Teſtament concerning *Solomon*'s *Porch*: Chriſt uſed to walk then in the temple [i], the apoſtles were all with one accord there alſo [k], and all the people ran togethet unto them in the porch that is called *Solomon*'s [l]. Now that this king had built ſuch a porch *Joſephus* acknowledges [m], but placeth it eaſtward, which ſeems to be an error, unleſs he meant that it went up eaſtward, which is true in our opinion. However, the authority of St. *Luke* and St. *John* is ſufficient to make us conclude, that among the ſeveral portico's the temple was adorned with in their time, one in particular was looked upon as *Solomon*'s. A ſure ſign that it was ſuppoſed he had built one, which ſufficeth for our purpoſe.

We ſhall not here undertake to deſcribe exactly the ſtructure, nor even the ſituation, of that built by *Solomon*. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itſelf from the gate, where ended the terraſs by which the king went up from his palace, to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a ſtrait line as far as over-againſt the *Muſac*; but then to go to the *Muſac* joining to the wall of the court of prieſts, one muſt turn to the left, and that *turning* will preciſely be the *Mebo*, or *King's entry*. It is to be ſuppoſed, the *porch* from the gate *Shallecheth*, as far as this entry, might be a common paſſage for the uſe of the publick as well as of the king; but from the turning to the throne, as has already been obſerved, it was the the king's entry properly ſo called; which conſequently was adorned and inriched much more magnificently than the reſt For which reaſon *Ahaz* made uſe of it, as well as of the *covert of the ſabbath*, to buy the aſſiſtance of the king of *Aſſyria*. Not that we are to think, that *Ahaz* deſtroyed the whole building, which was not neceſſary; but, as we read of *Hezekiah* [n], that *he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which he had over-laid. and gave it to the king of* Aſſyria, now the ſame did *Ahaz*, *Taking away a portion out of the houſe of the Lord* [o], viz. *The king's entry and covert for the ſabbath*, juſt as *Hezekiah* did the reſt aboveſaid.

But what may be of more weight in this enquiry is, that this hypotheſis of the ſituation of the *Muſac*, or *royal throne*, will clear up a circumſtance in *Joaſh*'s inauguration, otherwiſe very difficult to be underſtood [p]. It is well known, that that prince, by *Jehoiada*'s means, having been proclaimed in the temple, the noiſe was heard by *Athaliah* in her palace; upon which ſhe in haſte ran to the temple by the terraſs-walk, which for her was the readieſt and ſhorteſt way (K.) She went

[h] 2 Kings xvi. 7. [i] John x. 23. [k] Acts v. 12. [l] Ibid. iii. 11. [m] Antiq. lib. xx. c. 8. p. 899, & B. I. lib. v. c. 5. p. 1225. [n] 2 Kings xviii. 16. [o] 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. [p] 2 Kings xi. —— 2 Chron. xxiii.

(K) We confeſs no place of ſcripture gives the ſituation of this palace, ſo as to fix it exactly. However, it is probable, the ground it ſtood upon was called the *middle city*, as we have it in the margin of our tranſlation, though in the text, *middle court* (66). The truth of which is, what is written in the *Hebrew*, called *ketib*, is חעיר *habir*, *the city*; but what is read according to the *Maſorites*, called *keri*, is חצר *hazer*, or *chazer*, a *court*. Now ſuppoſing, as is likely, the true reading to be *habir*, this ſhews where the palace ſtood; for nothing could well be called the *middle city*, but what had weſtward the top of mount *Sion*, whereon was built the higher city, or city of *David*. And then at the foot of this mount, on a plain, or level ſurface to the eaſt, you meet with the palace of *Solomon*, though not in a low place; for to the north, a large valley lay betwixt it and the temple, ſtanding itſelf upon that other hillock called *Moriah*. Further it does appear (67). the palace ſtood in the eaſtern part of *Jeruſalem*, where was the court of the priſon, the water-gate, and the horſe-gate that led to the palace, whoſe front looked up to the temple, both Places having an eaſy communication by the celebrated terraſs, or aſcent, of which before.

(66) 2 *Kings xx.* 4. (67) *Nehem. iii.* 25.—28. *Conf.* 2 *Kings xi.* 16. & 2 *Chron. xxiii.* 15.

went in at the gate *Shallecheth*, and croſſed what we have have called the portico, or porch of *Solomon*, at leaſt that part of the court, where ſtood in arms the *Levites*, according to the directions of the high-prieſt [q]. They, ſeeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, did let her advance, ſo that ſhe drew nearer; and coming as far as the *King's entry*, or directly over-againſt it, it is ſaid [r], *She looked*, and *behold the king ſtood upon his pillar at* [s] *the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king.*—Then *Athaliah rent her cloaths, and ſaid, Treaſon! Treaſon!* Hereupon the high-prieſt, *Jehoida*, ordered the commanding officers to *have her forth of the ranges* [t]; which, according as their armed *Levites* were poſted, could not more conveniently and with greater ſurety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of *Aſuppim*, which was over-againſt the king's entry to the ſouth (L). By this gate then *Athaliah* was thruſt out of the temple immediately, and the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eaſtern gate of *Jeruſalem*, called, *Miphkad*, or *priſon gate* [u], then turning to the right by the corner [x], down to the horſe gate [y], eaſtward of the palace, thereabouts ſhe was killed. Soon after the high-prieſt brought the king from the temple to the palace, by the way of the gate of the guard (M), and thence through the great or high gate of that palace [z]. This we reckon is the true ſenſe; though ſome would underſtand by this high gate a gate of the temple; but there was no ſuch gate in the temple till the reign of *Jotham*, of whom it is ſaid in expreſs terms * *He built the high gate of the houſe of the Lord*; which is generally taken to be that towards the eaſt (N). But let this ſuffice, poſſibly have we launched out too far, and ventured upon too many conjectures; but we hope the reader will do us the juſtice to acknowledge we have kept our word, in carefully diſtinguiſhing between probable opinions and things of greater certainty.

I beg leave to conclude the whole with one remark. It is allowed, that the main ſcope of the ſacred writings was not ſo much to ſatisfy our vain curioſity, as to inſpire us with the love of all chriſtian virtues; and therefore, though we may juſtly expect that every thing which relates to this latter, which is the eſſential of religion, ſhould be delivered with all poſſible clearneſs, it would be abſurd to expect the ſame ſatisfaction about the former. Thoſe leſs important points, many of which are well worth enquiring after, make a branch of chriſtian philology, in which every man, being forced to ſupply the want of evidence with probable conjectures, is intitled to differ from others, whenever he thinks his own better grounded. But though in points, like this I have been upon it be almoſt lawful to err, yet thoſe are more excuſable who keep a conſtant regard to the ſacred original above all things, than thoſe who manifeſtly depart from it, to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the *Jews*. Now, as I have drawn the greateſt part of my light from the former, I am ſenſible, that thoſe who have been converſant with all the pompous deſcriptions we have extant, will be ſurpriſed to find this of mine come

[q] Kings ubi ſup. ver. 5. 11. [r] Ibid. 14. [s] Chron. ubi ſup. ver. 13. [t] Kings ubi ſup. 15. & Chron. ubi ſup. 15. [u] Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3. 9. [x] Jerem. xxxi. 40. [y] 2 Kings xi. 16. [z] Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28. [z] 2 Chron. xxiii. 20. * 2 Kings xv. 35. & 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the *Levites* had three different poſts joining to one another (68); one third part was to guard the *King's houſe*, or apartment, next to the temple, ſouthward; another to be at the gate of *Sur*, or *turning*, which ſeems to be that of *Aſuppim*, whereat the king turned to his throne. It is indeed called by another name, but very like it in the *Hebrew*, *viz.* the gate of *Sippim*, where our verſion has *doors* or *threſholds*. The laſt was at the gate *beyond the guard*, or *runners* (69), which ſeems to be that of *Shallecheth*. For the king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may ſee, that there was their proper ſtation in the avenue. It is alſo called the gate of *foundation*, becauſe of the *projecture* there made with the terraſs, as has been obſerved.

(M) So ſays the firſt of the ſacred hiſtorians (70), meaning, as we take it, the gate that before has been called *the gate beyond the guard*, viz. *Shallecheth*, or ſouth-weſtern gate. But if one had rather, that the gate of the guard, here, which is ſomewhat different from the other, ſhould ſignify the ſame with the high gate in *Chronicles*, where the guard of the king's houſe ſtood; this will make no variation in the main; for as it is rightly ſuppoſed to have been in the front of the palace, it was the firſt gate they met with coming from the Lord's to the *King's houſe* over the terraſs, or aſcent.

(N) This we do remark, becauſe *Ezekiel* (71) ſpeaks of the *higher gate that lieth toward the north*, the ſame, it ſeems, with that which *Jeremy* (72) calls the *high gate of* Benjamin, which was בבית bebeth *in* or *by the houſe of the* LORD.

(68) *See* 2 *Kings xi.* 5. *&c.* 2 *Chron. xxiii.* 4. *&c.*
(69) *See of them*, 2 *Sam. xv.* 1. 1 *Kings i.* 5. *xiv.* 27.
(70) 2 *Kings xi.* 19.
(71) *Cap. ix.* 2.
(72) *Cap. xx.* 2.

A PLAN of the CITY of JERUSALEM

according to the Description thereof in the Books of the

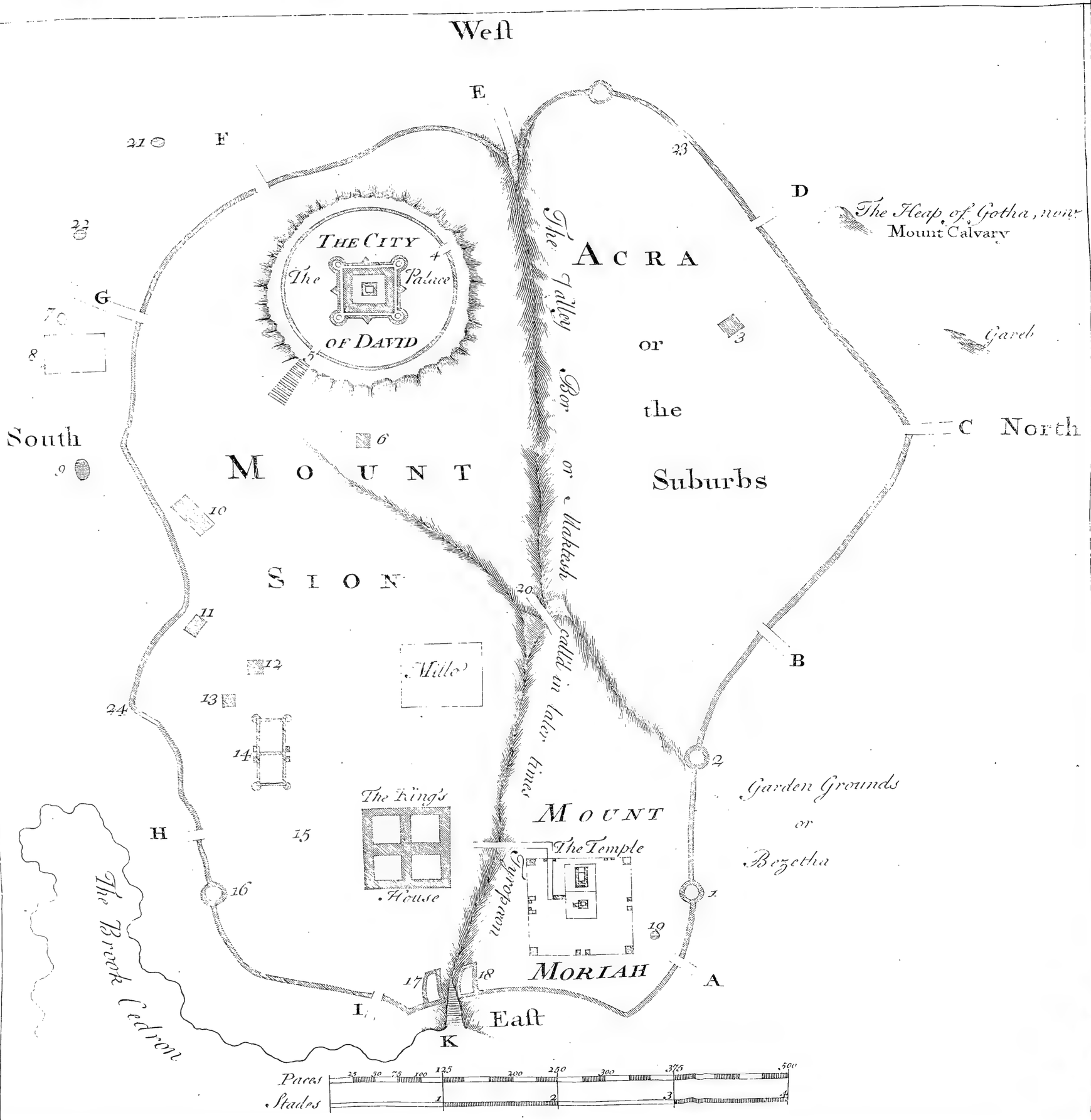
OLD TESTAMENT but more especially in that of **NEHEMIAH.**

The Explanation

A *The Sheep Gate*
B *The Fish Gate*
C *The Old Gate, or Corner Gate*
D *The Gate of Ephraim*
E *The Valley Gate*
F *The Dung Gate*
G *The Gate of the Fountain*
H *The Water Gate*
I *The Horse Gate*
K *The Gate Hiphkad*

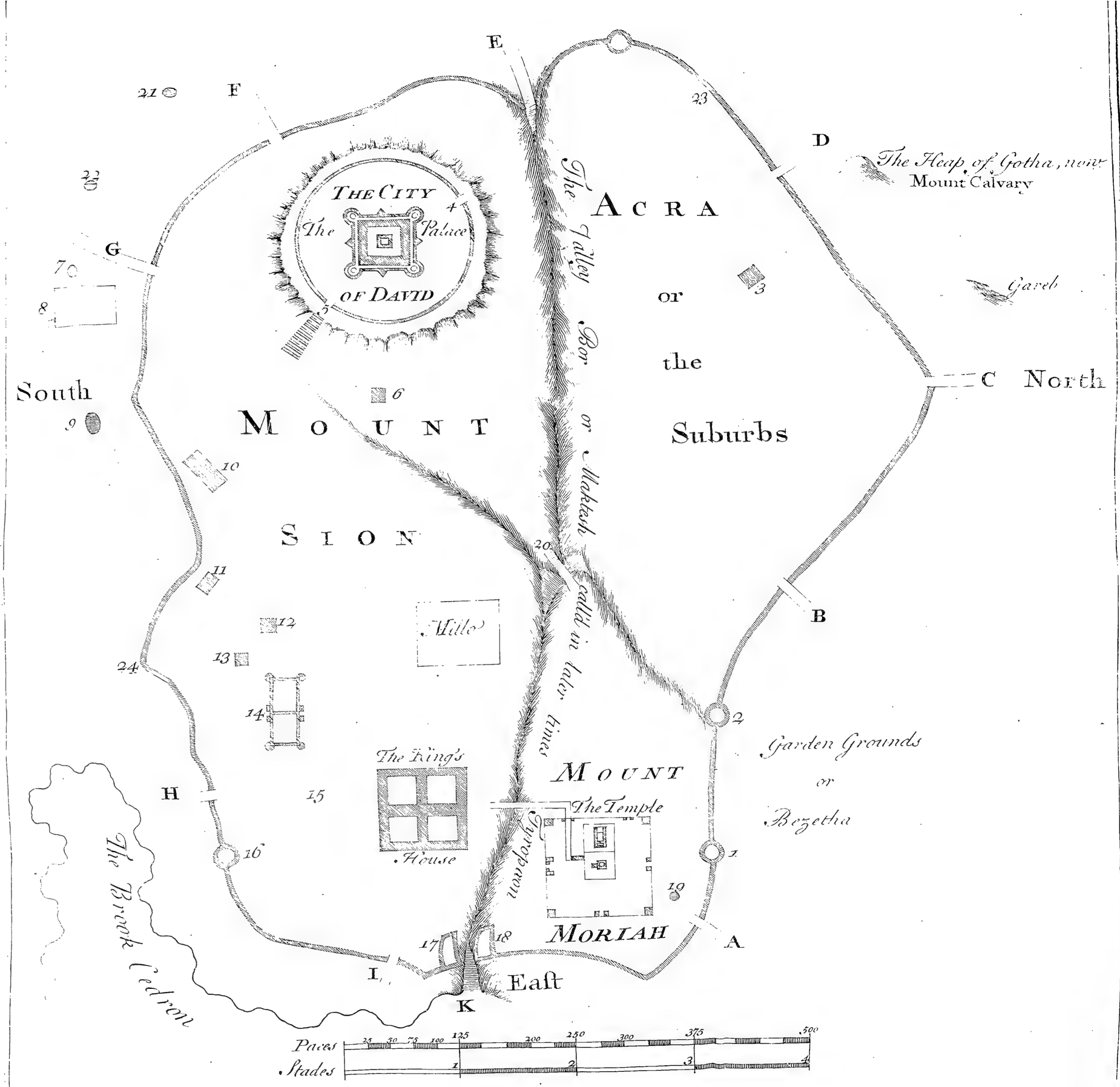
1 *The Tower of Meah*
2 *The Tower of Hananeel*
3 *The Governors House*
4 *The Gate from the City of David towards the Valley*
5 *Another Gate from the said City against the Stairs*
6 *The Sepulchre of David*
7 *The Pool of Siloh*
8 *The Kings Garden*
9 *The Pool made by Hezekiah*
10 *The House of the Mighty, or the Guard House*
11 *The Arsenal or Armery*
12 *The High Priests Palace*
13 *The House of Azariah*
14 *The Mattarah or State Prison*
15 *The Place where Ezra read the Law*
16 *The Tower of Ophel*
17 *The Station of the Nethinims*
18 *The Moneychangers Hall*
19 *The Pool by the Sheep Market called Bethesda*
20 *The middle Gate in the Valley*
21 *The Dragons Well*
22 *The Kings Pool*
23 *The Broad Wall*
24 *The Miezoah, or turning of the Wall*

NB. *See the particulars of the Temple in the foregoing Plan of it.*



E The Valley Gate
F The Duna Gate
G The Gate of the Fountain
H The Water Gate
I The Horse Gate
K The Gate Hiphkad
1 The Tower of Meah
2 The Tower of Hananeel
3 The Governor's House
4 The Gate from the City of David towards the Valley
5 Another Gate from the said City against the Stairs
6 The Sepulchre of David
7 The Pool of Shiloh
8 The King's Garden
9 The Pool made by Hezekiah
10 The House of the Mighty, or the Guard House
11 The Arsenal or Armory
12 The High Priest's Palace
13 The House of Izariah
14 The Mallarah or State Prison
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23 The Broad Wall
24 The Hiezoah, or turning of the Wall

NB. See the particulars of the Temple in the foregoing Plan of it.



ne ſo vaſtly ſhort of the boaſted magnificence of that ſacred building. But here
eſire it may be remembered, that as this was deſigned to contain no more than
ild be met with, or fairly deduced from the ſacred writings, ſo the reader
l at leaſt reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what
or is not, authentick in other plans of this ſtructure, than he could have been
:hout it.

A Deſcription of JERUSALEM.

AFTER the account we have given of the holy city's greateſt ornament, *the Temple of* SOLOMON, we have thought it would not be unacceptable, for a ore comprehenſive view of the whole, to ſubjoin a deſcription of the city itſelf, cording to the ſacred hiſtorians.

IT is a general ſuppoſition, though, as we preſume, without any ſolid argument ſupport it, that *Melchiſedek*'s *Salem* ſtood in the ſame place, where afterwards as built the city, the ſubject of our preſent enquiry (A). We will not, at this me, undertake to decide the queſtion, but ſhall only take notice of the habita- ons of the *Canaanites*, who dwelt here and in the adjacent parts, being called *ebus* and *Jebuſi* [a]. *David* having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of hich was their *ſtrong hold*, made it his place of reſidence [b], and this is commonly illed *Zion*, or the *city of* David [c]. Under *Solomon* the name of *Jeruſalem* either firſt egan, or firſt got the better of the other; but there being no ſure reaſon aſſigned or this, nor any determined ſignification affixed to the name (B), we will dwell o longer upon theſe uncertainties, but enter into the matter in hand, by conſider- ig *Jeruſalem*. *Its Origin and Names.*

IN regard to its *holineſs*. We muſt not imagine this attribute has been given to it *Holineſs.* y the rabbies only, or by the legend of the ſhekels, which is *Jeruſalem the holy* [d]. *ſaiah* [e] tells us, that the *Iſraelites* call themſelves *of the holy city*. *Nehemiah* twice ualifies it by that title [f], all which doth ſufficiently ſhew it was generally alled ſo. In the new teſtament [g] the ſame title is ſeveral times given to it. Beſides, it is well known, that in the *Pſalms* it bears the name of *City of God*; n the *Prophets* [i] we read, that it ſhall be called the *Throne of the Lord*; our Saviour imſelf calls it the *City of the great king* [k], as being hallowed and conſecrated in a particular manner by God's reſidence in the temple. The rabbies [l] add, that here was a penalty forbidding the leaving a dead corps in it the ſpace of a night, and that the importation of dead mens bones was unlawful; notwithſtanding this, in it were contained the *Tombs* of the royal family [m]. It is further added by the rabbies, that within its walls were not to be ſeen gardens, trees, dung, or lime- kilns, or even cocks. In it no houſes were to be let; and this, I think, means only, that

[a] Joſh. xv. 8. xviii. 28. Jud. xv. 10. [b] 2 Sam. v. 7. 9. [c] Pſ. xlviii. & paſſ. 1 Chron. xi. 5.
[d] ירושלם הקדושה See above, p. 721. [e] Iſ. xlviii. 2. [f] Nehem. xi. 1. 18. [g] Math. iv. 5.
& paſſ. [h] Pſ. xlvi. 5. [i] Jerem. iii. 17. coll. Ezek. xxxviii. 35. Joel iii. 17. Zach. viii. 3.
[k] Matth. v. 35. coll. Pſ. xlviii. 3. [l] In Gemara Bava Kama & libro Siphra ap. RELAND. [m] Vid.
JOSEPH. Ant vii. p. 331. fin. conf. Nehem. iii. 16.

(A) What is generally alledged, that the tabernacle was in *Salem* (1), proves only, that it was the ſhortened or abridged name of that city, like that of *Solyma*. Some even have ſaid *Solymus* for *Hieroſolymitanus* (2).

Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem.

(B) ירושלים, according to the pronunciation of *Maſorites*, *Jerouſhalaim*; but to that of the *Chaldee*, in holy writ, *Jerouſhelem*; which is much the ſame as the *Greek* ιερουσαλημ, and our *Jeruſalem*. This word, in all likelihood, is compounded and derived from *Shalem*, or *Shalum*, *peace*; and, as ſeveral are of opinion, from *jarah*, to *fear*; or *raah*, to *ſee*; or *jaraſh*, to *inherit* or *poſſeſs*; or from *Jerus*, altered from *Jebus*, by a mutation of letters. We read in *Joſephus* (3), that by ſome it was thought *Homer* had called this city *Solyma*; and that truely the *Temple* was called, in *Hebrew*, *Solyma*, i. e. *ſafety*, or *ſecurity*. St. *Jerom* lays this to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's charge in very hard Words (4); and, as it ſeems, with ſome juſt ground. For, in another place, the ſame hiſtorian (5) tells us, that *Melchiſedeck* was the firſt that built the temple, το ιερον; and that after he had built it, he called it ιεροσολυμα, which was before named σολυμα: where that ſtrange etymology is again ſeen; not to mention other groſs errors, which give us room to think this paſſage is very much falſified (6). This may have happened to ſeveral others, which, it is to be hoped, will be reſtored by Mr. *Whiſton*, in the tranſlation he intends to publiſh.

(1) *Pſ.* lxxvi. 3. (2) VALER. FLAV. *lib.* 1. *Argonaut.* (3) *Ant.* vii. *p.* 287. (4) *Quod abſurdum eſſe peregrinæ linguæ mixturâ demonſtrat.* De Loc. Hebr. (5) *Bell. Jud.* vi. *p.* 1292. (6) *Conj. above temple, p.* 1. A.

that the inhabitants were obliged to exercise hospitality by entertaining their brethren, on whom it was incumbent to resort from all parts to *Jerusalem* on the days of the great *Festivals* (C).

Extent. It is no easy matter precisely to determine the *extent* of this city in its different changes. Its most antient state of perfection was under the flourishing reign of its founder's successor, I mean *Solomon*; in whose time this city, before embellished by his father *David*, appeared in its greatest lustre and beauty, and there is no great likelihood, that it was enlarged by those that came after him. The general and indeterminate descriptions, to be found in the authors of those times, will not permit us, as we have just now hinted, to settle with any exactness the bounds of it. We will however venture to suppose its circumference, at first, to have been about seven or eight *Stadia*, or a *Roman Mile*. It was certainly twice, or probably three times, as large under *Solomon*. After the *Captivity*, this city being rebuilt, took up much the same space as before; as may be gathered from *Nehemiah*'s [n] description of the ruins of the city, and its condition after it was repaired. This description of *Nehemiah* we shall take particular notice of, and at the same time shall not let that of *Josephus* pass unheeded. According to this historian, the whole *circumference* of *Jerusalem* was 33 *Stadia* [p], which is about four *Miles* and 125 *Paces*. But *Hecateus*, who has described it such as it was in his time, under *Ptolemy Lagus* [q], gives it no less than 50 *Stadia* [*], probably including the *outparts*, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reason to believe, that there was any considerable decrease, from the time of *Hecateus* to that of *Josephus*, so that we must stand to the measure of the last of these: we will only add, that *Hecateus*'s assertion, that there was in *Jerusalem one hundred and twenty thousand* inhabitants, is very probable (D).

Situation. The *situation* of this capital city of *Judæa* has always been extremely advantageous. The agreeable variety of rising grounds with which it was encompassed [r], the fruitful meadows that lay between, interspersed with clear rivulets and wholesome streams [s]; the hills on which it stood, which rose gradually one behind another, and looked like a natural *Amphitheatre*, made up as pleasing and delightful a prospect as can well be conceived.

Of these hills the two largest, *Zion* and *Acra*, were directly opposite to each other; on *Morija*, whose compass might be about three quarters of a mile, *Solomon* built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning by mount *Zion*.

This hill, as has already been shewn [t], bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and bounded by the valley of *Hinnom* (E) as the eastern by that of *Jehoshaphat* [u], which, it

[n] Chap. ii. iii. & xii. [o] Bell. Jud. vi. 4. cui tit. Ιεροσολυμων εκφρασις, p. 1321. [p] Ibid. p. 1322, N° iii.
[q] Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. [*] Apud Joseph. c. Apion. p. 1348. [r] ירושלם הרים סביב לה
Ps. cxxxv. 2. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3. 4. [t] See above Temple, descript. p. 3. [u] Joel iii. 2.

(C) Of this some have thought an imitation seems to be given in the gospel (7), where Christ will have a room made ready for him to eat the passover.

(D) His words are, ην οικησιμεν ανθρωπων περι δωδεκα μυριαδες, twelve myriads; now a myriad is 10,000; and 120,000 inhabitants may seem rather too few for such an extent as had *Jerusalem* of four miles. We see that in the siege perished, according to *Josephus* (8), 1,100,000 men, μυριαδες εξακοσιοι και δεκα, besides 97,000 taken prisoners during the war; and that this may gain more credit *Josephus* adds, as an undoubted proof, that in *Ctesia*'s enrollment on *Easter-day* were reckoned 255,600 lambs. Now there was not less than ten men to each lamb; so that the number of those that were purified according to the law, besides the rest, must have been two millions, five hundred and fifty-six thousand.

(E) גיא הנם *Ge-hinnom*, so it is called (9) in *Joshua*, where *Hinnom* is a man's name. In another place (10) it is the valley of the sons, or *children of Hinnom*: and it is said, that in this valley was *Topheth*, where the children were made to pass through the fire in honour to *Moloch*. Upon this account, it is thought this place took its name from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were kept beating, in order to drown their shrieks. But the text in *Joshua* shews, that the valley did bear this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. At least, if we believe *Maimon*, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flame only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol (11). However, in later times, the carrion was thrown into this valley 12); and, when it did not waste away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix up on the word *Gehenna*, (which represents in *Greek* and *Latin* the *Hebrew* word) the notion of hell-fire (13).

(7) *Matth.* xxvi. 17. (8) *De Bell. Jud. lib. ult.* p. 1291. (9) *Josh.* xv. 8. (10) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10. 11 Seld. *de Diis Syris, Synt.* i. *cap.* 6. (12) 2 *Kings* *ubi sup.* (13) *Matth.* v, 21. 29, & 30, *pass.*

it is thought, joined the other towards the ſouth [w]. Here were ſeveral ſprings, particularly that of *Gihon* [x], or *Shiloh* [y], which ran very plentifully with exceeding good water (F). To the north, *Zion* had another valley, that lined it from one end to the other, named by *Joſephus* [z] the *valley of the Cheeſemongers*; probably the ſame as that diſtinguiſhed in *Zephaniah*, by the epithet of the *Mactheſh* (G), tranſlated by the Septuagint την κατακεκομμενην, *that was cut into*, or *made hollow* (H).

Acra (I), with the ſaid valley to the ſouth, ſtood to the [b] north of *Zion*; its declivity was equal on every ſide, as *Joſephus* ſays; and we cannot give a better idea of theſe two hills, nor of the valley between them, than he who had ſo often ſeen them. According to this hiſtorian [c], *Jeruſalem* was built upon the two hills, *Zion* and *Acra*, directly oppoſite one to another, and ſeparated by the valley of the *Cheeſemongers*. The firſt was higher, and its length formed a much ſtraiter line than the ſecond. Upon it, that is *Zion*, ſtood the *high city*, in the author's time called the *high market-place*. The *lower city* ſtood upon *Acra*, but before that bore other names, as hath been already obſerved in the deſcription of the temple [d]. Acra.

Let us now examine theſe mountains, in relation to their different wards or quarters, ſtreets, and publick places, as well as palaces, and moſt remarkable buildings.

The principal quarter was called the *city of David* [e], on the top of mount *Zion*, towards the weſt. This was a fortification which encloſed that king's palace; and it is likely, that near this, afterwards, ſtood that of *Herod*, which ſerved as a citadel [f]. To the weſt of the fort was מצפה *Mizpah*, or *Maſpha*, according as the *Hebrew* word is differently pronounced; but this is not the knotty part of the queſtion: the difficulty would be to prove, that *Mizpah* was a part of *Jeruſalem*, it being ſure, that near it was a ſmall town that bore that name [g]. Theſe are the words of *Nehemiah* [h], *Shallum* of *Cothozeh*, ruler of the פלך *Pelec* of *Mizpah*, repaired the gate of the fountain. Now *Pelec* in *Hebrew* is a *ſtaff* [i], and ſo may ſignify a *diſtrict*, *ward*, or *quarter*, ſubject to a particular juriſdiction or inſpection, in the ſame manner as שבט *Shebet*, *a rod* ſignifies *a tribe*. The *Chaldee* dialect makes uſe of *Pelac*, and פלכא *Pileca*, in the ſame ſenſe as is here given to *Pelec*. The *Arabians* give this name, which they pronounce *Felec*, to a ſphere; ſo that it would be a pretty good tranſlation of παροικια *Pariſh*, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The *Septuagint* tranſlate it here *part*, or *portion*; but every where elſe in this chapter it is a περιχωρος *circumference of land*, a diſtrict of more or leſs extent. The *Latin* word *Vicus* bears the ſame ſenſe, and is made uſe of in the *Vulgate*; though in this place, ſpeaking of *Mizpah*, that tranſlation has *Pagus*, and in another place *Pars*; ſo uncertain it is to truſt to tranſlations, how uſeful ſoever they may be when compared together. However, I ſhall venture to ſay, that *Mizpah* was Wards.

[w] Kimhi in loc. [x] 1 Kings i. 33. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. [y] Iſai. viii. 6. Joan. ix. 7. [z] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi. [a] Chap. i. ver. 11. [b] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi. [c] Ibid. [d] Vid. ubi ſup. p. iii. [e] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Nehem. xii. 37. [f] Bell. Jud. p. 1230. [g] Jerem. xl. 10. [h] Nehem. iii. 15. [i] 2 Sam. iii. 29.

(F) Πηγην γλυκειαν τε και πολλην are the words of *Joſephus* (18). Others have thought, that *Shiloh* was a rivulet of *Gihon*, and it is true, that that word ſignifies *ſent*, according to the etymology given of it in the goſpel (19); where it is alſo called pool.

(G) Which word ſignifies *a morter*, or *any hollow thing*. Thus the מכתש בלחי, which ſo ſeaſonably refreſhed *Samſon*'s thirſt, is univerſally rendered the hollow of the rock *lechi*, ſo called from its reſemblance to a jaw-bone, or from the ſlaughter he had made with it there (20).

(H) In the ſame manner, 2 *Sam.* xxiiii. 20, *habbor*, (in our tranſlation *a pit*, in which *Benajah*, in time of ſnow, *ſlew a lion*) literally *the pit*, was probably a known place, ſo named from its cavity and hollowneſs, and may very well be the deep valley here mentioned. What ſeems to favour this conjecture is, that *Benajah* was one of *David's mighty men*, or captains. Now, it is very poſſible, that he being upon duty at the gate of the city of *David* on mount *Zion*, and hearing in the valley, at the foot of the palace, the roaring of *a lion*, whom want of food, *in time of ſnow*, had brought thither, deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf by ſo ſingular an action, immediately *went down*, encountered, and deſtroyed the hungry rapacious beaſt.

(I) This name ſeems to be borrowed from the *Greek* ἀκρα, *an eminence*; and ſometimes *a citadel*, or *fortreſs* (21). It is well known, that there was one built upon this hill by *Antiochus*, and afterwards laid even to the ground by *Simon* (22). And to this reaſon it muſt be aſcribed, that *Acra* has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by that name. Notwithſtanding the *Targum* (23) makes ſometimes uſe of this expreſſion, the *Acra*; that is, the *Citadel* of *Zion*.

(18) *Bell. Jud. v. p.* 1222. (19) *John* ix. 7. (20) *Judg.* xv. 17, *& ſeq.* (21) *Maccab.* i. 35. (22) *See Joſeph. Antiq.* xii. *&* xiii. (23) *On* 2 *Sam.* v. 7.

was one of the quarters of *Jeruſalem*, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are ſpeaking of to the weſt, and the other, where ſtood the *Arſenal*, and where *Ezer* was ruler [k], to the eaſt of the fortreſs.

Another quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of *Jeruſalem* [l], which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which *Joſephus* [m] calls the *City*, with reſpect to the citadel, and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which, it ſeems, might be looked for in *Acra*, viz. *Bethakerem*, *Bethzur*, and *Keilah*.

Streets. As for the *Streets*, in *Hebrew* חוצות *Hhouzoth* [n], all we know concerning thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, at that time, is, that as there was one bearing the name of *Haophim*, i. e. *Baker's-ſtreet* [o]; ſo there might be others which bore the names of ſome other trades; thus the valley, in *Joſephus*'s time, was called *Tyropeon* [p].

Places. רחוב *Rehob* properly is *an open place* (K); in the *Rehoboth*, according to *Ezekiel* [q], were built the high places. In the book of *Eſther* [r], an officer of the king of *Perſia* goes out to *Mordecai* in the *Rehob* of the town, over-againſt the gate of the palace, which ſeems to have been made uſe of by the courtiers to walk in. In the *Rehob* of *Jeruſalem* [s] *Ezekiah* aſſembled his generals, and made a ſpeech to them. The people were gathered together by *Ezra* [t] in a *Rehob* of the temple, and the prieſts and levites by *Ezekiah* [u] in the eaſtern *Rehob*; we muſt ſuppoſe theſe two to have been parts of the vacant ſpace that ſurrounded the courts of the temple. Laſtly, there was a *Rehob* near the water-gate [w], which muſt have been vaſtly large, ſince it contained all the people of both ſexes, that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear *Ezra* read the law, upon a ſcaffold, or ſtage, erected upon this occaſion at one end of the place, in ſuch a manner that *Ezra* had the whole aſſembly facing him.

If we have not yet taken notice of מלוא *Millo*, it is becauſe we do not find it in ſcripture diſtinguiſhed by any of the abovementioned names, or indeed by any other name than *Millo*. When *David* took from the *Jebuſites* the top of mount *Zion*, he then *built round about from* Millo *and inwards*, ſays the text of *Samuel* [x]; where it is eaſy to underſtand a caſtle was built on this mount, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, and probably of a circular form. Now this building had on the eaſt what is called *Millo*, and on the other ſides was bounded by the hill itſelf; inſomuch, that the city of *David* was *within* mount *Zion* on the north, weſt, and ſouth, but was bordered eaſtwards by *Millo* (L). Although it is ſaid in the text [y] *Solomon built it*, yet the context ſhews, that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did *Hezekiah* in his time [z]. Who the firſt was that built it, we do not know; but it ſeems to have been a work of the *Jebuſites*, whoſe government was almoſt a *Democracy*, like that at *Athens*.

For this reaſon, and from what is ſaid in ſcripture, there would be no abſurdity in ſuppoſing it to have been a ſpacious open place, ſuch as the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*, where the people met for their recreation, on feſtival and other rejoicing

[k] Nehem. iii. 19. [l] Ibid. 9. & 12. [m] Antiq. xiv. p. 613. [n] Prov. vii. 12. [o] Jerem. xxxvii. 21. [p] See before, p. xvii. [q] Ezek. vi. 24. [r] Eſther iv. 6. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. [t] Ezra x. 9. [u] 2 Chron. xxix. 4. [w] Nehem. viii. 1. 4. Add the *Rehob* of the gate *Ephraim*, ibid. 16. [x] 2 Sam. v. 9. Coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8. [y] Vid. 1 Kings x. 15. 24. & xi. 27. [z] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

(K) The root רחב doth ſignify *to enlarge itſelf*; ſo that *Rehob* is literally *a large place*, and is made uſe of to ſignify the *place*, or *ſquare*, of a town. *Judges* xix. 15.

(L) Without doubt *Millo* doth ſignify ſomething either *full*, or *to be filled*; at leaſt this may be deduced from the two *Hebrew* words that come neareſt to it, *Melo fullneſs*, and *Miluah beazel*, or *collet*, in which are inchaſed precious ſtones. So *Moſes*, receiving orders about the breaſt-plate, is bid to fill the beazel, *Miluath*, with a ſtone (24), that the ſtones ſhall be ſet in gold in their incloſings (25), and that they were incloſed in ouches of gold in their incloſings, *bemilluotham* (26) So then *Millo* was ſomething *filled* up; and this we are very ready to allow, for, to make it fit for the uſe we have been ſpeaking of, it was required, that in ſome places this ſpot of ground ſhould be made level, and in others filled up, in order to its being uniform and of a piece. This derivation ſurely favours our opinion more than any other; and we might add to this, that it is very likely this was the place where afterwards ſtood the *Xyſtus* (27), a large place where the athlets did exerciſe. And as ſuch a place was alſo called περίδρομις, from the runnings there round about, it hath been apprehended an *Hippodrome* was there for horſe-races; which is not improbable. However, it very much reſembling what we have ſaid of *Millo*, it may alſo be, that the firſt inhabitants may have given it this name from its being a place of general concourſe, and ſo *filled up* with numbers of people of all ſorts.

(24) *Exod.* xxviii. 17. (25) *Ibid.* 21. (26) *Ibid.* xxxix. 13. (27) *Joſ. in Ecphraſ.* 1222.

rejoicing days, or about private or publick affairs. It may be placed at the foot of the city of *David*, going to the valley between *Zion* and *Acra*, in the centre of the whole circumference of *Jeruſalem*. Others imagine it to be a *Street*, beginning at the ſteps of the city of *David*, and reaching as far as *Acra*, or *Morijah*; or elſe a *Wall* along the valley between the two hills; and laſtly, the *Valley* itſelf. But this ſeems leſs probable than what we at firſt hinted.

Buildings.

LET us next viſit the publick buildings in *Zion*: The firſt that offers itſelf is the *Palace of king David*, on the top of the mount in the midſt of a fortreſs [a]. There was a flight of ſteps to go up to it [b]; to the north of theſe ſteps, or ſtairs, ſtood the *Tomb of David*, of which *Joſephus* tells many wonderful ſtories at the end of the ſeventh book of his antiquities. At the bottom of the ſteps was the houſe of *the Mighty* [c]. This, in my opinion, ſerved as a guard-houſe to the palace, or at leaſt was the ſtation of ſome chief commanders, without whoſe leave no one was permitted to go up to the houſe; ſuch as we ſuppoſe the thirty-one worthies [d], among which was *Uriah* the *Hittite*.

NEXT was the *Arſenal*, or *Armoury* [e], at the turning of the wall [f], in *Hebrew* called *Mikzoah* (M); but the *Arſenal* itſelf, by a compendious expreſſion, or way of ſpeaking, was called הנשק *Hanneſhek*, for *Neſhek* is *a weapon*, or *arms*. The word *baith*, *a houſe*, muſt therefore be underſtood.

NOT far from the *Arſenal*, and more towards the middle of the city was, if not the palace of the high-prieſt, at leaſt a *pontifical palace*, then in the poſſeſſion of *Eliaſib* [g]. *Nehemiah* mentions it only occaſionally, when he ſpeaks of the repairs of the walls of the city; but even from the little that is ſaid of it, we may gather that it was a ſpacious building. Lower, at a very little diſtance, we find the houſe of *Azariah*, a man of diſtinction of the tribe of *Benjamin* *. But it is time to come to the *Palace* or *Palaces*.

And here the books of *Kings* do indeed mention three houſes built by *Solomon*; the firſt they call the houſe where he dwelt [h]; the ſecond, the houſe of the foreſt of *Lebanon* [i], and the third was, that which he made for *Pharaoh*'s daughter [k]; but this laſt I take to have been only a ſpacious apartment (N) added to the firſt houſe, whoſe ſituation it is not very difficult to fix. For, on one ſide, this palace was almoſt parellel to the *water-gate* [l], and on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the *terras* built by *Solomon* over the *valley* [m]. I am apt to think, that the ſecond was a ſummer-retirement, ſince we have it upon record that *Solomon* built it in the foreſt [n]. But yet I would not contradict thoſe who are of opinion, that it was only another wing, or apartment of the palace, which very probably took its name from the cedars of *Lebanon*, that may be ſuppoſed to have been the chief material employed in it †.

THE following conſideration adds a great deal of weight to this ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* That in this houſe [o] were placed the targets and ſhields of beaten gold; for the diſtance from *Lebanon* to *Jeruſalem* would have made it very troubleſome to bring them up whenever they were wanted, beſides the riſk of being taken, to which ſuch coſtly armour would have been expoſed by the way; and indeed they were carried away by *Shiſhak* when he came up againſt the city [p].

NOT far from this palace, I think, was the *Mattara*, tranſlated *Priſon* [q]; but if it was one, it was only like the *Tower of London*, or like our courts of law, or even the main *corps-de-guarde* at the avenues of the palace. For in the court of this *Mattara Jeremiah* was confined; but at the ſame time was allowed a good deal of liberty,

[a] 2 Sam. v. 11. [b] Nehem. iii. 15. [c] Ibid. 16. [d] 2 Sam. xxviii. 3. [e] Ibid. 39.
[f] Nehem. iii. 19. [g] Ibid. 20. * Ibid. 23. [h] 1 Kings vii. 1. 8. [i] Ibid. 2. [k] Ibid. 8.
[l] Nehem. iii. [m] 1 Kings vi. [n] Ibid. ix. 19. 2 Chron. viii. 6. † See before, p. 799. Not. O.
[o] 1 Kings x. 17. [p] Ibid. xiv. 25, 26. [q] Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2.

(M) מקצע, is properly *the opening of an angle*, which conſequently forms a ſpace; but פנה *Pinnah* is *the point of an angle*, or, as it is called by artiſts, *a ſalliant angle*; ſo the wall had a turning out here, and this juſtifies the tranſlation; and any one may ſee that it formed a corner, or open place, in the interior angle. For this reaſon, ſuch an opening in *Ezekiel*'s temple is called *Mikzoah*; *Behold*, ſays he (28), *in every* מקצע corner *of the court there was a court*.

(N) *Beth* is often taken in that ſenſe, as when *Rebekah* runs to her mother's *beth* (29), *apartment*, or *lodging*; and ſo is the houſe of the women (30) to be underſtood in the book of *Eſther*; the ſaid houſe probably not being ſeparate from the king's, but part of it.

(28) *Ezek. xl-vi.* 21. (29) *Gen. xxiv*, 28. (30) *Eſth. ii.* 9.

liberty, ſince it was here he made the purchaſe of an eſtate in preſence of ſeveral witneſſes who ſigned the deed of agreement, and of all the *Jews* that lived there[r]. We read moreover[s], that afterwards the prophet was taken as he went out of *Jeruſalem* by the gate of *Benjamin*, and put in priſon (O) in the houſe of *Jonathan* the ſcribe, from whence, by *Zedekiah*'s order, he was transferred to the *Mattara*, where[t] he propheſied in the hearing of all the people. For this, at the requeſt of ſome of the great men, he was thrown into a dungeon full of ſoil, where, ſinking into the mire, and in want of all things, he would ſoon have periſhed, had not the king, at the entreaty of a pious *Ethiopian* proſelyte, given order for his being taken out again. The prophet remained in the above-mentioned *court* till the taking of *Jeruſalem*[u].

All this ſufficiently ſhews the *Mattara* to have been different from a priſon commonly ſo called. This appears clearly enough; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine the ſituation of this building, although it ſeems *Nehemiah* has undertaken to deſcribe it exactly; and if to us he does not appear to have ſo well ſucceeded in it, the fault lies neither at his door, nor at that of the language he wrote in, but to its being a dead language, many expreſſions of which are not ſo familiar to us as to be perfectly intelligible. However, *Nehemiah*, as I underſtand him, ſays[w], "That *Palal* repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, over-againſt the turning of the wall, "and the tower belonging to the king's houſe, the high tower (P) that was by "the court of the *Mattara*."

Here are two diſtinct indications of the reparations made by *Palal* in the wall; one near the *turning* of the wall going up to the water-gate, the other near the adjoining *tower*; and the ſituation of this tower is ſpecified as well by its diſtinguiſhing *height*, as by its relation to the *palace*, and the neighbourhood of the *court* in queſtion. So that to fix this to a point, we muſt look upon theſe buildings as being within the verge of the court, and under the immediate cognizance of king *Solomon* and his ſucceſſors. Men were there entirely under their protection, neither could they be meddled with without the king's expreſs orders; although it was by their orders only, they were reſtrained within the bounds of theſe buildings.

We are now come to buildings much leſs remarkable for their dignity, magnificence, or embelliſhments; but whoſe ſituation cannot well be omitted in the particular deſcription we are about; I mean the ſtation or poſt of the *Nethinims*[x]: It is ſaid indeed they dwelt in *Ophel*, eaſtward, near the valley; but their מושב *Moſhab*, or *dwelling*, ſhould not, we preſume, be confounded with their houſe בית *Beth*, or, as in our verſion, their *place*. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, *Haroſhelim*[y], who, I believe, are the ſame as the *Collybiſtæ*, or *money-changers*[z], a ſort of dealers very uſeful at the gate of the temple, where abundance of ſtrangers reſorted from all parts. But northward ſtood the houſe of the governor, ſuppoſed by ſome to be *Nehemiah*, and named in *Hebrew Kiſſe-pakhath*. This houſe was in *Acra*, near the gate of *Ephraim*. Our tranſlation has the throne of the governor, and it might be called his court; it was like the *Roman Prætorium*, and had in it a tribunal, or a ſeat, which properly is what is meant by the *Hebrew* כסא *Kiſſe*[a]. This too is the primitive ſignification of *Throne* in *Greek*, from whence that word in our language is derived.

Little

[r] Jerem. xxxii. 12. [s] Ibid. xxxvii. 12. [t] Ibid. xxxviii. 1. [u] Ibid. 28. [w] Ubi ſup. iii. 25.
[x] Nehem. iii. 26. 31. [y] Ibid. [z] Matth. xxi. 12. and parall. in Mark and John. [a] Nehem. iii. 17.
Vid Munst. in loc.

(O) It is called בית האסור *Beth haeſour*, *houſe of binding*; otherwiſe it is called *Beth* כלא *kele* (31), *the houſe of detaining*; and in ſuch a houſe we ſee *Micaiah* the prophet (32), a king of *Iſrael* named *Hoſhea* (33) and the king of *Juda Jehoiachin* (34); and this place did bear ſo fruitful an aſpect, as to make the prophet think it would ſoon cauſe his death (35).

(P) in our tranſlation this is called *the tower which lieth out from the king's high houſe*. In *Hebrew that* epithet, *the high*, is more properly conſtrued, we ſhould think, with the word *tower*. The *Septuagint* has accordingly ἀνὼ τεῖχος, which neceſſarily refers to πύργος, not οἶκος, in their text. Beſides, to *lie out* or *project from* a thing, according to the letter, is in the ſenſe, as we expreſs it, belonging to the ſame (36). But though it be well ſuſceptible of this ſenſe, when joined to that ſequel of the king's houſe, this phraſe may well admit of another ſignification, when without it; and this ſignification we then take to be that of a great extent (37); ſo as the *Mattara*, its court included, being called by the name of this *high tower*, that ſet it off exceedingly, was, it ſeems, a long ſeries of buildings and walls, diſtant about fifty paces on the weſt ſide of the water gate.

(31) *Jerem.* xxxvii. 15. & paſſ. (32) 1 *Kings* xxii. 27. (33) *Ibid.* (34) 2 *Kings* xvii. 4. (35) *Jerem.* xxxviii. 26. (36) *Vid. Habbac.* (37) *Jerem.* xxxiii. 15.

LITTLE is ſaid concerning the walls of the city; but that little which is ſaid we will here put together: 'Tis well known, after *David* had taken *the ſtrong hold of* [b] Zion, *he called it the city of* David, *and dwelt in that fort* (Q), *having built round about from* Millo *and inward* [c]. Afterwards *Solomon built the wall of* Jeruſalem [d], which took in all the eaſtern part at leaſt: However the king of *Iſrael brake down the wall of* Jeruſalem, *from the gate of* Ephraim *unto the corner gate* [e]. This is the wall on the north of *Acra*, from eaſt to weſt, according to the poſition of the gates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and truly although a *broad wall* was built there [f], it was always the weak ſide of *Jeruſalem* (R).

OF *Jotham* we read, *On the wall of* Ophel *he built much*; this lay to the ſouth-eaſt. Of *Hezekiah*, *He ſtrengthened himſelf, and built up all the wall that was broken*, (*viz.* by *Joaſh* as above) *and another wall without* [g]. So alſo of *Manaſſeh*, *He built a wall without the city of* David, *on the weſt ſide of* Gihon, *in the valley even to the entring in at the fiſh-gate, and compaſſed about* Ophel [h]. Here you have almoſt the whole circuit of *Jeruſalem*, from ſouth to north by weſt, and to the ſouth-eaſt. Now to one of theſe latter buildings the prophet ſeems to allude, when ſpeaking of the *breaches of the city of* David, he adds, *the houſes of* Jeruſalem *were broken down to fortify the walls* [i]; though it may be alſo taken for a prophecy of the calamitous times that were to follow. Laſtly, it is reported, that when *the city was broken up by the* Chaldees [k], the ſoldiers *fled by the two walls by the way of the king's garden*, which was on the ſouth [l], one of theſe walls being built by *David* or *Solomon*, adjoining immediately to the city; and the other, the new one without, by *Hezekiah* or *Manaſſeh*. We read alſo the *army of the* Chaldees *brake down the wall of* Jeruſalem *round about* [m], which was left till *Nehemiah*'s [n] time with open breaches on every ſide.

Gates.

IN antient *Jeruſalem* the gates, שערים *Shaharim*, were ten in number [o], *viz.* five from weſt to eaſt by ſouth, and five others by north: Here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and tranſlation;

By ſouth,	1. Dung-gate,	*Haaſ-poth.*
	2. Fountain gate,	*Haain* or *en.*
	3. Water-gate,	*Hammajim.*
	4. Horſe-gate,	*Haſouſſim.*
	5. Priſon-gate,	*Hamiphkad.*
By north,	1. Valley-gate,	*Haggai* or *ge.*
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	*Ephraim.*
	3. Old-gate,	*Haieſhan.*
	4. Fiſh-gate,	*Hadaggim.*
	5. Sheep-gate,	*Hazon.*

Now as to that which is called *of the valley*, the entrance was on the weſt: By this gate *Nehemiah* went out of the city, in order to viſit the ruins of *Jeruſalem*; he likewiſe placed himſelf upon this gate, or upon the wall cloſe to it, when he made the dedication of the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, by a double proceſſion of the people, one half going to the right, or ſouth, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the eaſt to the temple. As they did not go through this gate, from which they ſet out, no mention is made of it in the account given of the places through

[b] 2 Sam. v. 7—9. [c] 2 Kings ix. 15. [d] Ibid. xiv. 13. [e] Nehem. iii. 8. [f] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. [g] Ibid. xxxii. 5. [h] Ibid. xxxiii. 14. [i] Iſaiah xxii. 9, 10. [k] 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4. [l] Nehem. iii. 15. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 10. [n] Chap. ii. 12, 15. [o] Ibid. Conf. iii. & xii.

(Q) When *David* beſieged *Zion*, the *Jebuſites* ſaid, "Except he took away the *blind and the lame*, he "ſhould not come in thither, thinking *David* could "not come into the fort." The ſenſe of which is not, to be ſure, the moſt obvious at firſt reading; yet, when well conſidered, it ſeems to be, This fort is ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that for its defence, lame and blind men are ſufficient. And to this ſtrength of the place it is owing, that the king promiſed to make chief or captain the man that would drive theſe people into the ditch (38).

(R) This *Joſephus* in ſeveral places gives to underſtand (39); and hence it happened, that both king *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus* attacked the city on this ſide (40).

(38) *Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l.* iv. *c.* 36. (39) *In Ecphraſi, No.* 2. *ubi de muris. Item Ant. p.* 448, xiv. 613. *& Bell. Jud.* 1289. (40) *Ubi ſup. Ant. & Bell. Jud.*

through which the proceſſions paſſed [p], but only where the particulars are given of the repairing the walls and gates of *Jeruſalem* [q]. Neither in this account of the proceſſions is the *horſe-gate* mentioned, probably, becauſe the rubbiſh ſtopped up the paſſage, which was the reaſon that they turned to the left to go to the temple. This gate is placed to the eaſt by *Jeremiah* [r], and it was through it that *Athaliah* went from the temple to the palace [s]: But, we muſt confeſs, it is not ſo eaſy to aſſign the cauſe for which the *dung-gate* is omitted in this account: However, it is ſpoken of in the re-building of the wall; and when *Nehemiah* did view the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the *dung-port* *.

As to the *water-gate* turning to the eaſt [t], it is likely, that it anſwered the ſouthern part of the palace, by the place or ſquare in which *Ezra* read the law to all the people [u].

The *priſon-gate* is in *Hebrew Miphkad* [w]. This word, which is kept in the tranſlation, ſignifies *viſitation*, and by deduction, *judgment*, *correction*, *ward*, *priſon*. It is alſo called the gate of *Mattara* (S), in our tranſlation *priſon-gate* [x]. It ſtood eaſtward of the palace and city both.

It is plain, the gate of *Ephraim* took its name from its joining the highway leading to that tribe. This may ſerve to aſcertain the truth of the ſituation we have given of the city.

The *ſheep-gate* furniſhes us with means of explaining the word προβατικη, in the goſpel according to St. *John* [y], where our tranſlation has, *there was a pool near the ſheep-market*, in the text, and *gate* in the margin, *viz.* αγορα, or πυλη. And the tranſlation in the text ſeems the moſt probable; for a *ſheep-market* was there near the gate of the ſame name, and ſeems to have been between the gate and the pool, that of *Betheſda*, on the north-eaſt of the temple (T).

Lastly, the *fiſh-gate* [z] did anſwer to one afterwards built in the *new city*, and call'd the *gate of Joppe*, a ſea-port on the *Mediterranean*.

These, we think, are all the gates of *Jeruſalem*, either as it ſtood before the captivity, or as, after the return from it, it was repaired by *Nehemiah*. It cannot be denied, but a few others ſeem to be mentioned in that ſpace of time; but we take them to be only different names given to thoſe already mentioned. And firſt, the *corner-gate* [a], which, in our opinion, muſt be the ſame with the old-gate, as may be gathered from *Jeremiah*'s occaſionally giving the circuit of *Jeruſalem* from the north-eaſt, over-againſt the temple, [*i. e.* from *the tower of* Hananeel] *unto the gate of the corner* (U), going along to the north-weſt, where ſtood the hills *Gareb*

[p] Nehem. xii. 38. Ibid. iii. 13. [q] Jer. xxxi. 39. [r] 2 Kings xi. &c. See above. [s] Nehem. xi. 37. * Nehem. iii. 4. Ibid. ii. 13. [t] Ibid. iii. 25. viii. 1. [u] Ibid. xii. 31. [w] Nehem. i. 39. [x] Chap. v. 2. [y] Nehem. iii. 12. xii. 39. & al. [z] 2 Kings xiv. 13. [a] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

(S) Of the *Mattarah* itſelf we ſpoke above, as pretty near the palace that lay northward of it: And what ſeems to have given the name of either *Mattarah* or *Miphkad* to this gate is, that thoſe words well agree in their general notions; which reaſon appears to us more likely, than that the great *Sanhedrim* had there its ordinary ſittings, it being at leaſt dubious whether at that time this court had any juriſdiction, or even exiſted. Yet we do not deny, but that courts of juſtice were kept at the gates (41), and therefore priſons might be there alſo, and houſes of correction beſides.

(T) Though *Joſephus* does not mention it by name, yet he (42) places a pool there, and thereabouts. Mr. *Maundrel* found a large empty baſon, of which he gives the following deſcription (43). "It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at leaſt eight "deep, but void of water. At its weſt end it diſ- "covers ſome old arches, now dammed up: Theſe "ſome will have to be the five porches in which "ſat that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is "contiguous on one ſide to St. *Stephen*'s gate, on the "other to the area of the temple."

(U) Although the tranſlation here ſomewhat differs from that above, the word in both places in the original is *Happinah*. It is true in *Zechariah* it is read *Happinim*, as if one ſhould ſay *the corners*, but the ſenſe is the ſame if (44) tranſlated *the corner*. Laſtly, this our tranſlation, in the parallel to *Kings*, anſwers (45) the *Hebrew* word *Happoneh*, where the margin has *the gate of it that looketh*; which is not eaſy to be underſtood, unleſs, by ſuppoſing it to be an elliptical expreſſion, the ſenſe is made up by what we find added elſewhere (46), *viz. Zaphonah* to the north, which is a true indication of the ſaid gate: However, it may be thought this various reading is owing to the careleſſneſs of the tranſcriber, as it ſeems may be collected from the Septuagint's having here πυλης γωνιας, corner gate; yet notice ſhould be taken, that this gate did lie towards the σκοπος. By this name was called (47), not only the eminence, (from whence coming from the north one firſt diſcovered *Jeruſalem*) but alſo the plain next to the city on that ſide: Now that in *Hebrew* would be *Phoneh*, ot *Haphoneh*, which we leave to our reader's conſideration.

(41) *Vide Deut.* xvii. 8. *Amos* v. 15. *Zech.* viii. 16. & *al.* (42) *Bell. Jud. p.* 1248. (43) *See his Journey, &c.* 107. (44) *See above.* (45) 2 *Chron.* xxv. 23. (46) *Ezek.* viii. 3. (47) *Vide Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. v.* 2. 1216.

Gareb and *Goath* (X), afterwards called *Golgotha*, or *Calvary*. Then, according to the directions in the prophet, one turns towards the ſouth, through the *valley of Hinnom*, and the ſouth-eaſt fields called the *fuller's fields*, *unto the corner of the horſe-gate* to the eaſt [b]: So alſo in *Zechariah* [c], *All the land ſhall be as a plain to* Rimmon, *ſouth of* Jeruſalem, *and inhabited from* Benjamin's *gate* (Y) *unto the firſt gate unto the corner-gate, and from the tower of* Hananeel *unto the King's wine-preſſes.* Here firſt you have *Jeruſalem*, on the ſouth, a hilly country there, *to be turned into a plain*; which is eaſily apprehended to be figuratively ſpoken. But further, the northern ſide is traced here from a gate going to the neighbour tribe of *Benjamin* [d] to the *old gate*, here called *the firſt*; the following words *unto the corner-gate* being an explanation of the former *unto the firſt-gate*: So you go up to the eaſt by *the tower* there, returning to the ſouth, where was the *royal garden*. Another gate is mentioned in *Jeremiah* [e], where he is bid to *go forth unto the valley of the ſon of* Hinnom, *which is by the entry of the eaſt-gate*, but ſhould be rather the *brick-gate* (Z), or of the brick-bats, it being the ſame with the *dung-gate*, where was the valley of Aſhes [f]. But we do not take the *city-gate* [g] to be one of the ten of *Jeruſalem*, but rather a gate of the city of *David*, or *Zion*, to the north-weſt, leading to the valley-gate, and ſince called *Zion-gate* [h].

THE ſituation of (שער התיך *Shahar Hattavek*) the *middle gate*, may be deduced from what is ſaid in *Jeremiah* [i]; *Nebuchadnezzar*'s army, after having entered into *Jeruſalem* by the north, advanced as far as this *middle-gate*, of which *Zedekiah* being informed, he made his eſcape, as has already been obſerved [k], through his garden to the ſouth. This plainly ſhews that this gate muſt have ſtood in the *midſt of the valley* between *Acra* and *Zion*.

A WORD or two more concerning *the towers*, as related by *Nehemiah*. They were four. Indeed, it is ſaid of *Huzziah* [l], "He built towers in *Jeruſalem*, at "the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall; but "how many he built is not ſaid." However, the names of the ſaid four towers were *Meah*, eaſtward; *Hananeel*, north-eaſt-ward; *Hattanourim*, *of the furnaces*, weſt-ward; and *Ophel*, ſouth-eaſt-ward. The firſt-named of theſe was alſo the firſt built [m]; near this they paſſed going to the ſheep-gate, in the dedication of the walls [n]; the ſecond, called *Hananeel*, lay more to the north; and the third quite to the weſt. From beyond this tower it is ſaid [o] they, in the dedication, went to the *broad wall*. Laſtly, from the fourth, *Ophel*, a ward ſo called [p], and the wall itſelf joining to it [q], took their name; but properly it is *a tower* [r], and ſuppoſed to be very high (A), and we ſhould think was made uſe of as a *watch tower* [s], from *Towers.*

[b] Jerem. xxxi. 38—40. [c] Zechar. xiv. 10. [d] Jerem. xxvii. 13, &c. [e] Ibid. [f] Jerem. xxxi. 38. [g] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. [h] See MAUND. ubi ſup. [i] xxxix. 2, &c. [k] See above. [l] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. [m] Neh. iii. 2. [n] Ibid. xii. 39. [o] Ibid. xii. 38. [p] Ibid. iii. 26. [q] Ibid. 27. [r] 2 Kings v. 29. [s] See Iſai. xxxii. 14. in the margin.

(X) As the word גלגלתה, which according to the *Maſoreth*'s pointing is read *Goath*, may as well, if not better, be pronounced either *Goatha* or *Gotha*; and as the word גל, admitting of two ſounds in the compoſition of known names *Galhed* and *Gilhad*, does as naturally ſound *Gol*; we ſhould think the etymology of *Golgotha* is found to our hand, and its ſignification moſt plain, *viz.* the *heap of Gotha*: However, the great likeneſs the ſound of this ſame word *Golgotha* had to *Gagultha*, in *Syriac*, (which dialect is called *Hebrew* in the goſpel (48), becauſe a mixture of both was what was generally ſpoken at *Jeruſalem*) it ſeems to have been commonly underſtood, as having a near relation to *Gulgaltha* (49), a ſcull, and therefore well expounded by κρανίου τόπος (50), which from the *Latin Calvaria*, a ſcull, is called in our language *Calvary*. Mr. *Maundrel* ſays, the church of the holy ſepulchre is founded upon mount *Calvary*, which is a ſmall eminency, or hill: It was antiently ſhut out of the walls of the city, but ſince it hath attracted the city round about it, and ſtands now in the midſt of *Jeruſalem*. *Journey*, *p.* 68, & 69.

(Y) There is a gate called the *high gate of Benjamin* (51), which is ſaid to have been by the houſe of the Lord: It might alſo be tranſlated in the houſe. If this ſenſe be followed, the gate is none of the *ten* we are inquiring about; if the former, this is the gate that led into the land of *Benjamin*, and is further called the *higher gate*, *which lieth towards the north* (52.)

(Z) It may be thus tranſlated, ſuppoſing only here (53) an eaſy and common permutation of letters, as appears in the pronunciation of *Sibboleth* for (54) *Shibboleth*. This is the more probable, becauſe there is already in the text a various reading of *Harſſouth* for *Harſſith*: However, *Heres*, in the *Hebrew* חרש, is a *brick*, and *Hereſs*, in *Chaldee* חרם, the *ſun*. So we chuſe to take it here, as if it was written חרשית, looking upon it as the dung-gate, that opened into the valley of *Hinnom*, and that of *aſhes*.

(A) This ſeems to appear by the very etymology of the word; for which we are beholden to the prophet's ſaying *Ophla* (55), for what is in the tranſlation *lifted up*.

(48) *John* xix. 17. (49) *Targ. on* 2 *Kings* ix. 35. (50) *Matth.* xxvii. 33. (51) *Jer.* xx. 2. *In* Hebrew *it is* ב, *which is read in this ſenſe*, *Numb.* xxxvi. 37, 38. *Jerem.* xiii. 5, xxxii 5. & *al.* (52) *Ezek.* ix. 2. (53) *Jerem.* xix. 2. (54) *Judg.* xii. 6. (55) *Hab.* ii. 4.

from whence one might see and observe afar off. It is said king *Manasseh* raised it up to a great height [t]; and of this tower *Josephus* speaks, when he says, that *the wall passing through* Ophlas *was carried on so as to join the east portico of the temple* [u].

Waters. Of the *waters* and *springs* in or about *Jerusalem* we have had occasion to say something before [w]; but for a further knowledge of the same, it will be proper here to add what Mr. *Maundrell* tells us concerning the *pool of Gihon*; "It lies, "says he, about two furlongs without *Bethleem* gate, westward; it is a stately pool, "106 paces long, and 67 broad, and lined with wall and plaister, and was, "when we were there, well stored with water." This helps to understand the better what is related of *Hezekiah* [x]; "He stopped the upper water-course of *Gihon*, "and brought it strait down to the west of the city of *David*." These naturally ran to the south and east out of the city; but the king turned off the course of this stream, in order to make it run towards the west in *Sion*. According to the *Targum*, *Gihon* is the same as *Shiloh*; nevertheless it is plain, there were there two pools, since *Gihon* is named the *upper pool*. Now as there was a *lower pool*, this last might be *Shiloh*, of which the *upper* was the spring; notwithstanding one might be apt to think, that *Gihon* was only a bason or reservoir, into which the water came from *En-rogel*, that is to say, the *fuller's fountain* where *Adonijah* offered his sacrifice [y] at the time of his aspiring to the throne. But, it is possible, this may have no other foundation than the situation given to *Gihon* in the *fuller's field*. And although the word *Rogel* may signify *a fuller*, yet the word [z] כובס, as is made use of more properly implies it. However, since in the time of *Hezekiah* the water of *Shiloh*, or *Gihon*, was brought into the city, and that in all appearance when the city rose again from its ruins, it was restored to the same advantage; it is no wonder, that *Tacitus* [a] places here *fontem perennis aquæ*.

The *king's pool* is mentioned in *Nehemiah* [b], as being near the fountain-gate, that is, to the south-west of *Zion*: It is called by *Josephus* [c] the *pool of Solomon*, and placed, (which comes to one) winding towards the east. *Isaiah* [d] speaks of the *old pool*, whose water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the same as that made by *Hezekiah*, barely called *the pool made* [e], which might be named the *artificial pool*; not but that it was a natural spring, but because art had been made use of in order to make it water the eastern parts of *Zion*: However, one of the most renowned waters in *Jerusalem* was the *brook of Cedron*, whose head spring did not run very plentifully, for in summer it was generally dried up, but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increased it so prodigiously, that it looked rather like a river than a brook. In the *Hebrew* its name is pronounced *Kidron*, as our translation has expressed it, as where it is said, "King *David* passed over the brook *Kidron*, toward the way of the wilderness [f]," What the word does signify seems not of great consequence, yet it may be remarked, that according to St. *Jerome* [g], it is said *a tenebris*, and truly קדר *Kadar*, is *to be dark* or *black*. Accordingly *Josephus*, who often calls *Cedron* a valley, says it was very deep, and at the foot of the mount of olives, on the east [i]; but in one place [k] he names it χειμαῤῥος, and so in the new testament we find it called [l].

To conclude; we dare flatter ourselves we have faithfully represented *Jerusalem* as it antiently stood, from about the times of *David* to the *Babylonish* captivity: For though it may be objected, that *Nehemiah*, from whom most of our proofs are borrowed, lived several years after the return of the *Jews* to the holy city, yet it must be allowed, that it was not raised upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its antient foundations. The walls indeed have been pulled down, the gates burnt to ashes; but yet the remains, or at least some marks or out-lines of them all, were still to be seen, and parts of several of them were still subsisting. So, as we read in *Nehemiah* [m], *the breaches were stopped up*, the buildings re-edified, and the whole city restored as much as possible, to its former condition.

[t] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. [u] Bell. Jud. vi. 6. [w] See before, note E. [x] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. [y] 1 Kings i. 19. [z] 2 Kings xviii. 17. [a] Hist. l. 5. c. 12. [b] Cap. ii. 14. [c] In Ecphrasi 1222. [d] Cap. xxii. 11. [e] Nehem. iii. 16. [f] 2 Sam. xv. 23. [g] In Jerem. xxxi. 40. [h] Bell. Jud. 1231, 1251. [i] Ibid. 1216. [k] Antiq. viii. 335. [l] John xviii. 1. [m] Chap. iv. 7. coll. vi. 1.

N. B. *Place these Six Sheets immediately after Page* 796. *or after the Sheet* 9 P.

a As for the elevations of that edifice, we hope, it will be thought a charge and trou-
ble, which may be better ſpared, conſidering the vaſt number and variety we have
already, and how little reaſon we have to be ſatisfied with any of them.

WE return to the king of *Iſrael*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, choſe to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which ſolemnity there uſed to be always a vaſt concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elſewhere obſerved *. The ceremony began on the eighth day of the ſeventh month of the ſacred year, which was the firſt of the civil year, anſwering to the latter end of our *October*, and laſted ſeven days, at the end of which began the feaſt of the taber-
b nacles, which was one of the three ſolemn feaſts of the *Iſraelites*, and laſted likewiſe ſeven days; ſo that the vaſt concourſe of people, who were invited by the king, and flocked to that ſolemnity, ſtayed at leaſt fourteen days in *Jeruſalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous proceſſion, in which the prieſts carried the ark, from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple; and depoſited in the moſt holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which *Solomon* had cauſed to be made by *Hiram*, and to be ſet up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himſelf, accompanied by all his chief officers, and

The dedication of it.

* See before, p. 614, & ſeq.

1. That the diſparity between theſe two temples, which thoſe elders bewailed, might not conſiſt ſo much in the largeneſs and magnificence of the building, as in the excellency of the work, and richneſs of its materials. We have ſeen, what immenſe quantity of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other coſtly things, had been beſtowed upon the firſt; but we read of nothing like it in the ſecond, neither indeed could they afford it.

2. *Joſephus* and the rabbies deſcribe the ſecond temple after it was deſtroyed, when no man could contradict them; and how laviſh they might be in adorning a building which was the glory of their nation, we need not ſay; one thing is certain, that though it was become, in *Joſephus*'s time, rather a ſtrong fortreſs, than a place of divine worſhip, yet there is hardly a man of ſenſe that believes half the wonders he ſays of it, or that it was capable of entertaining ſuch a prodigious garriſon as he affirms it did. And yet the *Talmudiſts* were ſo little ſatisfied with that author's deſcription, that they have made an incredible number of additions to it; inſomuch, that it looks rather like a new edifice of their own rearing, upon which they have beſtowed all the grandeur and magnificence, that their luxuriant fancy could muſter up.

But, laſtly, allowing it to have been equal to their deſcription, it doth not follow, that that of *Zorobabel*, over which the elders wept, was ſo; which having been burnt, rebuilt, improved, inriched, inlarged, and fortified, from time to time, and by ſeveral royal hands, had not perhaps one footſtep left of its primitive figure, except in the very ſanctuary. It is therefore in vain to pretend to gueſs, either at that of *Solomon* or *Zorobabel*, by that which we have in *Joſephus*; or to object the largeneſs and magnificence of this laſt, againſt the ſeeming plainneſs which our friend gives us of the firſt.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to archbiſhop *Uſher*, opened the fourth millenary of the world (90).

(M) We have ſpoken elſewhere of the ſhape and poſition of thoſe which covered the mercy-ſeat (91). Theſe, that were made by *Hiram* for the moſt holy place, differed from them, and were of two ſorts, namely theſe two, which ſpread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and thoſe which were made in baſs-relief, to adorn the ſides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewiſe in baſs-relief, and all of the fineſt gold. What the bigneſs of theſe laſt was we know not, but that of the two maſſive ſtanding ones may be gueſſed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and ſouth walls with one extremity, and joining at leaſt by the other over the center, muſt have been each five cubits long, becauſe the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; ſo that one may reaſonably ſuppoſe the cherubims themſelves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form, we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was ſaid in the place above quoted.

There we took alſo notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utenſils and ornaments of the temple, proportionable, both in bigneſs and richneſs, to that of the edifice: the moſaick altar of burnt-offering, for inſtance, was ſet by on account of its ſmallneſs, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in heighth. The ſame was done by the altar of perfume, and the table of ſhew-bread; which laſt, as well as the golden candleſticks, he increaſed the number of five or ſix fold.

Beſides theſe, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and ſilver veſſels and utenſils; concerning which the text only ſays, that they were without number (92); but the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian has given us ſuch a detail of them (93), that we chuſe to refer the reader to him for it, becauſe we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough or uſe for ſuch vaſt quantities. Thus he tells us, that there were 10,000 tables to hold the ſacred utenſils, beſides thoſe of the ſhew-bread. He mentions likewiſe 10,000 candleſticks, beſides thoſe that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and though the text mentions but 100 baſons of gold, which ſeem to us to have been for the ſame uſe (94), and to have been ſufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 100,000, beſides double that number of ſilver ones. We may ſay the ſame thing of 1000 prieſtly ornaments, which he tells us *Solomon* cauſed to be made for the ſole uſe of the high-prieſt; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common prieſt; and 200,000 more for the *Levites*

(90) *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3001 (91) *Vid. ſup.* p. 654. *not.* V. (92) 2 Chron. iv. 18. *& alib.* (93) *Antiq. l.* xv. *c.* 14. xx. *& alib. & de Bell. jud. c.* 6. *& alib. paſſ.* (94) 2 Chron. iv. 8.

and the elders of *Iſrael*, marched before the ark; theſe were followed by a great a
number of prieſts and *Levites*, who ſang ſome canticles proper to the occaſion, and
played upon various inſtruments. Next to the ark followed another number of
ſingers and players, with other prieſts bearing the golden candleſticks, altar of
incenſe, and other ſacred utenſils of the ſanctuary, which had been brought from
Gibeon, where they and the tabernacle had ſtood ever ſince. Theſe were not
depoſited in the ſanctuary, becauſe the king had cauſed a new ſet of them to be
made, which were larger, and more anſwerable to the ſpaciouſneſs of the place;
but were laid up in ſome other repoſitory prepared for that purpoſe. To add
the greater magnificence to the proceſſion, the king ordered the ark to ſtop at
proper diſtances, and there cauſed a prodigious number of victims to be offered up b
before it, till they had reached the ſanctuary. Whilſt the prieſts were depoſiting
the ark in the moſt holy place, the air rang with the ſound of 120 trumpets, and
with the voices of the *Levites*, who ſang the praiſes of God, repeating theſe words
at proper ſtanza's, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth
for ever*. It was then, that God ſeemed to come down in a viſible manner, to
take poſſeſſion, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud,
as he had formerly done the tabernacle, inſomuch, that the prieſts could not ſtand
to offer up the ſacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occaſion[x].

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who ſtood upon a braſen ſcaffold three cubits high,
and prepared for the purpoſe, having commanded the attention of the people, c
which ſtood in the court and the galleries round about, kneeled down, and
ſpread his hands towards heaven, and dedicated the building to God in an elegant
and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the divine
mercy to make it its reſidence in favour of *Iſrael*, and to be ready from thence to
hear the prayers which his people ſhould direct thither, from whatever part of the
world, and what condition ſoever they were in, to grant their requeſt, and
pardon their offences. All this while the prieſts had covered the ſpacious altar
with proper victims, which as ſoon as his prayer was ended, were conſumed by a
miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then,
turning himſelf about, bleſſed the audience; after which they went about offering d
A vaſt number of victims offered. a vaſt multitude of other ſacrifices, which were furniſhed both by the king, and
by the heads of the tribes, inſomuch, that they were forced to rear a number of
other altars in the court, the great one not being ſufficient for them. On the very
firſt day of this ceremony, which laſted ſeven days, they (N) ſacrified 20,000
bullocks and 120,000 ſheep for peace-offerings, which ſerved to feaſt the con-
courſe of people; beſides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which
were brought in every day. The feaſt of the tabernacles, which immediately
followed this, was likewiſe obſerved with unuſual magnificence; after which the
people were diſmiſſed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full
of joy and admiration of their wonderful monarch[y]. At the ſame time, leſt (
that young prince's heart ſhould be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur,
God was pleaſed to appear to him in a dream, on the firſt night of the dedication,
expreſſed his acceptance of that ſumptuous edifice, and renewed his promiſes to
him and his poſterity, provided he and they ſerved him with an upright heart:
on the other hand, he aſſured him, that in caſe they provoked him by their ido-
latry and diſobedience, that glorious building which was now the wonder of the
world, ſhould infallibly become a deſolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a
proverb of reproach among all nations †.

As

[x] 2 Chron. v. p. tot. [y] 1 King. viii. 12, & ſeq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii. p. tot. † 1 King. ix. & ſeq.

Levites and muſicians; all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor waſhed when ſtained with the leaſt ſpot, but were to be made into whicks for the lamps. To theſe we ſhall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 muſical inſtruments made of a mixt metal between gold and ſilver, ſuch as was called by the antients *electrum*; concerning all which, we can only ſay, that the text is either ſilent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he ſays, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to *Moſes*'s appointment

(N) The text ſays, indeed, that *Solomon* himſelf offered that vaſt number of victims (95); but it appears from the end of the verſe, and that which goes before it, that all *Iſrael* joined with him in it. We may likewiſe obſerve here, that it is not altogether clear from it, whether they were all ſacrificed in one, or in the ſeven days of the feaſt; the latter, indeed, is the moſt probable of the two, but the tenor of the words ſeem to lean more to the former.

(95) 1 King. viii. 63.

a As ſoon as *Solomon* had finiſhed this noble ſtructure, he ſet his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for himſelf, and another for *Pharaoh*'s daughter [z], and ſpared nothing, that art or riches could furniſh, to raiſe it to a proportionable ſplendor with it (O). He was almoſt thirteen years in building them, ſo that he finiſhed thoſe three magnificent edifices, with all their coſtly furniture, utenſils, and ornaments, within the ſpace of twenty years (P). After this he ſent back a great part of his *Tyrian* artificers; and to expreſs his gratitude to their prince, who had ſo generouſly furniſhed him, not only with vaſt quantities of ſtones and wood, but alſo with great ſums of gold, he preſented him with twenty cities in *Gallilee*; but *Hiram*, coming ſoon after to view them, was ſo diſguſted at them, that he b could not forbear breaking out into ſome complaint againſt his brother *Solomon*, and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction by his refuſal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, *Solomon* built them anew himſelf, and planted colonies of *Iſraelites* in them †. The reſt of his workmen, whether *Tyrians* or others, together with the *Canaaniti/h* ſlaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in ſurrounding the city of *Jeruſalem* with a ſtrong and ſtately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-boron*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, and other places of conſequence; beſides ſeveral other ſtore-cities for his chariots and horſes, for his magazines of corn, wine, oyl, and other proviſions and ammunition. He built c moreover ſome fortreſſes in *Lebanon*, probably to ſecure a free communication between his kingdom and that of *Syria*. Soon after this he brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, who ſeem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him [a]. Theſe were alſo probably forced to his works with the reſt; for as for the

Solomon's *palaces.*

[z] Compare 1 King. iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11. † Compare 1 King. ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & ſeq. [a] 1 King ix. 15 & ſeq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & ſeq. See before, p. 337. b.

(O) One of theſe places is called the houſe of the foreſt of *Lebanon* (96), though it was at *Jeruſalem*; the reaſon of its being ſo called, is not certainly known. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt calls it a ſummer-houſe, or houſe of refreſhment; others think it to have been built in that foreſt, after he had taken the city of *Hamath-zobah* (97); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the foreſt of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reaſon of the prodigious quantities of cedar, and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple and other ſumptuous edifices, inſomuch, that it ſeems as if *Lebanon* had been tranſported to *Jeruſalem* (98). Upon this account, and perhaps alſo from the fragrancy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the pſalmiſt and ſome of the prophets (99).

(P) Theſe palaces were built with the utmoſt magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, ſilver, cedar, and other precious woods, marble, and other coſtly ſtones, the ſtupendous bigneſs of them, or the exquiſiteneſs of the workmanſhip, or for the richneſs of their furniture, and the ſumptuouſneſs of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among theſe there was one more ſpacious than the reſt, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and, on each ſide of it, the ſeats of his counſellors. This porch was by far the moſt magnificent of all, becauſe it was both his ſeat of judgment, and the place of publick audience, where he ſhewed himſelf, either to his nobles, or to the ſtrangers that reſorted to him. It was placed in the midſt of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiouſly carved and covered, or rather inlaid, with gold. The throne itſelf, which was in the faſhion of a niche, was covered with ivory, inlaid, and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold: the aſcent to it was by ſix ſteps, each ſtep being ſupported on each ſide with a ſmall lyon, and the arms of the ſeat with two large ones as big as the life. All theſe and even the ſteps themſelves, were likewiſe covered with gold and ivory. The richneſs of the furniture of theſe ſumptuous edifices may be gueſſed at, by the plate and drinking-veſſels which were uſed in them, which were all of fineſt gold. To theſe he added 300 ſhields of the ſame rich metal, which uſed to be carried before him when he went abroad, and then were ſuſpended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Beſides theſe, he likewiſe cauſed 200 targets to be made of a larger ſize, which were hung up in ſome conſpicuous place of the temple. All theſe were made of ſome precious wood, and covered with gold; theſe latter amounted to 600 ſhekels each, and the former to three pound weight (100).

(Q) כבול *Chabul*, which is the name he gave it, comes from כבל, which ſignifies a fetlock; and is ſuppoſed to have alluded to the extream dirtineſs of it, becauſe one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

Joſephus derives it from a *Phœnician* word, which ſignifies *diſlike*, and adds, that *Hiram* refuſed to take them from *Solomon* upon that account (1); but as we find a city of that name as early as *Joſhua*'s time (2), it is not improbable, that *Hiram* took the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellative to all the reſt.

This *Chabul*, which our author calls *Chebalon*, was, according to him, ſituated in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, or between that and *Ptolemais*: that of *Joſhua* could not be far from it; and yet St. *Jerom* places them on the other ſide of *Jordan* (4), in that part which was called *Decapolis* (5).

(96) 1 King. vii. 2. (97) *Vid.* Jun. *in loc.* & Chron. viii. 3, (98) *Ita Rabbin. vid*, & Munst. Calmet. & *al. in* Pſal. xxix. xcii. 12, 13. (99) Pſal. xxix. *paſſ.* xcii. 12, 13. & *alia.* (100) 1 King. x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix 13. (1) *Ant. lib.* 8. *c.* 2. *Vid. ſup. p.* 414. c. (2) Joſh. xix. 27. (3) *Ibid.* & *in vit. ſua.* (4) Hieron. *in* Amos. i. (5) *Vid.* Calm. *ſub. voc. Chabulun.*

the *Israelites*, the text expresly says, that they were exempt from all kind of slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army [b]. a

Solomon's *Navy*.

To supply all these vast expences, *Solomon* went and built a navy at *Ezion-geber*, upon the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, and put it under the care of some expert *Tyrian* sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to *Ophir* (R), and in about three

[b] 1 King. ibid. ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that *Ophir* is to us a *terra incognita*, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices, by which the scriptures seem to lead us to it; such as those that follow: 1. That *Moses* speaks of *Ophir* the son of *Joktan*, who went with his brethren and dwelt from *Mesha* toward *Shephar*, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to *Ophir* and *Tharshish* (7), and set out from *Ezion-geber*, a sea-port near *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom* upon the *Red-Sea* (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and almug-wood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That *Ophir* not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11); and lastly, That according to *Eupolemus*, an antient author quoted by *Eusebius* (12), the *Urphe*, or *Ophir*, from whence this metal was brought, was an island in the *Red-Sea*; not that which we commonly understand by that name, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, but the great southern ocean, which extended itself between *India* and *Africa*, and washeth up to the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and was called the *Red-Sea* from the colour which the perpendicular sun-beams give it in those hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Josephus* says, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was since called *India*, or the *land of gold* (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now called the island of *Malacca*, overagainst *Sumatra*; these, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out such a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, yet at least to the region, whence all these riches came, and yet there are scarce any two authors that have steered the same course.

But not to dwell long upon a subject that affords so little certainty, we shall content ourselves with a bare mention of those who seem to have visibly erred from the point, and then give a short account of those who have spoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the first we may rank those who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being unconceivable, how they could steer thither and back again in those early days, without charts or compass, with so imperfect a knowledge of geography and astronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coasting. If it be said, that this was the method they steered by, and that they coasted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and so on to *Hispaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; besides that in such a case, eighteen months will scarce be sufficient for such a prodigious round, how many islands might they have met with in *India*, that, could have supplyed them with all those commodities, and especially with gold? how came they at first to have such knowledge of those parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled so early? and if it was, which is scarce credible, were either its inhabitants such expert sailors, as to bring those merchandizes to some famous emporium nearer to *Asia*, or did any of the *Asiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2. Those who have gone no further than the coasts of *Africa*, or even nearer for it (16), because though it be probable, that several parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, spices, ivory, and those other merchandises, or according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither, yet the farthest coast of *Africk* was not distant enough from *Ezion-geber*, to have taken up so much time as three years, though we should allow, that they went to a different sea-port for each merchandise; much less to those places mentioned by some of those authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

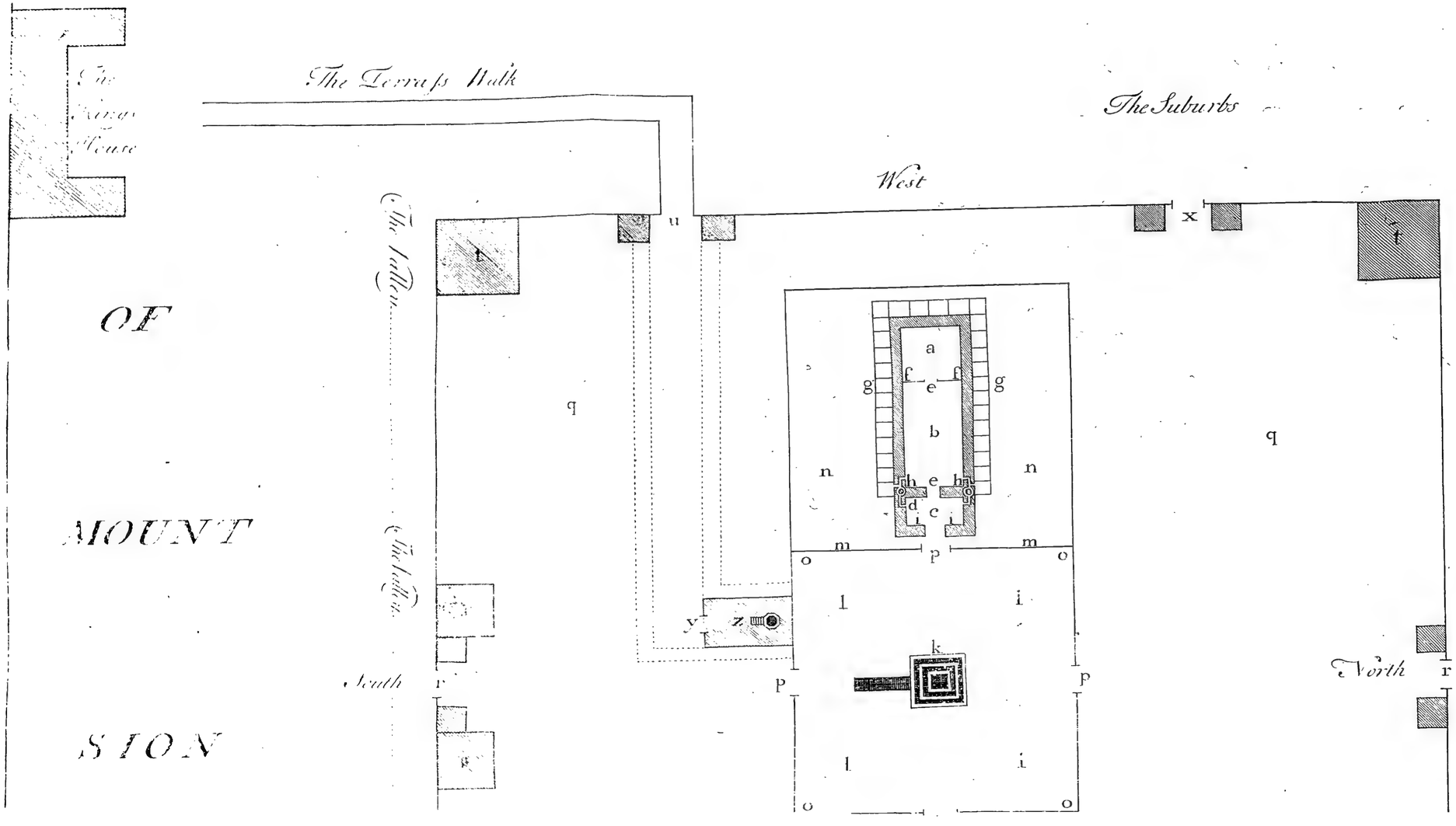
Lastly, we may reckon among them who have missed the mark those who have fallen into the notion, that *Ezion-geber* was not on the coasts of the *Red Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17), in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* stumbled, by making the canal of communication between those two seas to have been opened in *David*'s time, which is confuted by several learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a passage from *Ezion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*; it cannot be supposed to have been situated any where but on the *Red-Sea*, without doing manifest violence to the text, because there is not one single instance of ים סוף *Yam Suph*, signifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red-Sea*; and secondly, because *Ezion-geber* is said to have been beside *Eloth*, which last is always placed on the *Red-Sea* (19).

Among those who have conjectured with more probability, we shall mention, first of all, those who place it with *Josephus* in some part of the *East-Indies* (20), though without adhering too close to the particular place, which each of them has made choice of, whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the isles of *Seylan* or *Taprobana* (21), or in *Siam*, (22), or in any of those neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whose inhabitants pretend to be descended from the *Jews*, whom *Solomon* sent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour lost, to seek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandises, which the fleet brought into *Judea*, when they had time enough to fetch some from one place and some from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by *Indian* merchants, from several parts of *Indian*

(6) Gen. x. 29, 30. (7) *Conf.* 1 King. ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 49. & 2 Chron. xx. 36. (8) 1 King. ix 26. & *alib.* (9) *Ibid.* x. 22. & *alib.* (10) *Ibid.* & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) *Ibid.* & *alib. pass.* (12) *Præp. Evang. l.* 9. (13) *Vid.* PRIDEAUX *Connect. lib.* 1. (14) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (15) GENEBR. ARR-MONT. CHRIST-COLUMB. VATABL. POSTEL. & *al.* (16) GROT. *in* 1 *Reg.* ix. HUET. *Dissert. de Navig.* Salom. JEAN DOS SANT. & *al.* (17) GOROP. BECAN. BIVAR. HORN. & *al.* (18) MARSH. *Can. Ægypt. sacr.* 15. CALM. *prolegom. in* Genes. (19) *Vid.* EUSEB. *loc. Hebr. sub voc.* ABU'LFED. *Descr. Arab.* PLIN. STRAB. HIEROM. PROCOP. & *al.* (20) LUC. HOLSTEIN. *Not. in Ortel.* (21) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Phal.* (22) *Ab* CAST. *in vit.* Salom. (23) *Vid.* LIPEN. *Tract. de Ophir.* (24) *Vid.* MAFF. & *aut. ab eo citat.*

PART OF MOUNT SION

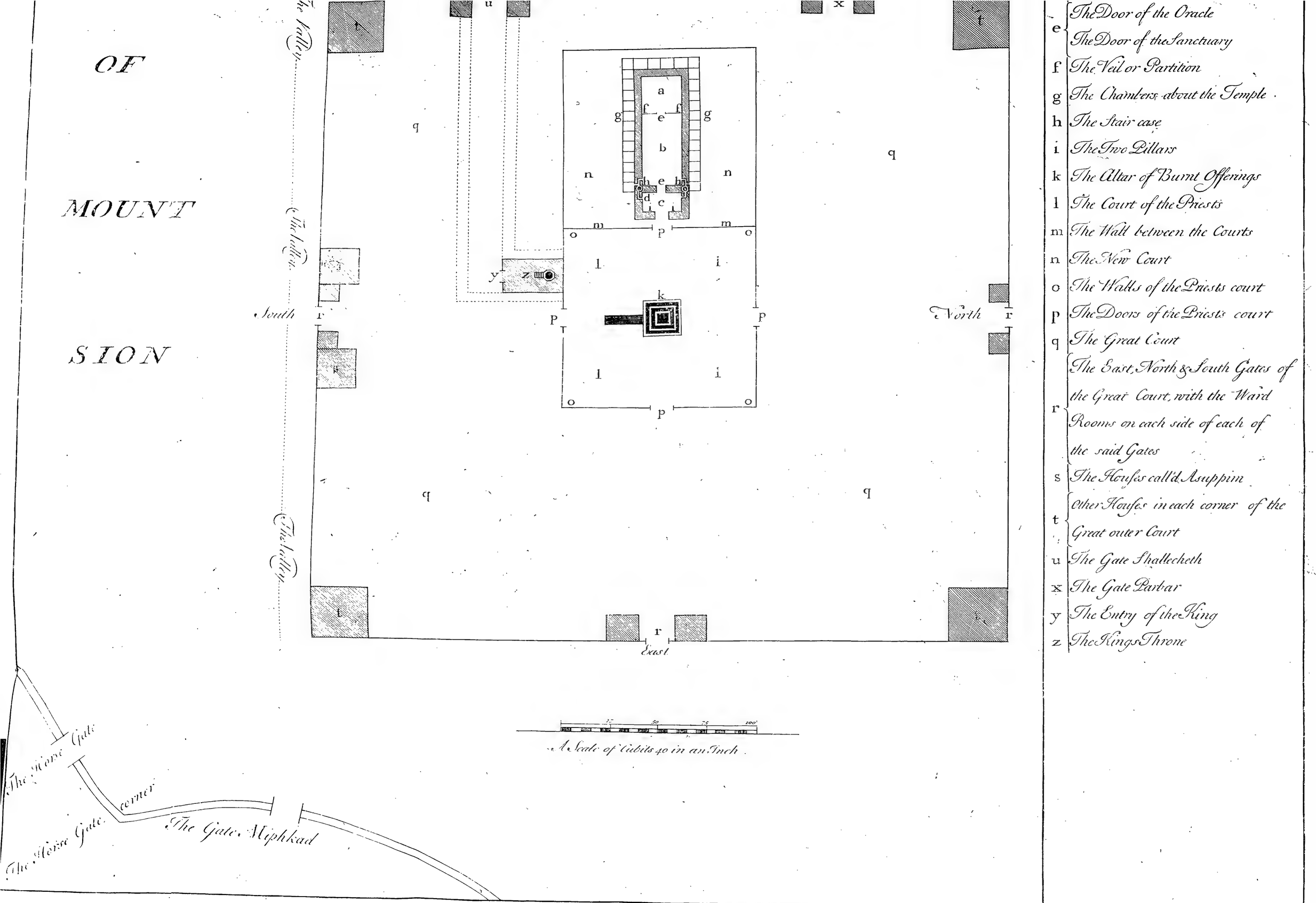
A PLAN of the TEMPLE of JERUSALEM, Built by KING SOLOMON as it is found recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles.



The Explanation

- a The Oracle or most Holy Place
- b The Sanctuary or Holy Place
- c The Porch
- d The Wall
- e The Door of the Oracle / The Door of the Sanctuary
- f The Veil or Partition
- g The Chambers about the Temple
- h The Stair case
- i The Two Pillars
- k The Altar of Burnt Offerings
- l The Court of the Priests
- m The Wall between the Courts
- n The New Court
- o The Walls of the Priests court
- p The Doors of the Priests court
- q The Great Court
- r The East, North & South Gates of the Great Court, with the Ward

OF MOUNT SION



- a The Door of the Oracle
- e The Door of the Sanctuary
- f The Veil or Partition
- g The Chambers about the Temple
- h The Stair case
- i The Two Pillars
- k The Altar of Burnt Offerings
- l The Court of the Priests
- m The Wall between the Courts
- n The New Court
- o The Walls of the Priests court
- p The Doors of the Priests court
- q The Great Court
- r The East, North & South Gates of the Great Court, with the Ward Rooms on each side of each of the said Gates
- s The Houses call'd Asuppim
- t Other Houses in each corner of the Great outer Court
- u The Gate Shallecheth
- x The Gate Parbar
- y The Entry of the King
- z The Kings Throne

three years time, brought him back an immenſe weight of gold and ſilver, beſides ſeveral kinds of precious ſtones, ſpices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities [c]. The gold itſelf amounted to 450 talents yearly, beſides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of thoſe precious woods the king did beſtow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of muſical inſtruments for the ſervice of God [d],

ALL this time, *Solomon* was ſtill mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the ſolemn feſtivals, and ſettling the courſes of the prieſts, *Levites*, muſicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his father; and making all proper regulations for maintaining the ſervice of God, with a ſplendor and magnificence equal, at leaſt, to that of his kingdom [e]. Upon all which accounts he is juſtly obſerved, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

AMONG the great perſons whom his fame brought to *Jeruſalem*, the moſt conſiderable was the queen of *Sheba* (S), a princeſs of ſuch excellent wiſdom and extraordinary *The queen of Sheba's viſit to him.*

[c] Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 21. [d] Ibid. ver 11. [e] 1 King. ix. 25. 2 Chr. viii. 12. & ſeq.

India, into ſome common emporium. All theſe are probable conjectures, by ſuppoſing the fleet to fall from the *Red-Sea* into the ocean, through the *Perſian* gulph.

Dean *Prideaux* obſerves next, that it was the voyage to *Tharſhiſh*, which took up three years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judea*, and the voyage performed in leſs time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former, for ſome commodities which the other did not afford; and conſequently, that any place in the great *Indian* Sea, at the diſtance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, ſilver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tharſhiſh*; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, almug trees, and precious ſtones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the ſcriptures. So that if the ſouthern part of *Arabia* produced the greateſt quantities of the beſt gold, as he ſhews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tharſhiſh* and *Ophir* might be diſtinct places, and at ſome conſiderable diſtance from each other, yet if the latter had been ſo nigh as ſouth *Arabia*, and had yielded ſuch plenty of the fineſt gold, almug trees, and precious ſtones, it is ſcarce credible, that they would have gone ſo much farther for ſuch inferior trifles as ſilver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely, that they went fartheſt for the fineſt gold, precious ſtones, and things of greateſt value.

Laſtly, A late author (26) has taken quite a different rout from all the reſt, and thinks, that he has found out the *Meſha* and *Sephar*, where *Ophir* the ſon of *Joktan* went to dwell; between mount *Maſius* and the mountains of *Saphar*, ſomewhere towards *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; which rivers might be ſubſervient to this commerce. He adds ſeveral ingenious reaſons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection againſt this hypotheſis, and which, we think, he doth not ſufficiently anſwer, is, that the nearneſs of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we ſhould ſuppoſe, with him, that they took a large compaſs about from coaſt to coaſt; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three ſummers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the moſt probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impoſſible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in ſome of thoſe remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*; which laſt doth ſtill abound with the fineſt gold, and with ſeveral other commodities in which *Solomon*'s fleet dealt, as ſilver, precious ſtones, ebony, and other valuable ſorts of wood; to ſay nothing of ſpices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other ſuch creatures †; and by its diſtance doth beſt anſwer to the length of the voyage.

All that we ſhall ſay farther is, that this *Ophir* gold was in great plenty in *Judea* even in *David*'s time, ſince he left 3000 talents of it for the ſervice of the temple, beſides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the ſame purpoſe (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been ſo munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; ſhould we ſuppoſe it to have been even a third part, there muſt have been at leaſt 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious ſum could never be heaped together from the bare ſpoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reaſonable to believe, that having conquered the *Edomites*, and taken *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, *David* ſet himſelf about opening a commerce from thence, by the aſſiſtance of *Hiram*'s expert ſailors; ſo that his ſon did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying thoſe two places, and peopling them with the beſt mariners and ſhip-builders, and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to ſuch a degree, as made him by far the richeſt prince of his time, and his kingdom the moſt flouriſhing in the world.

(S) *Joſephus* calls her *Nicaulis*, and ſays, ſhe was queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (28); and elſewhere, that *Saba* was the metropolis of the latter, till *Cambyſes* called it, by his ſiſter's name, *Meroes* (29). The *Ethiopians*, accordingly, pretend, that ſhe was queen of that country, and preſerve ſtill a liſt of her ſucceſſors (30), They add, that ſhe had a ſon by *Solomon*, whom ſhe ſent to be brought up by him; they call him *Meilik* or *Menilehek*, and pretend, that twenty-

(25) PRID. *Connect. book* 1. (26) CALMET. *Proleg. in Geneſ.* † *Vid.* VAREN. *&. al. deſcr. Japon.* (27) *Vid.* 1 Chron. xxix. 4, *& ſeq.*

(28) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (29) *Ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (30) *Vid.* HIER. ALMEID. & LUDOLPH. *Hiſt. Ethiop.*

ordinary opulence, that she seemed to have come to vie with the *Jewish* monarch, a
by the sumptuousness of her equipage, the richness of her presents, and the
number of hard questions she put to him. She brought with her a vast number
of camels, laden with gold, precious stones, and such rich spices and perfumes, as
had not till then been known even in *Solomon*'s court. By all these one may
guess at the splendidness of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be supposed,
that she would have engaged with a prince so universally famed for wisdom, if she
had not had some considerable share of it herself: but, after having tried him with
all the subtil and enigmatick questions she had prepared for him (T), she found
in him such a readiness in solving, and such a sagacity in explaining his answers,
that he seemed even to prevent her thoughts [f]; insomuch, that she owned herself b
fully satisfied, that he was not without just reason esteemed the wisest prince of his
time. The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple, of his palaces,
and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the richness of their furniture, the great
number and excellent order of his servants, stables, chariots, guards, and, in a
word, of all the magnificence that reigned both in his court and in the city.
So many surprising instances of his wisdom and greatness could not but strike that
princess with the deepest wonder; which as soon as she could recover herself
from, she owned with a kind of extasy, that the half of it had not been told her.
After this, she expressed her extreme satisfaction in the most respectful terms,
and presented the king with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious stones, c
and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too generous not to make
her suitable returns, and dismissed her with the strongest proofs of his muni-
ficence (V) [g].

HITHERTO we have seen nothing in that prince's life, but what gives us the
highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign
proved far otherwise, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wise, beloved of God,
and admired by all the world for so many excellent vertues, did become such a
slave to the passion of love, in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing
multitude of strange women, without distinction of nation, country, or religion,
His defection; and without the least regard to God's express commands to the contrary; till at d
length he but too sadly verified the divine warning [h], by suffering himself to be
seduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to 700,
besides 300 concubines, or wives of the second rank; and his complaisance for
Idolatries; them went so far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; insomuch,
that

[f] 1 King. x. 3. [g] Ibid. i, & seq. 2 Chr. ix. 1, & seq. [h] Vid. Deut. vii. 3, & seq.

twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively down to *Basilides*, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some antient writers do likewise acknowledge, that that country was sometime governed by women (32).

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her *Balkish*, and pretend, that she was queen of *Arabia*, had her residence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preserved also her genealogy, as well as the history of her journey to *Judea*, which they have stuffed with other fables; among others, that she was married to *Solomon*; and that, after her return into *Arabia*, that prince used to keep an epistolar correspondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *Hudhud*, a kind of lapwing or puet, which used to carry letters between them (33).

But, setting aside these trifling stories, the opinion of those who think that that princess came from *Arabia*, seems certainly the most probable of the two, among many other reasons, because she is called, in the gospel, *the queen of the South*, and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth (34); which answers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lieth south of *Judea*, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have seen in a former note, that it was part of the diversion of princes in those times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard questions. An annalist tells us, that among other ways that this princess tried to pose the king, she took a number of boys and girls, which she had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, she presented them to him, to see which way he would take to know those of one sex from those of the other. Wherefore he ordered them to wash their faces before him; and easily found out the difference, by the robustness and effeminacy with which each sex performed his command. The reader may see his authority for this story in the author himself (35).

(V) *Josephus* adds, that the *Jews* had a tradition, that the queen of *Sheba* brought with her the first branch of that precious balsam-tree, or balm of *Gilead*, which *Judea* came afterwards to be so famed for. He mentions likewise a grove belonging to the house of *Lebanon*, which was such a masterpiece of art, that it raised the admiration of that princess, above all the rest of his stately works (36).

(31) *Id. ib. lib.* ii. *cc.* 34, *& seq.* (32) STRAB. *lib.* xvi. *c.* 17. PLIN. *l.* vi. *c.* 26. (33) *Vid.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibliot. Orient. sub voc. Balkish.* (34) Matt. xii. 42. (35) MICH. GLYCAS. *Annal. page* 182. (36) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2.

a that the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, if not the city itſelf, was filled with idols and temples; and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-againſt it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemoſh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a ſhameful defection could not but be highly diſpleaſing to God; and *Solomon* was ſoon after made ſenſible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would coſt his ſucceſſors the loſs of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in conſideration of his former promiſe to *David*, for whoſe ſake he alſo forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this ſevere denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immerſed in his idolatry and b luſt, the text doth no where tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Chriſtians* is about it, may be ſeen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his reign, *and death.* Year of the Flood, 2024. Before Chriſt, 975.

(W) Among thoſe that believe, that *Solomon* did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudiſts*, who affirm, that God ſent *Aſmodeus* to ſtrip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of *Iſrael*, weeping, and crying out, *I, the preacher, was once king of* Iſrael (37). 2. The generality of rabbies, antient and modern, if we except the author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, who finiſhes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it cauſed in his poſterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); theſe pretend to have a tradition, that in the height of his remorſe, he cauſed himſelf to be dragged ſeveral times about the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, deſiring the doctors to chaſtiſe him for his faults; which they refuſing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he ſcourged himſelf ſeverely before them, and thinking himſelf unworthy to reign any longer, he ſtripped himſelf of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is falſe, that his heart was enſnared by women to ſin, or that he built any altars to *Moloch*, or any other heatheniſh deity; and ſay, that the text meant no more, than that he would have done it, if he had not been with-held from it by God's ſpecial grace (40). As for *Joſephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakneſs of old age, without ſaying any thing of his repentance (41).

The *Chriſtians*, both ancient and modern, who have embraced the notion, that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too numerous to be quoted here; we ſhall inſert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reaſons which have led them to it. In the firſt place, many of them have followed the notion of ſome of the fathers above quoted, that the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* was the reſult of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a ſenſe of himſelf, and theſe are very numerous (43). There are, indeed, in that book a number of expreſſions, which are very like thoſe of a perſon, who feels a ſenſible remorſe for his paſt extravagancies, and is deſirous to forewarn others againſt them (44).

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promiſe made by God to his father, where, ſpeaking of *Solomon*, whom he had choſen to build his temple; he adds, *I will eſtabliſh his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he ſhall be a ſon to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chaſtiſe him with the rod of men:—But my mercy will I not cauſe to depart from him, as I did from* Saul: and much more to the ſame purpoſe (45).

It is likewiſe ſaid in another place (46) that *Rehoboam* and his ſubjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord (47). *Solomon*'s way, therefore, being put with that of *David*, and oppoſed to that of his wicked ſon, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been ſaid of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it, the one, where he complains, that he was more brutiſh than any man, having neither underſtanding, wiſdom, nor knowledge of the holy one (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*: the other is ſtill wider, being only, according to the ſeptuagint verſion, which makes him ſay, *At length I repented, and have applied myſelf to live after a better rule*; whereas in the original he only ſays, that having obſerved the field of a ſlothful man over-run with nettles—he conſidered well about it, and received inſtruction (49).

Laſtly, ſo willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And* Solomon *ſlept with his fathers, and was buried*, &c. (50), as a token of his repentance; becauſe there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent; ſuch as, *that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord*; *that he perverted his way*; *that he made* Iſrael *to ſin*; and ſuch-like.

Notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not ſcrupled to call his repentance in queſtion, and ſome of them even to deny it (51). We ſhall ſubjoin ſome of their reaſons for this opinion. 1. *Solomon*'s ſins of idolatry and love of ſtrange women are recorded in the ſtrongeſt terms; but not a word is mentioned in the whole ſcripture about his forſaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his poſterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have

(37) *Vid. Talmud, tractat.* קידושין. (38) *Vid.* Eccius. xlvii. 19, *& ſeq.* (39) *Ex fragm. cui titul.* de Salomone judicium, *in fin. tom. 7. oper.* Bedæ. (40) *Vid.* Pined. *de reb. Salom.* Calmet. *Diſſert. de ſalut. ejuſd.* (41) *Ant.* l. viii. c. iii. (42) Iren. l. iv. Marcio *ap. Epiphan. de Hæreſ.* Bacchiar. *Epiſt. de recipiend. lapſis.* Hilar. *in* Pſ. lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. *Hieroſol. catech.* 2. Hieron. *in* Ezek. xiii. *& alib.* Gregor. Taumat. *& al.* (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo. Cardinal. Paul. Comestor. Genebrard. Chemnit. J. Henr. Heideg. Reymer. Mercer. Usser. Jun. Tremel. *& al. plurim.* (44) *Vid. int. al.* Eccleſ. i. 1, *& ſeq.* ii. paſſ. iii. 17, *& ſeq.* xi. & xii. *paſſ.* (45) 2 Sam. viii. 13, *& ſeq.* Pſ. lxxxix. 19, *& ſeq. ad* 37. *& alib. paſſ.* (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) *Ibid.* xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 23. (49) *Ibid.* xxiv. 30, *& ſeq.* (50) 1 King. xi. *ult.* 2 Chron. ix. *ult.* (51) Cyprian. *de Unit. Eccleſ. & epiſt.* 6. *ad* Rogat. Tertul. lib. ii. iii. & v. *cont.* Marcion. Origen. August *cont.* Faust. l. xxii. *In Pſ.* cxxiv. *& alib.* Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Prosper. Beda. de Lyra. Tostat. Bellarm. Perer. Vega. Maldonat. *& al. mult.* (52) 1 King. xi. 9. *& ſeq.*

reign, and about the fifty-eighth of his age, and was buried in the ſtately ſepulchre a
of his father *David*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Rehoboam* [i]. *Joſephus* gives him eighty
years reign, and ninety-four of age [k]. Were that indeed true, his impieties might
well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage; perhaps alſo this was the motive,
that induced the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian to ſpin out his life ſo far beyond the text. *Solomon*
is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his
Proverbs, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*; all the reſt are loſt, as well as thoſe of the
prophets *Nathan*, *Ahijah*, and *Iddo*, who are ſaid to have penned the hiſtory of that
prince * (X).

WHILST *Solomon* ſpent the laſt years of his life in pleaſure and indolence, the b
ſeeds of the threatned defection were ſowing both in *Iſrael* and out of it; ſo that
when his ſon *Rehoboam* came to the crown, he had three potent adverſaries to en-
counter againſt. The firſt was *Hadad*, king of *Edom*, who bore a mortal hatred
againſt *Iſrael*, ever ſince *David*'s general had cauſed ſuch an univerſal maſſacre in
that kingdom. He was now returned from *Egypt*, where he had been forced to
take ſanctuary, during *David* and *Solomon*'s reigns [l]. The ſecond was *Rezin*, a ſub-
ject of the king of *Zobah*, who fled likewiſe from *David*'s conquering ſword, and
having put himſelf at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and eſtabliſhed
a petty kingdom at *Damaſcus*, and never ceaſed annoying *Iſrael*, and revenging
David's old hoſtilities on the *Zobeans* [m]. But the moſt dangerous of the three was c
Jeroboam, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly
made overſeer over his tribe and that of *Manaſſeh*, in the carrying on of his
works. This man had been told by the prophet *Ahijah*, that God would give
him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon*'s ſucceſſors; and either upon
this account, or for ſome particular miſdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into
Egypt, to avoid the king's reſentment, and there probably he concerted with the
king of *Edom*, about cauſing an inſurrection in *Iſrael*. As ſoon, therefore, as he
heard, that *Rehoboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a pro-
per opportunity for it, and that weak prince ſoon after gave him ſuch a one as his
heart could wiſh.

Rehoboam. *Rehoboam* was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their d
homage at *Shechem*, but they refuſed to acknowledge him, unleſs he promiſed to
lighten their yoke, which, they complained, his father had made too heavy for
them.

i 1 King. xi. paſſ. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31. k Ant. l. 8. c. 3. * 2 Chron. ix. 29. l 1 King. xi. 14 & ſeq. See before, p. 314, 315. m 1 King. xi. 23, & ſeq. See before, p. 382. b. e.

have executed it ſo punctually, if *Solomon* had repented? 3. *David* and others, who repented of their ſins, had not only part of the puniſhment abated, but their converſion is particularly recorded? Why ſhould *Solomon* be the only perſon whoſe repentance is omitted? Could he write the book of *Proverbs*, or of *Eccleſiaſtes*, after his converſion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue? or, if he had deſtroy'd them, Why was it not recorded? or rather, Why is it ſaid, that they ſubſiſted till *Joſiah*'s time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death? What proofs are there, that the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it? Laſtly, as to the *Rabbinical* traditions, doth not the authority of the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, mentioned above, out-weigh them all, and doth not that ſeem to imply, that he died in his ſins? Upon the whole then, we ſhall not venture to conclude any thing on either ſide, much leſs enter into the more dark and dangerous queſtion about his ſalvation, which almoſt all the authors above-quoted, and many more, have preſumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(X) Several other books have been attributed to *Solomon*, eſpecially thoſe of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the *Wiſdom* and the *Pſalter of Solomon*, which are now univerſally owned to be of more modern date. The latter conſiſts of 18 pſalms, artfully collected out of the other pſalms and ſome of the prophets, a copy of which is in the *Vienna* library, and placed between the two former books (54); they ſeem alſo to have been in our *Alexandrian* manuſcript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn, or loſt out of it. As for the other writings, which the *Greeks* and *Arabians* attribute to that prince, they are leſs worth enquiring after: ſome of them are written in the magic ſtrain, others upon natural philoſophy, and others upon moral ſubjects (55). Some indeed pretend, that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to aſperſe his fame, by making him the author of them, but that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whoſe power extended over all creatures, and even over ſpirits, cauſed all thoſe writings to be locked up in a ſtrong iron cheſt, and buried under his throne; out of which, however, they were fetched after his death, by ſome demons or magicians, and publiſhed again under that monarch's name (56). There are ſome eaſtern authors, who attribute the invention of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* letters to him (57), and ſome make him the author of the book of *Job* (58); all without any foundation.

(53) 2 Kings xxiii. 13. (54) LAMBEC *Bibliot. Vindebon.* (55) *Vid.* FABRIC *Apocryph.* (56) *Vid.* D' HERBELOT. *Bibliot. orient. ſub voc. Solyman.* (57) *Vid.* ABR. ECHELLENS & ABU'LFARAG. *Hiſt. Arab. & al.* (58) *Vid. Polychron in Job* DIEG *de* STUNIC. *& al. præfat. in Job.*

a them. The king took three days to conſider of an anſwer, and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholeſome advice of his grave counſellors, and given the people ſome fair promiſes, which if he had, it is poſſible, he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occaſion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of ſome hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him, and inſtead of ſoothing the people on the third day, he anſwered them in a haughty tone, That he deſigned to govern them with greater ſeverity than ever his father had done, and that, if they dared to murmur, he would uſe ſcorpions inſtead of whips to chaſtiſe their inſolence. This inconſiderate anſwer did ſo b provoke them, that they diſclaimed all further allegiance to the houſe of *David*, and having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had ſent to appeaſe the tumult, ten of the tribes choſe *Jeroboam* to be their head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, did cleave to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*, to avoid any inſult being offered to him by the revolters. As ſoon as he was come thither, he cauſed an army to be raiſed out of the two tribes, which muſtered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the reſt to their obedience; but, whilſt they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and perſuaded them to deſiſt, which they readily did for the preſent, though there were continual bickerings between thoſe two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, c on the other hand, thought on nothing, but how to ſecure his new-gotten kingdom, and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Penuel*, the former of which he made the place of his reſidence (Y). But there was ſtill one thing, which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the houſe of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jeruſalem*, and *Jeroboam* did not ſufficiently rely upon the prophet's promiſe, to run the riſk of becoming the victim of the people's inconſtancy. This apprehenſion made him ſacrifice religion to his ſafety, and to ſet up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worſhip of God, without going to *Jeruſalem*. He like- d wiſe built ſome temples and altars in the high places, and becauſe the *Levites* did cleave to *Rehoboam*, he made prieſts to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or deſert [n].

Rehoboam's folly occaſions ten tribes to revolt.

who chooſe Jeroboam to be their king.

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *Iſrael*, and a great concourſe of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was ſent thither by God, to denounce the deſtruction of the new altar, by a future king of *Judah*, named *Joſiah*, and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it ſhould then receive ſuch a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the ſpot. *Jeroboam* was ſtanding by the altar, being juſt going to offer incenſe upon it, (Z), and when he heard the prophet's threatning, he e ſtretched out his hand to cauſe him to be apprehended, but, to his great ſurpriſe, felt it withered in an inſtant. Upon his ſubmiſſion, however, he had it reſtored again, and invited the prophet to his houſe, intending to have rewarded him for the

His idolatry.

[n] 1 Kings xii. paſſ.

(Y) Theſe two places had been in a manner deſtroyed, the former by *Abimelech* (59), and the latter by *Gideon* (60). This laſt was an important place on the other ſide of *Jordan*, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. *Shechem* was alſo a ſtrong place by nature, about 40 miles from *Jeruſalem* (61), and ſo conveniently ſituate to become the the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of *Samaria* by *Omri*, and reſumed that dignity after this latter had been deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*. We find it called *Sichar* in the goſpel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of *Judah* gave it after their revolt, and ſignifies *Drunkard*.

(Z) It ſeems by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had deſigned to join the high-prieſthood and the royal dignity together in his own perſon. The places he made choice of to ſet up his two idols were not only very commodious on account of their ſituation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been reſorted to by the patriarchs, and conſecrated in a peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had ſeen the glorious viſion we read of in *Geneſis* (63); and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from *Micah*'s houſe, and for the concourſe of people that went afterwards to ſacrifice to it (65).

(59) Judg. ix. 34. & *ſeq.* (60) *Ibid.* viii 17. (61) *vid.* RELAND. *in Shechem.* (62) John iv. 5. (63) Ch. xxviii. 12. & *ſeq. vid.* & Ch. xxxv. 1. & *ſeq.* (64) Judg. xviii. *paſſ.*

the cure, but he, having been expreſly forbidden to ſtay in *Bethel*, even to drink a a
cup of water, refuſed his offer and went his way. He was, nevertheleſs, unadviſedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilſt he was refreſhing himſelf at his houſe, he was told by him, that his diſobedience would be puniſhed by a ſpeedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly ſoon after; for, as he was returning into the land of *Judah*, he was killed by a lyon, which did afterwards lie quietly down by his carcaſs, without offering any further violence either to it, or the beaſt he rode upon.

Jeroboam was nothing moved at theſe extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worſhip of God [o]. At length, his ſon *Abijah* being fallen into ſome dangerous diſeaſe, he took it into his head to ſend his wife b
in diſguiſe to *Abijah* the prophet, who had foretold him that he ſhould be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her firſt coming, and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her huſband, that ſince he had proved ſo ungrateful to God, and had filled *Iſrael* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the leaſt puniſhment that ſhould fall upon him, for that his poſterity ſhould be cut off, ſo that they which died in the city would become the food of dogs, and thoſe that died in the field ſhould be devoured by the crows, all which was verified by the ſequel accordingly. Notwithſtanding all theſe threatnings, *Jeroboam* perſiſted ſtill in his idolatry, and gave thereby no ſmall advantage to the king of *Judah* [p]. c

WHILST *Jeroboam* was ſtrengthening himſelf in *Shechem*, *Rehoboam* was doing the ſame at *Jeruſalem*; he built and fortified a conſiderable number of places in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, put garriſons in them, and ſtored them with arms and ammunition. At the ſame time the tribe of *Levi*, which was diſperſed over *Iſrael*, being diſpleaſed with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jeruſalem* from their reſpective cities, beſides a vaſt number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to ſerve God according to the law of *Moſes*; ſo that he ſaw his ſubjects in a little time as numerous as thoſe of his revolted rival [q]. But that weak prince had ſcarce continued three years in the true ſervice of God, before he fell into the vileſt idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Iſraelites* in them; d
inſomuch, that his memory is branded for having ſuffered the people to ſet up groves, and to provide them with men and women, fit for the moſt abominable and unnatural practices [r]. For theſe God ſtirred up a potent adverſary againſt them, *Shiſhak* king of *Egypt*, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthieſt of *Judah* into the metropolis for ſhelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occaſion to upbraid them with their wickedneſs, which had brought this diſtreſs upon them; he threatned the ruin of the city; and his ſpeech had ſo good an effect upon them, that they humbled themſelves before God, and, by acknowledging the juſtice of this puniſhment, avoided the ſeverity of it [s]. *Shiſhak* contented himſelf with ſtripping the temple and palaces of all their golden ſhields e
and veſſels, and left them to ſubſtitute in their room others of a baſer metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, after which he reigned 12 years longer peaceably, except a few ſkirmiſhes with the king of *Iſrael*, and died in the 18th year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 ſons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved *Maacah*, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter, of *Abiſhalom* [t], by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom he preferred to all his other ſons to ſucceed him, for which end he had him brought up under him, whilſt he diſpoſed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner ſuitable to their rank [u]. His hiſtory was written by the prophets *Iddo* and *Shemaiah* [x]. f

Rehoboam's *death.*

Abijah's *reign.* *Jeroboam* had reigned eighteen years in *Iſrael*, when *Abijam*, or *Abijah*, as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, *Abijam* began with upbraiding his competitor with his baſe extraction and baſer actions; in that, from being

Year of the Flood, 2041. Year before CHRIST, 958.

[o] 1 Kings xiii. p. tot. [p] Ibid. xiv. 1. ad 21. [q] 2 Chron. xi. 5, & ſeq. [r] 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24.
[s] See, 2 Chron. xii. paſs. [t] Comp. Ch. xiii. 2. & 1 Kings xv. 2. [u] 2 Chron. xi. 18. ad fin.
[x] Ibid. Ch. xii. 15.

a being a ſervant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Rehoboam*'s weakneſs, to deprive him of the largeſt ſhare of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to ſecure it by debauching the people from the worſhip of God, to the moſt abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing, but ruin and deſtruction, as a juſt puniſhment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came againſt him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the ſervice of both. *Jeroboam* was too hardened a politician to ſuffer himſelf, or his men, to be intimidated by ſuch reproaches, and whilſt he ſeemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to ſurpriſe him in the rear, whilſt he attacked him in front; and this was ſo b punctually executed, that the king of *Judah* ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This ſurpriſe cauſed an univerſal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have injected an univerſal pannic, had not providence declared on their ſide, ſo that they gained a compleat victory over the *Iſraelitiſh* army, of which there fell 500,000 on the ſpot. *Abijah* purſued his victory, and retook ſeveral conſiderable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jeroboam* ſo much, that he never could recover his ſtrength again, during the ſhort time of his reign, which laſted but three years in all. *Abijah* left 14 wives and 22 ſons, and was ſucceeded by *Aſa*; his hiſtory was written by the prophet *Iddo* [y]. All that is further recorded of him is, that he c followed the ſinful ways of his father, inſtead of ſerving God with the ſame ſincerity that *David* had done [z]. About two years after *Jeroboam* alſo died (A), after having reigned in *Iſrael* 22 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nadab* [a].

Defeats Jeroboam's *army.*

Aſa ſucceeded *Abijam* in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*. He was a religious prince, and as the ten firſt years of his reign were bleſſed with peace, he ſpent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heatheniſh abominations, which his predeceſſors, had introduced in it. So ſincere was his zeal in that good work, that he ſpared not his own mother, but depoſed her from the regal dignity, which ſhe had abuſed, by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worſhip of ſome idol; both which he cauſed to be deſtroyed, with all the other d monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He alſo put his whole kingdom in a good poſture of defence, by fortifying ſeveral important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judah*, famous for handling the target and ſpear; the reſt, which were moſt of *Benjamin*, are likewiſe celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the uſe of the ſhield and bow [b]. His riches increaſing with his might, he likewiſe adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels, in the room of thoſe which the king of *Egypt* had carried away. In the ſecond year of his reign, *Nadab* ſucceeded *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the ſins e of his father, and his being killed at the ſiege of *Gibbethon*, a fortreſs belonging to the *Philiſtines*, by *Baaſha*, a man of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, who, having ſeized upon the kingdom, deſtroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word [c].

Aſa's *reign, and piety.*

At length, *Aſa* ſaw his kingdom attacked by an army of 1,000,000 *Cuſhites*, beſides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* at their head (B). *Aſa*, who truſted more in his God, than in his own ſtrength, was nothing terrified at this numerous hoſt, but came againſt him with his army; and after a ſharp battle, which was fought at *Mareſhah*, did totally rout the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jeruſalem* laden

His victory over the Cuſhites.

[y] 2 Chron. xiii. paſſ. 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9. [z] 1 Kings xv. 3. [c] 1 Kings xv. 27, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 25. [b] Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & ſeq. & *ab.* & *ſeq.*

(A) It is ſaid in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* (65), that the Lord ſtruck him with death; by which is meant, that he died ſome unnatural death; and, indeed, his character is conſtantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in *Iſrael*, which laſted till the diſſolution of that kingdom.

(B) Archbiſhop *Uſher* (66) places this famous action in the firſt year of *Aſa*'s reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or leſs (67) of it. We have followed the author of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, which affirms, that there was peace during the firſt ten years (68); and that *Aſa* offered great ſacrifices at *Jeruſalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thankſgiving for his late victory (69).

(65) Ch. xiii. 20. (66) *Ann. ſub. A. M.* 3063. (67) *Vid.* & S. J. Newt. *Chronol. p.* 99. Calmet (68) Ch. xiv. 1. (69) *Ibid. ver.* 10.

laden with their ſpoil. At his return he was met by a prophet, who encou- a
raged him with freſh promiſes from God, that he ſhould ſtill prove ſucceſsful againſt his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he ſacrificed a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil to the ſervice of God, and had the pleaſure to ſee multitudes flock to him from ſeveral of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or ſucceſs drew away from *Baaſha*, the new-made king of *Iſrael*.

IT was, probably, this continual defection, which cauſed a ſeries of ſkirmiſhes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortreſs of *Ramah*, to ſtop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria*, and *Aſa*, afraid of engaging two ſuch powerful enemies, found b
no better expedient, than to bribe *Benhadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cauſe ſome powerful diverſion in his kingdom. To this end, he ſent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treaſury, and in that of the temple; which had ſuch an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphthali*, and obliged *Baaſha* to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, to go and defend his territories [e]. As ſoon as he was departed from *Ramah*, *Aſa* iſſued out a proclamation, and ordered his ſubjects, none excepted, to tranſport all the materials of that fortreſs to *Geba* of *Benjamin*, and to *Mizpeh* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify thoſe two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Aſa* for his weakneſs, in ſeeking help from c
Benhadad, when he had been ſo lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* hoſt; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reaſon of a diſtemper in his feet, probably the gout, was ſo exaſperated at his boldneſs, that he caſt him into priſon. He was likewiſe guilty of ſome cruelties towards other perſons, upon what pretence the text doth not ſay, but it is likely, that his diſeaſe had inclined him to it, becauſe it is obſerved to have leſſened his confidence in God, and to have ſent him to the phyſicians for help [f]. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoſhaphat* (C).

Makes an alliance with Benhadad.

His diſeaſe;

and death.

Year of the Flood, 2085. Year before CHRIST, 914.

Baaſha all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in conſtant war with the king of *Judah*; when *Jehu*, the ſon of *Hanani*, came from the Lord to d
tell him, that ſince he had imitated his predeceſſor in his ſins, he ſhould likewiſe ſhare in his puniſhment, and be cut off with his poſterity. *Baaſha* died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Elah*, who aſcended the throne in the 26th year of *Aſa's* reign; he had ſcarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of *Jehu's* prediction; he was then at the ſiege of *Gibbethon*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, ſlew him, and ſeized upon his kingdom. *Zimri*'s reign laſted but ſeven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being choſen king by the army: yet found he time enough, in that ſhort ſpace, to deſtroy the whole race of *Baaſha*, even to his fartheſt relations. *Omri* left *Gibbethon*, and came to beſiege him in *Tirzah*; but before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went into the royal palace e
and ſet it on fire, and burnt himſelf in it [g]; however, he reigned long enough to ſhew himſelf unworthy of the kingdom, by his propenſity to *Jeroboam*'s idolatry.

Elah, *king of* Iſrael, *murdered by* Zimri.

Omri had another competitor, *Tibni*, the ſon of *Ginath*, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri*, being much the ſtronger, ſoon perſuaded the reſt to join with them; ſo *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31ſt year of *Aſa*'s reign.

DURING the firſt ſix years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal palace of reſidence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Someron*, or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer* for two talents of ſilver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except f
that he reigned another ſix years in *Samaria*, in all the ſinful ways of his predeceſſors,

[e] 1 Kings xv. 18, & ſeq. See before, p. 383. a. [f] 2 Chr. xvi. 12. & ſeq. [g] 1 Kings xvi. 1, & ſeq. ad 18.

(C) The book of *Kings* doth barely ſay, that he was buried with his anceſtors *; but that of the *Chronicles* (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a ſtately bed, covered with ſpices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which ſome have concluded, that the cuſtom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Aſa*, and that they depoſited the bones and aſhes in their ſepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the ſeeming contradiction of theſe two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader †.

* 1 Kings xv. 24. (70) 2 Chr. xvi. *ult.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 697. *not.* V.

a ceſſors, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, who proved ſtill more wicked than any of them [h].

Ahab began his reign in the 38th year of *Aſa*'s; his unlawful marriage with *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Eth-Baal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a conſtant ſource of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his kingdom. His complaiſance for her, made him ſuffer her to introduce the worſhip of the *Zidonian* deities, which conſiſted in human ſacrifices, and in the moſt abominable ceremonies †. Theſe were at firſt introduced into his court, for which a ſumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but as his weakneſs ſuffered him to aſſiſt at thoſe helliſh ceremonies, his example
b ſoon ſpread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was ſent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courſes, by aſſuring him, that God would ſhortly puniſh the land with a grievous famine, during which there ſhould be neither dew nor rain to refreſh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which he went and concealed himſelf, during the ſpace of three years (D) [i].

Ahab *king of* Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 2081. Year before CHRIST, 918.

WHILST *Ahab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Iſrael*, and murdering all thoſe, whether prophets or others, who dared oppoſe them, *Jehoſhaphat*, who ſucceeded *Aſa* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Ahab*'s reign, was deſtroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worſhip of God
c in his own kingdom, with ſuch zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greateſt proſperity and ſucceſs. He was thirty-five years old when he began his reign, and the firſt thing that he ſet about was the pulling down of all the monuments of idolatry, and ſodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to aboliſh; and, in the third year of his reign, he ſent ſome of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of prieſts and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to inſtruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the ſame time, he fortified all the conſiderable places of the land, and put gariſons in them, as well as in thoſe which his father had taken from the kings of *Iſrael*. Beſides theſe, he had the moſt numerous army of any of his predeceſſors, it conſiſting of
d above 1,100,000 fighting men (E). Upon all theſe accounts he was ſo proſperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared moleſt him; the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* were tributaries to him; and his allies were ſtill increaſing his wealth by their preſents [k].

Jehoſhaphat *King of* Judah.

His piety,

and ſucceſs.

THUS

[h] Ibid. ver. 21, & ſeq. † See before, p. 401. c. & alib. [i] 1 Kings xvi. 29, ad fin. [k] 2 Chr. xvii. paſſ.

(D) There are many particulars, relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the hiſtory of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reaſon we chuſe to give them in a note in their order of time.

As ſoon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of *Jezebel*, and retired into ſome cavern upon the border of *Cherith*, a brook which falleth into the *Jordan*, where he drank of the water of it, and was furniſhed twice a-day with bread and fleſh by the ravens. He ſtayed not long there, becauſe the exceſſive drought had dried up the brook, but went to *Zarephath*, a city of *Zidon*, which laboured alſo with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few ſticks without the walls of the place, having but ſo much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which ſhe deſigned for her ſon and herſelf, without knowing how to procure more when that was ſpent. The prophet, tired with his journey, aſked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and ſhe having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he deſired, aſſuring her, that as long as the dearth laſted, her barrel and cruiſe ſhould not ceaſe furniſhing her with meal and oil enough to ſupport them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her, till he was commanded to return to *Samaria*. During his abode with this hoſpitable widow, her only ſon chanced to die; and ſhe, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accuſing the prophet, as the cauſe of her misfortune. Upon which *Elijah* took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having ſtretched himſelf upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he reſtored him alive to her again (71).

(E) We have had elſewhere occaſion to ſpeak of this prodigious number of ſoldiers *, and to ſhew, that they were not kept like our ſtanding armies in conſtant pay and duty, but that their names were ſet down in the king's muſter-rolls, in order to be ſummoned to arms, whenever occaſion required it; which, conſidering the ſmall compaſs of the land, might be done with great eaſe, and in a very little ſpace; after which they returned to their families, and followed their uſual occupations. We may alſo ſuppoſe, that the gariſons might be relieved in the ſame manner every three months, more or leſs, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between thoſe intervals.

(71) 1 Kings xvii. *p. tot.*

* *Sup. p.* 701. a b. 703. c d. & *alib.*

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his ſubjects, whilſt war and famine were the reward of *Ahab*'s impiety in the kingdom of *Iſrael*.

Elijah's *meeting with* Obadiah.

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and ſhewed himſelf to *Obadiah*, governor of *Ahab*'s houſe, as he was going in ſearch of ſome freſh ſprings of water, to ſave that little cattle they had left, whilſt the king himſelf went another way upon the ſame errand. *Obadiah* was a pious man, and had ſhewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Iſrael*, by ſaving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel*'s fury, and ſupporting them with food in their concealment, during the whole time of the famine. As ſoon, therefore, as he ſaw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a reſpectful welcome; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modeſtly excuſed himſelf from ſo dangerous a meſſage, being afraid, leſt, if the ſpirit ſhould catch him away, inſtead of appearing before the king, his life ſhould anſwer for the diſappointment; for, added he, there is ſcarce a nation or kingdom, from which *Ahab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. At length, upon the prophet's promiſing that he would ſhew himſelf to the king, *Obadiah* went and ſtopt his farther ſearch, by acquainting him with *Elijah*'s return, and his promiſe of a ſpeedy rain. *Elijah* accordingly appeared, and the firſt greeting between *Ahab* and him was ſuch, as might be reaſonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch and a perſon of that prophet's character. After ſome mutual invectives on both ſides, *Elijah* deſired, that all *Iſrael* might be gathered at mount *Carmel*, with all the prieſts of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their ſervice between God and *Baal*. "You ſee, ſaid he, that I am "the only prophet of the lord that is left, and thoſe of *Baal* are 450; let them "offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and I will offer another to the God of *Iſrael*; and let "the deity, whoſe ſacrifice is conſumed by a preternatural fire, be henceforth "the only object of your worſhip." As ſoon as the people had expreſſed their aſſent to his propoſal, the prieſts of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till noon; and not finding the leaſt ſymptom of anſwer, they began, according to their cuſtom, to cut themſelves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground*. All this while *Elijah* plied them with the moſt biting ſarcaſms, bidding them to cry louder, for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unleſs he were either aſleep, or more advantageouſly taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening ſacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve ſtones, according to the *Moſaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; and, having cauſed a deeep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him, that he would ſhew himſelf to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which conſumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches; at ſight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The* LORD *is the only God*. The prophet then, addreſſing himſelf to the people, told them, that if they were really perſuaded of it, they ought to ſeize on thoſe falſe prophets, pointing to the prieſts of *Baal*, who had ſeduced them from his worſhip to ſerve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kiſhon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obſtruct it, ſuffered them to be hurried away to death. *Elijah* then adviſed the king to make what ſpeed he could to *Jezreel*, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would ſhortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As ſoon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what ſhameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the ſight of all *Iſrael*. One would expect, that the long-wiſh'd-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inſpired her with an uncommon reſpect for his perſon; but it happened quite otherwiſe, and the death of ſo many of her prophets threw her into ſuch a rage, that ſhe vowed to ſend the

Elijah's *zeal againſt* Baal.

and Ahab.

* See before, p. 401. b c.

a the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a ſecond time to fly for his life (F) [l].

By that time *Ahab* had reigned 18 years, *Benhadad*, king of *Syria*, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid ſiege to *Samaria*; where, notwithſtanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatned both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who ſallied out upon him at mid-day, with *Ahab* at their head; and forced to fly with a prodigious loſs. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Iſraelites* with a terrible ſlaughter, and himſelf in danger of being taken priſoner in the city of *Apheck*; but, upon his ſending from thence a ſubmiſſive meſſage, *Ahab* b received him with an amazing generoſity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generouſly diſmiſſed him without any further ranſom. The particulars of theſe two famous actions the reader will find in the hiſtory of *Syria* †. As ſoon as *Benhadad* was departed, one of the ſons of the prophets preſented himſelf before *Ahab*, with his face all beſmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that, during the action, a *Syrian* priſoner had been committed to his cuſtody, with a ſtrict charge not to let him eſcape, under pain of death; but that, whilſt he buſied himſelf about one thing or other, the priſoner was fled, and himſelf now in danger of being puniſhed for his neglect. *Ahab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no ſcruple to pro-
c nounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and diſcovering himſelf to the king, ſoon let him know, that he had paſſed his ſentence againſt himſelf, and that ſince he had let ſo powerful an enemy of *Iſrael* go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life ſhould pay for that of his priſoner. *Ahab* was ſtruck with ſuch ſurprize at the boldneſs of the ſtratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation (G) [m]; nevertheleſs, he kept his word with the king of *Syria*, till his detaining of *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Iſrael*, contrary to his promiſe, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after [n].

Ahab's *victory and generoſity.*

In

[l] 1 Kings xviii. paſſ. xix. 1, 2, 3. *Uſher*'s Ann. ſub A.M. 3104. † See before, p. 383. & ſeq. [m] 1 Kings xx. paſſ. [n] See

(F) The prophet ſeems, at this time, to have been under ſuch apprehenſions, that he could not ſtay till providence directed him what courſe to take, as he had done in his laſt flight. He ſtopped not till he came to *Beerſhebah*, a city in the land of *Judah*, and near 150 miles from *Samaria*; where having diſmiſſed his ſervant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderneſs of *Arabia Petrea*. At length, being quite ſpent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himſelf down under a juniper-tree, and, after ſome bitter complaints, fell aſleep. He was ſoon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refreſh himſelf with ſome food, and when he looked about, he found a cake of bread and ſome water, and did eat, and drink, and fell aſleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and ſo it proved indeed, for he went, upon the ſtrength of it, forty days, till he came to mount *Horeb*, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and aſked him what he did there, and he anſwered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord, whom the idolatrous *Iſraelites* had not ſlain, after they had broken his covenant and deſtroyed his altars; and that, becauſe he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they ſought his life alſo. The voice commanded him then to ſtand upon the mount, where he ſhould hear the Lord paſs by him; that he ſhould hear a ſtrong wind capable of rending the rocks aſunder, and afterwards an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifeſt himſelf in any of theſe, but in a ſmall and ſtill voice. Accordingly, when *Elijah* heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back, by the way of the wilderneſs, or by the deſert paths, to *Damaſcus*, and there anoint *Hazael* to be king of *Syria*, *Jehu* to be king of *Iſrael*, and *Eliſha* to be prophet in his room; telling him, that thoſe three ſhould not ſheath their ſwords, till *Ahab*'s impious race and his idolatrous ſubjects were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

In his return, he paſſed by the grounds of *Eliſha*, the ſon of *Shaphat*, where he and his ſervants were ploughing, and caſt his mantle upon him. *Eliſha*, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feaſt, whilſt he took his leave of his friends, but it doth not appear, that he ſtayed to partake of it, and indeed the place was too near *Samaria* and *Jezreel*, and it was dangerous for him to ſtay there; however, he went after him as ſoon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that *Elijah* went to anoint either *Hazael* or *Jehu*; it is moſt likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his tranſlation, as will appear by the ſequel.

(G) *Joſephus* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiah*; and adds, that the king cauſed him to be put into priſon for his boldneſs, which is not unlikely, becauſe when *Ahab* was afterwards going againſt *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had ſent for him at *Jehoſhaphat*'s requeſt, *Ahab* expreſſed a particular averſion againſt him, becauſe he was ever propheſying evil againſt him, and when he had foretold him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the ſame puniſhment (74).

(73) *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 8. (74) 1 King. xxii. paſſ.

Naboth *murdered.*

IN the mean time, *Ahab* ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by *Jezebel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and to his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezreel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Ahab* offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his houſe; but, as it was reckoned ſcandalous to ſell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuſe the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. *Jezebel* was acquainted with it, and being reſolved at once to procure the vineyard, and to puniſh *Naboth* for his refuſal, ſhe ſent a letter to the elders of *Jezreel*, ſealed with the king's ſignet, commanding them to proclaim a faſt, and to hire ſome looſe fellows to ſwear treaſon and blaſphemy againſt him, and then to ſtone him to death for it. The *Jezreelites*, not daring to diſobey her orders, ſent her word ſoon after of *Naboth*'s death, and ſhe acquainted *Ahab* with it; but whilſt he was taking poſſeſſion of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the deſtruction, that his murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his whole houſe; that the dogs ſhould lick his blook, where they licked that of *Naboth*, that *Jezebel* ſhould be devoured by dogs, and all his poſterity utterly cut off. This dreadful ſentence, from ſo conſiderable a prophet, did ſo alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home, filled with the deepeſt grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious reſpit; ſo that the calamities, that were to fall upon his houſe, did not happen till after his death [o]. It is probably about this time, that he is ſuppoſed to have made his ſon *Ahaziah* copartner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilſt he humbled himſelf in ſackcloth and aſhes, to avoid the impending judgment of God [p]; but this change was but ſhort-lived, and he ſoon returned to his former impieties.

ALL this while, *Jehoſhaphat* had enjoyed a profound peace, and ſpent his time, partly in ſtrengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter aboliſhing of idolatry, and promoting the worſhip of God. He is blamed only for two things, his not totally demoliſhing of the high places, and his making of alliances and affinity with *Ahab* (I). It was in conſequence of this laſt, that he came down to *Samaria* to pay a viſit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his ſon *Jehoram*. By this time, *Ahab* had reſolved upon retaking *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of aſking his royal gueſt to aſſiſt him in the enterprize, to which he readily conſented, but deſired firſt of all, that God might be conſulted, concerning the ſucceſs of that expedition. *Ahab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samaria*, where the king of *Judah* and he ſat, each on a ſtately throne, and, upon his asking of the queſtion, they one and all promiſed him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewiſe to foretel his ſucceſs, by ſome antick and awkward repreſentations and geſtures; but with ſuch ſeeming eagerneſs and aſſurance, as rendered them ſuſpected to *Jehoſhophat*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be ſent for and conſulted. There was indeed ſuch a one as he deſired, *Micaiah* the ſon of *Imlah*, but his ſtrenuous veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaiſance to *Jehoſhaphat* to ſend for him, and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promiſes of the falſe prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewiſe anſwer, in a jocoſe tone, that the expedition could not fail of ſucceſs; but the king, obſerving that he did not ſpeak ſeriouſly, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of God: upon which, *Micaiah* told him,

Ahab's *expedition againſt* Ramoth.

[o] 1 Kings xxi. paſſ. [p] Vid. ibid. ver. 17, & ſeq.

(H) At leaſt this is the only expedient by which chronologiſts can reconcile the anachroniſms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raiſed to a partnerſhip with them. The reader may ſee an inſtance of it proved in archbiſhop *Uſher*'s annals (75), both in *Ahab* above-mentioned, and in his contemporary *Jehoſhaphat*, who raiſed alſo his ſon *Jehoram* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further obſerved, that this method became very expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary in dangerous wars, in which the kings uſed to lead their own armies, and often loſt their lives, to appoint their ſucceſſors, and to leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their abſence, upon which account, this wholeſome cuſtom prevailed alſo among many other eaſtern nations.

(I) This affinity was in ſuffering his ſon *Jehoram* to marry *Athaliah*, the daughter of *Ahab*, a moſt wicked princeſs, who proved the author of great miſchiefs in *Judah* (76), and by whom he had a ſon named *Ahaziah*, who afterwards ſucceeded his father, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

(75) *Sub. A. M.* 3106.

(76) 2 Chron. xxi. 6. *& ſeq.*

a him, that he would certainly loſe the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had ſuffered his prophets to be poſſeſt with a lying ſpirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was ſo far from being deterred by his ſpeech, from his favourite enterpriſe, that he cauſed the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went reſolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoſhaphat*, being too eaſily perſuaded to accompany him, did narrowly eſcape ſharing in the ſame fate; we have ſeen the ill ſucceſs of this expedition in a former chapter*. *Ahab*, wounded by a random ſhot, died in the evening, and as ſoon as his death was known, his generals cauſed a retreat to be ſounded through his army, and both
b ſides withdrew before night. The king's corpſe was brought to *Samaria*, and buried in the royal ſepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harneſs, were brought to a pool in that place to be waſhed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood verified *Elijah*'s prophecy againſt him [q]. *His ill ſucceſs and death.*

Jehoſhaphat, on the other hand, having thus happily eſcaped, returned to *Jeruſalem*, and in the way was met by the prophet *Jehu*, who reproved him, in the ſevereſt terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Iſrael*, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had expreſt for his ſervice, than to this laſt and unworthy action, he had certainly have ſuffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become ſenſible of
c his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more aſſiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progreſs through a great part of it, diligently examined how the prieſts inſtructed the people, the judges and magiſtrates adminiſtred juſtice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy ſo good a prince [r]. Year of the Flood, 2102. Before Chriſt, 897.

IN the mean time, *Ahaziah*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ahab*, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the ſecond year of his reign, and was ſo hurt by the fall, that his life was deſpaired of. In this extremity he ſent meſſengers to conſult *Beelzebub*, the
d deity of *Ekron*, about his recovery; but theſe were met by *Elijah*, who ſent them back with this mournful meſſage to their maſter, that, ſince he had ſent to the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Iſrael* worth conſulting, he ſhould never ſtir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs of it, that they had met a prophet, who ſent them back with the ſentence of death from the Lord; and upon their deſcribing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died ſoon after, according to his prophecy [s] (K). During his ſhort reign, the *Moabites*, who had been tributaries to *Iſrael*, ever ſince *Jeroboam*'s defection, rebelled againſt him; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram*
e came to the crown, he ſent to beg *Jehoſhaphat*'s aſſiſtance who made no ſcruple, upon

* See before, p. 385: a. q 1 Kings ult. paſſ. r 2 Chron. xix. p. tot. s 2 Kings i. paſſ.

(K) The text adds, that *Ahaziah* ſent three Officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him by main force, and that the two firſt companies were devoured by fire from heaven, but the laſt, addreſſing himſelf to him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only eſcaped their fate, but prevailed upon him to go to the king, where he only confirmed his firſt meſſage, and went his way.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was tranſlated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his ſpirit with *Eliſha*, who from that time became as famous in *Iſrael*, for his zeal and miracles, as his maſter had been (77), as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. As ſoon as he had loſt ſight of his maſter, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repaſſed the *Jordan*. Here he was met by a company of prophets, who, perceiving that the ſpirit of *Elijah* reſted upon him, proſtrated themſelves before him, and having obſerved to him the pleaſant ſituation of *Jericho*, whoſe ſoil, however, was unhappily barren, through the brackiſhneſs of its water; he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of ſalt into it, from which time it always yielded ſweet water, and the land became fruitful.

Eliſha went from thence to *Bethel*, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, *Come up thou bald man*. Theſe were, in all likelihood, the children of ſome of the worſhippers of *Baal*, who had been taught to ſhew an unuſual diſreſpect for the prophets of God. This ſeems at leaſt very probable, from the puniſhment which befel them; for the prophet had no ſooner curſed them in the name of God, than 42 of them were torn in pieces by two ſhe-bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 Kings ii. *paſſ.* (78) *Ibid. ver.* 13, *& ſeq.*

upon ſuch an occaſion, to go in perſon to help to reduce them. It was well for *Jeboram*, that he had ſo good a prince with him, for when their army was ready to periſh with thirſt, *Eliſha*, at his requeſt, obtained a miraculous ſupply of water, which did at once refreſh the confederate army, and, by the redneſs which it did caſt at ſun-riſing towards the *Moabitiſh* hoſt, did ſo ſcare them, that *Iſrael* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. a

Judah *invaded.*

AT length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoſhaphat* ſaw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with ſuch ſpeed, that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this ſurpriſe he had recourſe to God, proclaimed a ſtrict and general faſt, and went at b the head of the people, who were aſſembled at *Jeruſalem* upon that occaſion, to the temple, where having implored the divine aſſiſtance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was anſwered by the prophet *Jahaziel*, that God would ſpeedily deliver him from thoſe invaders in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that he ſhould have nothing to do but ſeize upon their ſpoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out againſt them with a ſmall army, whom he ſtill encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they ſoon beheld that which did it more effectually,

Jehoſhaphat's *miraculous ſucceſs.*

their enemies ſeized with a kind of pannic phrenſy, ſlaughtering one another with greater fury than themſelves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the ſlain being more than they could well carry, they c only picked out the richeſt, which they were three days gathering *, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called *Berachah*, or *Bleſſing* (L). The army, in their return to *Jeruſalem*, marched at the ſound of muſical inſtruments, accompanied with canticles ſung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoſhaphat* ended his days in peace [t]. Some time before his death, *Ahaziah*, who was then king of *Iſrael*, and as impious as his father *Ahab*, obtained his conſent, to ſend ſome ſhips of his own to *Tarſhiſh* along with his fleet; for which *Jehoſhaphat* was ſeverely rebuked by the prophet *Eliezer*, who foretold him, at the ſame time, the loſs of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reaſon he never would let any d

His death.

of the ſhips of *Iſrael* mix with his own [u]. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jeboram*. His hiſtory is ſaid to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* [w], which book ſeems to have been loſt, with many others, at the captivity.

Jeboram, who, as we obſerved before, had born a ſhare in the government of

Judah *and* Iſrael *immerſed in idolatry.*

Judah towards the latter end of his father's reign, did no ſooner ſee himſelf alone upon the throne, then he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himſelf and his houſe all the curſes that had been pronounced againſt that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Iſrael* ſeem now but one kingdom, and one ſcene of all manner of idolatry and wickedneſs: they are both governed by kings of the e ſame name; *Jeboram*, king of *Judah*, is influenced by his wife *Athaliah*, the impious daughter of *Ahab*, and *Jeboram*, king of *Iſrael*, by his mother *Jezebel*; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been aboliſhed by his two predeceſſors; both of them bringing down the heavieſt judgments from heaven; the one, by forſaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in thoſe of his impious one; or what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, whilſt the king of *Iſrael* did endeavour ſo far to reform from him, as to deſtroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Ahab* had reared up, and

† See before, p. 290. e. * See before, p. 291. c. [t] 2 Chron. xx. 1, & ſeq. ad 30. [u] Ibid. ver. 36, 37. Comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49. [w] 2 Chron. ub. ſup. ver. 31, & 34.

(L) This valley is ſuppoſed, by many *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the ſame which is mentioned by the prophet *Joel* (79), and that it will be the ſcene of the univerſal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, there mentioned, is between *Jeruſalem* and the *Mount of Olives* (81), or in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* (82); but we can ſee nothing in that paſſage that refers either to the laſt judgment, or to this *Valley of Bleſſing*, and it is moſt likely, that, by the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, the prophet meant no more, than the literal ſenſe of the word imports, *Jehoſhaphat* ſignifying *the judgment of God*, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) Ch. iii. 2 & 12. (80) *Vid.* ABEN-EZR. KIMCHI. & MUNST. *in loc.* (81) BEDA *de loc. & al.* (82) CYRIL. ALEX. *in loc. & al. in loc.*

a and contented himſelf with the idolatrous worſhip of the two golden calves [x], that of *Judah* was adopting thoſe very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jeruſalem* [y]. Thus whilſt the former forſook the God of *Iſrael*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the ſame guilt, and in the ſame puniſhment; with this difference however, that that of *Iſrael* is entirely cut off, with his whole poſterity; whereas, in that of *Judah*, an infant is miraculouſly preſerved, to make good God's promiſe to the houſe of *David*.

Jehoſhaphat had left a numerous iſſue, and diſpoſed of all his ſons into ſeveral cities of *Judah*, under proper tutors, and with incomes ſuitable to their rank; but he was ſcarce cold in his grave, before his impious ſon ſignaliſed the beginning of
b his reign, with an univerſal maſſacre of them, and of all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppoſe, or diſlike, his cruelty [z]. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himſelf up to idolatry, and ſet up the worſhip of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For theſe he was ſeverely reproved, by a letter ſent him by *Elijah*, a little before his aſſumption; wherein that prophet likewiſe foretold him, among many other evils, the almoſt total extirpation of his poſterity, and his own death, by an incurable diſeaſe in his bowels [a].

THE firſt token of the divine diſpleaſure, which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refuſed to pay him the uſual tribute. *Jehoram* went out againſt
c them, and beat them; but they ſoon recovered ſtrength enough to ſhake off the yoke, and to ſet up a king of their own over them, as we have ſeen elſewhere *; and in ſo doing they verified *Iſaac*'s prophecy, that *Eſau*'s poſterity ſhould, in time, ſhake off the yoke of *Jacob* [b]. At the ſame time *Libnah*, belonging to the prieſts, in the tribe of *Judah* [c], and upon the frontiers of *Idumea*, revolted from *Jehoram* probably to *Edom*, though the text ſays not to whom [d]; but theſe were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was preſently after invaded by the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians*, and theſe penetrated even to *Jeruſalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram*'s wives and all his ſons, except only *Jehoahaz*, who was the youngeſt,
d and ſucceeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was ſoon after ſeized with an incurable diſeaſe in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which laſted two years, and weakened him to ſuch a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of his pain. He was buried in a ſepulchre by himſelf, probably by reaſon of the corruption and ſtench which attended his diſeaſe, and without the uſual ceremony of burning ſpices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years [e], four with his father *Jehoſhaphat*, and the other four by himſelf: his diſeaſe having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his ſon *Jehoahaz*, otherwiſe called *Ahaziah*, viceroy, who ſucceeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram* king of
e *Iſrael* [f].

Edom's *final revolt from* Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 2110. Before CHRIST, 889.

WHILST *Judah* was in this diſmal plight, *Eliſha* was working wonders for *Iſrael*. We have ſeen elſewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he diſcovered all the ſecret deſigns of that prince to the king of *Iſrael* †, and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for ſome time, from ſucceeding in their attempts againſt him. But at length *Benhadad* came up, not by ambuſhes and ſtratagems as formerly, but with a numerous hoſt, and beſieged *Samaria* ſo cloſe, that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; inſomuch, that an aſs's head was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a ſmall meaſure of pulſe (M) for five. How long this ſiege had laſted,

Samaria *beſieged.*

[x] 2 Kings iii. 1, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. viii. 17, & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11. [z] Ibid. 1. & ſeq.
[a] Ibid. ver. 12, & ſeq. * See before, p. 316. a. [b] Gen. xxvii. 40. [c] Joſh. xv. 42. 1 Chron. vi. 57. [d] 2 Kings viii. 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 10. [e] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq. [f] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub. A. M. 3115, & 3118. & 2 Kings viii. 25. † See before, p. 385, & ſeq.

(M) As moſt tranſlations have rendered the word חריונים *Chirionim*, by *doves dung*, they have given commentators a vaſt deal of trouble to find out ſuch uſe for it, as might anſwer this exceſſive price that was given for it, that a meaſure, which held but ſix eggs, ſhould ſell for above eleven ſhillings. It were endleſs to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart*'s verſion (84), who proves, that the word doth, among other things, ſignify a kind of peaſe,

(83) *Vid. ſib. li.* LE SCENE. & *Eſſ. on a new ver. pt.* ii. Ch. 3. § 2. (84) *Hieroſ. tom.* ii. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. §. 7.

lasted, is not easy to guess, but what might increase this grievous famine was, a that it had begun some years before in the land, insomuch, that *Elisha*, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostess the *Shunamite*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could get it, whilst himself tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous supply of food [g], till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity, to which *Samaria* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being since gained over to the *Syrian* interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occasions. His suspicion at length b broke out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion: The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him and begged for justice against another woman, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of

A great famine in the land.

him, her own should be likewise dress't to supply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refused to let her partake of it. Such a shocking story, accompanied with all the tokens of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror: he rent his cloathes, and his flesh appeared covered with sackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwise, he swore, that *Elisha*'s head should pay for the distress of the people; and sent imme- c diately an officer to take it off. *Elisha* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of *Israel*, who were at his house just as the messenger of death was entring it. However, the prophet found means to get him stopped at the door, till the king himself appeared, and then, after he had represented to him the unreasonableness of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above [h] (N), he desired him to have but patience till next day, by which time there would be such a supply of provisions in *Samaria*, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion. By this means the prophet saved his life, and though the king could scarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more adviseable to defer his resentment, d till he saw the success of this wonderful promise.

THE thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever betided them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, to be put to a speedier death, than that of starving. They were surprised to find their tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As soon therefore as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and after they had conveyed away a e considerable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themselves for not acquainting the famished *Samaritans* with the happy news. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the *Syrians*, contrived

[g] Comp. 1 Kings iv. 38, & seq. with viii. 1, 2, & seq.

[h] Ibid. vi. pass.

pease, common in all those countries, and which the *Jews* in particular used to parch over the fire for food (85), in the same manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moses*, we must attribute the eating of it, at that time, to their extreme want of provision, which in all such cases may be allowed to dispense with law.

(N) The text is somewhat obscure here; the words run literally thus (86), *and behold the messenger came down unto him, and he* [but whether the prophet, or the messenger, or the king, is not easy to determine] *said, lo! this judgment is from the* LORD, *and what, or why, should I wait any longer for the* LORD? They seem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of despair, and to have been rather spoken by *Jehoram*, and to imply thus much, *if it be true, that this evil, or this famine, is sent us from the* LORD, *it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely therefore, that the king had designed, before this unnatural accident happened, to have surrendered the city to the king of *Syria*, and had been dissuaded from it by *Elisha*, with promise of some speedy relief. Under these dreadful circumstances therefore, he goes and ubraids him with it; *Has God*, said he, *reduced us to such extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldst thou still flatter me with vain hopes of some relief, till all my subjects are perished with hunger and misery, when I might, and ought to have saved their lives by a timely surrender?* Whereupon, the prophet appoints the precise time of their despaired-of deliverance to be on the very next day.

(85) *Vid.* 2 Sam. xvii. 28. & HIERON. *in loc.*

(86) 2 Kings vi. *ver. ult.*

a contrived to intice him out of the city ; but, upon his ſending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and had left their tents, horſes, and richeſt baggage behind them ; for, on the foregoing night, the Lord cauſed them to hear an extraordinary noiſe of chariots, horſes, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jehoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt* and other neighbouring nations againſt them *. This ſpread ſuch an univerſal pannic through the whole camp, that they did not ſo much as ſtay to mount their horſes, but fled in the utmoſt confuſion on foot, leaving, beſides an immenſe variety of rich plunder, ſuch a quantity of proviſions behind them, that a meaſure of fine flour was ſold for a ſhekel, and the reſt in b proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Eliſha*. At the ſame time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an unexpected plenty, and had been anſwered by the prophet, that he ſhould ſee it without taſting of it, was appointed by the king to ſtand at the gate of the city, to prevent any diſorders, and was, notwithſtanding his care, trod to death by the preſs, and verified *Eliſha*'s prophecy [i].

The ſiege raiſed.

A great plenty in Samaria.

Soon after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of diſcontent, or by divine impulſe, took the way to *Damaſcus*, where the king lay ſick, being quite exhauſted through old age, fatigues, and diſappointments. What the deſign and reſult of that viſit was, the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *Syria* [k]. In the c mean time, the king of *Iſrael* entertained himſelf, during his abſence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his ſervant *Gehazi* (O) ; who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raiſing of the child of his *Shunamitiſh* hoſteſs to life (P), and of his ſending of her and her family to ſeek their bread out of

* See before, p. 387. c. i 2 Kings vii. paſſ. k Ibid. viii. 1, & ſeq.

(O) This ſervant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetouſneſs, inherited *Naaman*'s leproſy (87), which was, according to *Eliſha*'s word, to ſtick to him as long as he lived, and ſuch perſons were obliged to live apart from the reſt. It is therefore ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the king of *Iſrael* would converſe with a man, whom the meaneſt perſon in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be ſaid to it is, either that he was made to ſtand at a convenient diſtance, and with his mouth covered ; or that the king's curioſity made him overlook ſuch nice circumſtances at that particular juncture.

(P) The occaſion of this miracle was as follows : The woman, who was rich and childleſs, having obſerved the prophet to paſs very often by her houſe, as he went through the city of *Shunem*, prevailed upon her huſband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candleſtick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleaſed. *Eliſha*, deſirous to gratify them for their hoſpitality, asked his ſervant what he might do for them ; and being anſwered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time ſhe ſhould embrace a ſon, as a reward of her kindneſs to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child ; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himſelf with reapers, he was one day brought home ſick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As ſoon as he was dead, ſhe laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haſte ſhe could to mount *Carmel*, where he then was ; and as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of him, ſhe fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her ſon's death. *Eliſha*, ſurpriſed that the Lord had never revealed this accident to him, gave *Gehazi* his ſtaff, and bid him run with all poſſible ſpeed, and lay it upon the dead child ; but the woman, not daring to truſt to that, embraced his legs, and begged, that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The ſervant, however, was got to the houſe long before his maſter, and had laid the ſtaff upon the child, but without any ſucceſs. At length, the prophet went up himſelf, and laid himſelf upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling ſtill upon God to reſtore him to his ſorrowful mother, which he at length obtained ; and whilſt ſhe received him with a maternal joy, ſhe owned, that ſhe was now more than ever convinced, that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (88).

During the famine, one of the prophet's widows came to *Eliſha*, and complained, that her husband died in debt, and that her two ſons were now upon the brink of being ſeized and ſold by the mercileſs creditor. The prophet, moved with compaſſion, and unable to aſſiſt her any other way than by a miracle, asked her what ſhe had in her houſe that could be turned into money ; and being anſwered, that ſhe had nothing left but a poor cruiſe of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many veſſels of her neighbours as ſhe could, and to fill them out of the cruiſe ; which ſhe did, and the oil did not ceaſe flowing out of it, till ſhe had filled all the other veſſels. *Eliſha* then bid her ſell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the reſt for her own uſe †.

After this, *Eliſha* tarried ſome time in *Gilgal*, with the reſt of the prophets ; and having one day ordered ſome pottage to be made for them, one of the ſervants went to gather a lap-ful of herbs, and inadvertently cut ſome wild gourd, or night-ſhade, among them ; as ſoon as they had taſted it, they cried out, that death was in the pot ; but when he was appriſed of it, he cauſed ſome meal to be thrown into the pottage, after which they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a preſent of firſt-fruits, being twenty barley loaves, and ſome new parched corn, *Eliſha* bid his ſervant to ſet it before the company, who were about 100 in

(87) *Ibid.* v. *ver. ult.* (88) *Ibid.* iv. 8. *& ſeq.*

† *Ibid. ver.* 1, 2, *& ſeq.* (89) *Ibid. ver.* 38, *& ſeq.*

of the kingdom, during the ſeven years of famine. He had ſcarce made an end of the ſtory, when the woman herſelf came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiſcated during her abſence, and gave *Gehazi*, who preſently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumſtances could not but render her ſuit ſucceſsful; but the king did even grant her more than ſhe aſked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and ſee, that ſhe had not only her land, but likewiſe the ſeven years income of it refunded to her [1]. a

Jehoram's *ſecond expedition againſt* Ramoth.

By this time, *Hazael* having murdered *Benhadad*, and invaded his throne, according to the word of *Eliſha*, *Jehoram*, who was then at peace with the king of *Judah*, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune againſt *Ramoth-Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain. He ſent at the ſame time to *Ahaziah*, who had ſucceeded his father in *Judah*, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. *Ahaziah*, who was then but twenty-two years of age (Q), being the youngeſt of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah*, and by ſuch counſellors as ſhe pleaſed to appoint to him. And, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Iſrael*. This expedition ſeemed at firſt more ſucceſsful than the former; but in the event it proved the fatal ſource of endleſs misfortunes to *Iſrael*, by giving *Hazael* an occaſion of exerciſing all thoſe cruelties which had been foretold by *Eliſha*. Neither did it prove leſs fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himſelf was ſo deſperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to *Jezreel* to be cured, leaving *Jehu* at the head of a number of forces to ſecure the place, whilſt the king of *Judah* probably returned to *Jeruſalem*. In the mean time, *Eliſha* ſent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jehu* king of *Iſrael* privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance againſt the whole race of *Ahab*, even to the impious *Jezebel*, whoſe carcaſs ſhould ſhortly be devoured by dogs, whilſt all the reſt of his family were condemned to periſh by his ſword. The prophet had no ſooner executed his commiſſion, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent, with all ſpeed, to avoid being examined about it. When *Jehu* came out, the officers that were with him aſked him what buſineſs that mad fellow had been tranſacting with him (R); and as ſoon as he had acquainted them with the ſecret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Iſrael* by ſound of the trumpet. But *Jehu* did not think it proper to have the conſpiracy known, till he had reached *Jezreel*, and ſurprized the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppoſe him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they ſhould ſuffer none to get out of *Ramoth*, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilſt he rode with all ſpeed at the the head of his men to *Jezreel*, which he did immediately after. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the place, the watch, b

He is wounded there.

Jehu *aninted.* c d

[1] 2 Kings viii. 15. See USHER. Ann. ſub. A. M. 3120.

in number. The ſervant heſitated ſome time, thinking it inſufficient for ſuch a multitude; but upon his telling him, that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his maſter had ſaid, for they all ate their fill, and left ſome of it remaining (90).

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but this is allowed to be an error †, unleſs we will underſtand thoſe 42 years, not of his age, but of the time which had elapſed from *Omri*'s coming to the crown to the reign of *Ahaziah*, as *Tremellius* doth, which amount juſt to that number (91).

(R) The *Jews* rightly obſerve, that there was ſomething in the looks and geſtures of theſe prophets, which made them paſs for mad-men, among thoſe who did not know them ‡; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilſt the ſpirit was upon him (92.) But what might ſtill add to the uncommonneſs of their figure and behaviour, was the oddneſs of their dreſs, their living by themſelves, and ſeldom appearing in places of publick reſort, but upon ſome extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under ſome dread whilſt they were about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with ſuch ſpeed, before any one could know it, but the perſon to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that *Jehu*'s company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raiſe him up above the reſt, whilſt they paid homage to him. The place, where this is ſaid to be done, was upon the top of the ſtairs (93), which, according to the ſame *Jews*, being out of the houſe, ſerved alſo for a ſun-dial, the degrees of the ſhadow being marked againſt the wall (94), to ſhew the hours of the day (95).

(90) *Ibid.* xlii. *ad fin.* † *See before, p.* 736. d. (91) *Vid.* TREMEL. *in* 2 Chron. xxii. 2. ‡ *Ibid. p.* 731. c. 92) 1 Sam. xix. *ult. vid. ſup. p.* 765. e. (93) *Vid.* MUNST. *in* 2 *Reg.* ix. *ſub not.* a. (94) *Ibid. ver.* 13. (95) *Chald. paraph.* KIMCH. & *al. vid.* & MUNST. *ub. ſup.*

a watch, alarmed at the ſight of a troop that drove with ſuch uncommon ſpeed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king ſent two meſſengers ſucceſſively to enquire, whether they came peaceably or not. But *Jehu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he ſent word of it to the king of *Judah*, who was come to viſit him, and theſe two went with their guard againſt *Jehu*, who by that time was known by the centinel by the furiouſneſs of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for which *Naboth* had loſt his life; and here *Jehoram* aſked him, whether he came peaceably: but *Jehu* ſoon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother *Jezebel*'s, murders
b and idolatries, and by putting himſelf in an hoſtile poſture againſt him. The frighted monarch cried out in vain to *Ahaziah*, that they were betrayed; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, *Jehu* pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to caſt his body in *Naboth*'s field, there to be devoured according to the word of *Elijah*. At the ſame time the king of *Judah*, frighted at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid ſharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-houſe; but *Jehu* commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the aſcent of *Gur*, they gave him ſo many deſperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of *Megiddo*, and was
c carried to *Jeruſalem*, and buried with his anceſtors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one ſon, a child, who afterwards ſucceeded him, when he was yet but ſeven years of age.

The kings of Iſrael *and* Judah *killed by him.*

WHILST *Jehu*'s men went in purſuit of *Ahaziah*, *Jehu* himſelf marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezreel*, where *Jezebel* the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her ſon's fate, was waiting to give him ſuch a haughty welcome, as did not well ſuit with her preſent circumſtances; but ſhe hoped, perhaps, that he would ſhew ſome regard, if not to her quality, yet at leaſt to her ſex; perhaps alſo ſhe did think, that ſhe had ſtill charms enough, in ſpite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, eſpecially after ſhe had improved them by
d art, and with the richeſt ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jehu* entered the palace; and, in a haughty tone, aſked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predeceſſor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jehu* ſtayed not to give her an anſwer, but obſerving ſome eunuchs ſtanding on each ſide, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did, and in the fall ſome of her blood was daſhed againſt the wall, and her body ſoon after trampled to death, by the horſes that were in his retinue. As ſoon as he and his company had refreſhed themſelves in the palace, he gave orders to
e ſome of *Jezebel*'s ſervants to go and bury her corpſe, ſeeing ſhe was of the royal blood; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet, he made uſe of that circumſtance, to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah*'s prophecy [m].

Jezebel *killed.*

BUT that prophet's ſentence did not ſtop at theſe three impious perſons, the whole race of *Ahab* was included in it, and he had left ſeventy ſons who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jehu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried, whether the chief magiſtrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the poſterity of their late king. To this end, he ſent letters to them, ſeemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the braveſt of *Ahab*'s ſons, and to ſet him upon the throne. But they,
f who did rightly gueſs at the meaning of ſuch a meſſage, and were but too much intimidated by his late ſucceſs againſt the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, choſe rather to ſacrifice that unhappy race to *Jehu*'s known valour, than to run the riſk of turning it againſt themſelves. They therefore ſent a deputation to him, to acquaint him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as ſoon as they ſhould receive them; whereupon, he ſent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baſkets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody preſent of ſeventy heads was ſent to *Jezreel* on that very night; and *Jehu* ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and, on the next morning, the

70 *ſons of* Ahab *killed.*

[m] 2 Kings ix. paſſ.

the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him there. As soon a
as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: "You do, in all probability,
"look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as the murderer of your
"late king, and the usurper of his throne; but if I conspired against *Jehoram*,
"did not you murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might have
"stood, if you had thought fit. Know you therefore, that neither you, nor I, have
"done more than executed the sentence, which had been pronounced against
"*Ahab*'s posterity. But I have not yet finished my task, as long as there remain
"any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or any of the abettors of his crimes."
This was his next work, and he did not leave *Jezreel*, till he had put them all to
death. b

Jehu took then the road to *Samaria*, and in his way he met forty-two princes of the house of *Judah* (S), who were going down to pay a visit to those of the house of *Ahab*, all whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab* (T), and took him up into his chariot to

(S) The text calls them the brethren of *Ahaziah*, (96), but we have often observed, that it means also brother's children; and these are called so accordingly, by the author of the *Chronicles* (97). The place where they were slain is called in the original, בור בית-עקד *Bor Beth-Heked*, or, *the pit of the house for binding or shearing*, which was either a place of sheep-shearing, or, as some fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely neither from the text, that they, having heard of the slaughters that had been made in *Samaria*, and that *Jehu* was going thither in person, might hide themselves, either in that pit, or in some of the shepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The *Rechabites*, so famous in scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling, in houses, from possessing either houses, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (92).

Who the author of this institution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critick (100), he hath found the etymon of *Rechab* in the רכב *Rekeb*, or *chariot* of *Elijah*, and that of the *Pharisees*, his supposed disciples, in the פרשים *Phrashim*, or *horses* of it (1). So that, according to him the words of *Elisha* should not be rendered as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horses therof*; but, *My father Rechab, &c.* or at least the former called themselves *Rechabites* from the *Rechab*, *chariot*, and the latter from the *Phrashim*, or *horses* of it. Pursuant to this, our author observes, that when *Joash*, king of *Israel*, came to visit *Elisha* as he lay on his death-bed, he addressed him likewise in the same words, *My father the chariot of Israel*, and so on (2.) He even ventures to prove that institution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but suppose, that *Enoch*, was translated in the same kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critick (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*, and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jehu* shewed such regard, was only a person of the same name with the founder of that *Rechabitish* life, and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of such an unpolite institution. What he offers to prove the one, and disprove the other, of these points, having more of oratorial confidence than solid reasoning, we shall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that those *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiah* speaks of, express themselves in such terms, as argue nothing less than the recentness of their institution (5).

Between the extremes of those two above mentioned authors, are those who believe, that *Hobab* the son of *Jethro*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, as he was a *Kenite* †, was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his name, and *Jehonadab* one of his descendants; and, lastly, that *Heber* the *Kenite* was also an observer of the *Rechabitish* institution (6). *Serrarius* is of the same opinion in most of these points, but distinguishes two sorts of *Rechabites*, the one instituted by *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, and the other by *Jehonadab* (7); but all this is said without foundation. We shall say nothing of those who pretend, that they were, either of the tribe of *Judah* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9), or that they were *Rechabites*, or descendants of *Jethro*, by the father's side, and *Levites* by the mother's, and, as such, that they were employed in much the same offices of the temple with the *Nethinims* (10). it is plain the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, descended from *Kemarh*, the father of the house of *Rechab* (11), though it doth not appear, that all the *Kenites* observed the institution of *Jehonadab*, but only those who were his immediate descendants.

For these reasons, we rather chuse the most received opinion, that *Jehonadab*, *Jehu*'s friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the scripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. *Jehu*'s behaviour to him, and his inviting of him to be an eye-witness of his zeal for the God of *Israel*, and of the havock he was going to make among the worshippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent person, not only for sense and vertue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and as such he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Israelites*, which made it needful to separate from

(96) 2 Kings x. 13. (97) 2 Chron. xxii. 8. (98) *Vid.* TREMEL. *in* 2 Kings. x. 12. (99) Jer. xxxv. 6. 7. (100) BOLDUC *Eccles. ante Leg.* l. 3. c. 16. (1) 2 Kings ii. 12. (2) Ibid. xiii. 14. (3) Gen. v. 24. (4) SCALIG. *Elench Tribæres. vid.* GOODWIN *Mos. & Aar. lib.* i. *c.* 9. § 13. *& seq.* (5) Jerem. *ub. sup.* ver. 8. *& seq.* † *Vid. sup.* p. 301. (6) *Vid. int. al.* ARR. MONTAN. *in judic.* i. SANCTIU. *in* Jerem. xxxv. MINERVAL. *cap.* 13. *& seq.* (7) SERRAR *l.* iii. *c.* 9. (8) THEODORET *in* 1. *paralip.* (9) HEGESIP. *ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 2. c. 23. *vid.* CALMET. *sub. voc. Rechabit.* (10) *Rabbin. aliq. ap.* SANCTIUM & CORNEL. *in Jerem.* xxxv. (11) 1 Chron. ii. 55.

a to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witneſs of his zeal againſt the impious worſhippers of *Baal*.

As ſoon as he was come to that capital, he cauſed a ſolemn feaſt to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that deity, than any of his predeceſſors; and ordered all its prieſts, prophets, and votaries, to be preſent at it, none excepted, under pain of death; and as ſoon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the ſword, in the middle of their worſhip. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and cauſed that building to be demoliſhed, and turned into a common b jakes. But this metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*, for the infection had ſpread itſelf throughout the kingdom; wherefore he did not ſtop his hand, till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with ſuch zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleaſed with it, ſent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Iſrael* ſhould remain in

Baal's prieſts and temple deſtroyed.

from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for not being ſo. The *Kenites* not being of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, many broils and diſputes might have ariſen between them about the poſſeſſion of lands, which might make him diſclaim even the uſe and culture of them. The almoſt continual depredations to which *Iſrael* was expoſed from their enemies round about, to ſay nothing of famine and peſtilence, made the paſtoral life ſeem to him much more eligible, becauſe in ſuch caſes it was more eaſy to remove into better or ſafer abodes, in imitation of the ancient patriarchs. Wine was of too enſnaring a nature, and might in time have tempted his deſcendants into a looſer and more luxurious life; for which reaſon, he thought it neceſſary to forbid the uſe of it. Laſtly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he ſeems chiefly to endear it to his deſcendants by the proſpect of health, eaſe, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in *Judah* as in *Iſrael* for a conſiderable time, to ſay nothing of the frequent conſpiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of thoſe kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force, a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not ſay.

The queſtion will only be, how he could bind his poſterity to the obſervance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon other occaſions, concerning the power of parents in caſes of the like nature *, becauſe we do not find, that *Jehonadab* did lay them under any curſe, in caſe of diſobedience; on the contrary, we find, that the prophet *Jeremy* was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to ſet wine before them, and invite them to drink it, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indiſpenſible obligation of abſtaining from it; and, on the other hand, the *Rechabites* refuſed it, not becauſe their father had laid them under any curſe if they diſobeyed them, but becauſe he promiſed, that they *ſhould live many days in the land wherein they were ſtrangers*, if they obeyed his voice (13); which promiſe, being alſo made to thoſe who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that ſtrict obedience, for which they are ſo highly commended by God, in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into *Jeruſalem* during the time of the ſiege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being ſo much as blamed for it by *Jeremiah*, is a proof, that they were not under an indiſpenſible obligation to live in tents and in the country. Though even here, we think, it had been much better for them to have removed further out of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s way, inſtead of ſheltering themſelves in the city; where they not only ſuffered all the common calamities of a long ſiege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judah*; for we find ſome of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who ſettled themſelves at *Jabeſh*, or *Jabez* (15); and the *ſeptuagint* and *vulgate* have theſe words in the title of the 70th which is our 71ſt pſalm, *A Pſalm of* David *to the ſons of* Jonadab *and the firſt captives*: but as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we ſhall lay no farther ſtreſs upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to obſerve their father's injunction, and whether the *Phariſees*, *Aſſidees*, and *Eſſenians*, were their followers, is foreign to our preſent purpoſe, and may perhaps be inquired into, when we reſume the *Jewiſh* hiſtory after the captivity. It is true, the *Rechabites* had a promiſe from God, as a reward of their obedience, in theſe words, Jehonadab, *the ſon of* Rechab, *ſhall not want a man to ſtand before me for ever* (16); but this phraſe is far from implying, that they were either prieſts or *Levites*, and as ſuch ſhould continually miniſter at the altar, as ſome have fancied (17); or, that they ſhould have a ſeat in the great ſanhedrin (18), which, we have proved elſewhere, was not yet in being †. The reader will ſee ſome better expoſitions of the words in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which it is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our *Jehonadab* was the founder of this inſtitution, his deſcendants did ſtrictly obſerve it during the ſpace of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards; for ſo long it was between *Jehu* and the *Babyloniſh* captivity. A *Jewiſh* traveller of the 12 century (20) doth, indeed, tell us, that they are ſtill in being, and ſtrict obſervers of their old inſtitution. He gives us alſo a fine deſcription of their country, princes, government, and other particulars; but that author is ſo well known to deal in fables, and the account itſelf is ſo fully confuted by the learned *Conſtantine L' empereur*, that we ſhall leave it to his *Jewiſh* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(12) Jerem. *ub. ſup. ver.* 7. *vid.* PETER. MARTYR. ALTING. R. D. KIMCHI. & *al. in loc.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 631. c. & 751. *not.* O. (13) *Vid.* Jerem. *ub. ſup.* (14) Exod. xx. 12. & *alib.* (15) 1 Chron. ii. *ult.* (16) Jerem. *ub ſup. ver. ult.* (17) THEODOR. & *al. ſub citat.* (18) *Vid.* KIMCH. *in loc.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 525. *not.* H. (19) *Vid.* SCALIG. *Tribæres.* c. xxiv. ALTING. GOODWIN. *ub. ſup.* & *al.* (20) BEN. *de* TUDEL. *Itinerar. p. p.* 75, & *ſeq.*

in his posterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to have extirpated likewise the worship of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam*'s politicks as long as he lived; for which reason, God began to cut *Israel* short, even from the beginning of his reign; so that *Hazael* greatly prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*, besides some other frontier places on this side, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner (V), as we have seen in the *Syrian* history †. *Jehu* died in the 28th year of his reign, and was buried in *Samaria*, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz* [n].

Athaliah's impious reign;

WHILST *Jehu* was abolishing the worship of *Baal* in *Israel*, the impious *Athaliah* was using her utmost efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her son *Ahaziah*, and of forty-two princes of his house, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a person, newly raised to the throne of *Israel* by divine command, filled her with such an abhorrence both for the race and the God of *David*, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, till she had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her utmost fury against the sad remains of the house of *Judah*, providence conducted thither *Jehosheba*, the daughter of the late king *Joram*, who was then married to the high-priest *Jehoiada* [o]; and that pious princess found means to save young *Joash*, her brother *Ahaziah*'s son, who was then but a year old, from *Athaliah*'s sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Jehoiada*'s care, and kept there with the utmost privacy till he was seven years old. During those six years, *Athaliah* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jerusalem* with blood, and destroying the servants of the true God, that she might the more effectually establish the worship of *Baal* through the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were grown to such a height, that *Jehoiada* saw himself forced to put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s race, at once to convince the people, that God was still mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by preserving him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin; and to inspire his desponding subjects, with a brave desire of shaking off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyranness. To this end, he privately called some of the chiefs and elders of *Judah*, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend, and having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he shewed them the young monarch; told them by what means he had been saved; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion, and liberty. The desponding chiefs, who thought, that the cruel *Athaliah* had wholly extirpated *David*'s race, and had lost all farther hopes in the promises made to his posterity, received the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy; and, to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fidelity to him, promising the high-priest at the same time, that they would go out of hand, and raise what forces they could, whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*, who should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way for those who came thither to vacate at the divine service. All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, unto whom *Jehoiada* appointed their several posts; by which time, the generals without had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was come, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous

and slaughter of David's *race.*

Joash *is preserved;*

train

† See before, p. 388. b. [n] 2 Kings x. p. tot. [o] Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

(V) It is not easy to guess at what period of *Jehu*'s reign this cruel war happened; *Usher* doth make no mention of it till the time of his son (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* history (22), which is according to the chronology of our Bibles; for though God had promised, that the crown of *Israel* should continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal against *Baal*, yet he did not promise him a quiet reign, and his continuing in *Jeroboam*'s idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had abolished that also out of his kingdom.

(21) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3148. (22) *Sup.* 388.

and crowned.

a train of armed *Levites*, and there the high-prieſt anointed, and crowned him, and adminiſtred the uſual oath to him upon the ſacred volumes. He was immediately after ſeated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that ſacred place ring with, *Long live king* Joaſh.

Year of the Flood, 2121. Year before CHRIST, 878.

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noiſe brought to the temple, was the frighted queen, but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not ſay. She ventured directly into the prieſt's porch, from which her ſex and idolatry excluded her, and as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the young king ſeated on his throne, attended with ſuch numbers of armed men, ſhe rent her cloaths, and, in a deſperate fury, ruſhed in amongſt them, crying out treaſon; but *Jehoiada*, fearing leſt his zealous

b *Levites* ſhould pollute that ſacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was ſoon after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-prieſt, who by this time was in the higheſt eſteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worſhip of *Baal*; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce *Baal* and all other falſe deities, and to adhere ſtrictly to the Lord. This was alſo immediately performed with uncommon readineſs and zeal; and as a mark of their ſincerity, they began with the temple of *Baal*, where having ſacrificed *Mathan*, the infamous prieſt of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabrick to the ground; nor did they ſtop

c their hand, till they had likewiſe deſtroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worſhip, which *Athaliah* and her predeceſſors had reared up, both in *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*. On the other hand, *Jehoiada*, who, by reaſon of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming thoſe, who had ſhewed the greateſt bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the higheſt poſts in the government, inſtead of thoſe of the late uſurper; and by reſtoring that regularity in the divine ſervice, which had been interrupted during the reigns of ſo many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an expreſs prohibition to all

d ſtrangers, and idolatrous apoſtates, to enter into the temple of God, and by ſetting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean perſons, of what kind ſoever, entring into it [p]. This gives us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it had been expoſed to ſuch ſecluded perſons, during the laſt reigns.

Athaliah *is ſlain.*

Joaſh's *piety and zeal.*

THUS did the divine providence preſerve the race of *David* from the brink of deſtruction, and *Joaſh*, who was proclaimed king in the 7th year of his age, and of *Jehu*'s reign, continued to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worſhip of God, during the good high-prieſt's life. One of his firſt cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered the prieſts and *Levites* to take their yearly

e circuits through all the cities of *Judah*, and to raiſe voluntary contributions among the people, beſides the pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finiſhing thoſe repairs. But the prieſts, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with ſuch ſhameful flowneſs, that he was forced to ſend for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for their miſapplying of the ſacred money; and to diſcharge them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and from receiving any further ſums towards it. The whole care of the work was committed to the high-prieſt, and other proper officers; and, to prevent all further delays and miſapplication, a capacious cheſt was ordered to be ſet up in ſome public place in the temple, where the money

f was depoſited, till it amounted to a ſum ſufficient to ſet about the work; which it very ſhortly did, through the generoſity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of *Judah*, who poured in their preſents with uncommon readineſs and munificence.

[p] 2 Kings xi. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxiii. paſſ.

(W) The pole money is ſuppoſed to have been the half ſhekel, which every ſoul was obliged to pay, firſt to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the deſtruction of it. As for the redemption money, it was ſuch as was to be paid to the prieſts, either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beaſt for another, and ſuch like; of which we have ſpoken at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the prieſt's income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unleſs it were by way of repriſal for the former, namely, pole-money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair, and which, it ſeems, they ſunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin.

ficence. This money was immediately distributed among faithful workmen, who a
carried on the work with so much uprightness and diligence, that, without being
called to any account for the sums they received from time to time, they finished it
to the satisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the
king's hands. This, together with what was left in the chest, was by *Jehoiada*'s
direction employed in making gold and silver vessels for the use of the temple, such
as censers, trumpets, spoons, forks, and the like (X), instead of those which
Athaliah had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal*[q]. But *Joash*'s zeal
did not long survive *Jehoiada*'s life. That good old priest died in the 130th year of
his age, and for his faithful counsel, as well as signal services to the king and b
nation, was buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*, and with him seemed to
expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base
princes (Y) of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, which that pontif's
authority had only forced from them, came and prostrated themselves before the
king, desiring, that they might have leave to return to the old way of worship,
which they had been used to in former reigns; which the easy king, pleased perhaps
with their uncommon submission, having too readily granted, they immediately
Joash *and his chiefs forsake God.* forsook the temple and worship of God, and set up new altars to those filthy idols
which they had formerly been used to worship in their groves, with the most
abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after so signal a deliverance,
was not however punished, till they had been often forewarned, by several prophets, c
of the mischiefs, which it would bring upon them. But when they proved deaf to
all those divine admonitions, God stirred up the *Syrian* king against them, who
began to pour some small number of troops into the land, and to commit severe
outrages in *Judea*, whilst the cowardly *Jews*, though much superior in number,
were delivered into their hands, as a punishment for their idolatry[r]. Among those
prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to assure them, that
these would prove only the preludes of worse mischiefs, was the high-priest *Zecha-*
riah, the worthy son and successor of the late *Jehoiada*; but his zeal cost him his
Zechariah is slain. life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the
temple, without regard to either the sacredness of the place, or of his character, as d
a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed
both his life and kingdom. However, *Zechariah*, being full of the spirit of God,
foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would speedily punish the murder upon
the king and them, both which happened soon after accordingly: for *Hazael*, flushed
with the success he had had against *Judah*, and with the vast quantity of spoil
which he had sent from thence to *Damascus*, came up against *Jerusalem*, and made
The king of Syria *invades* Judah. a terrible slaughter among those *Jewish* princes, who had been the first authors of
that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape, either sharing of
their fate, or a shameful slavery, but by stripping the temple and his own palace
of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the *Syrian* conqueror, who e
thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and returned to *Damascus*[s]. *Joash*, however, did not
escape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under some grievous
Joash *is murdered.* disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed,
in the 40th year of his reign, and crowned his son *Amasiah* in his stead. *Joash*
was by this time in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that it
proved not only the occasion of his own, but also of his being deprived of the
royal sepulchre, for though he was buried in the city of *David*, yet the text says,
that

[q] Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 13. 14. pass. See also before, 388. c.

[r] Ibid. ver. 24.

[s] Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass. & 2 Chron. xxiv.

(X) There seems to be a contradiction between the book of *Kings*, and that of the *Chronicles*; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making vessels for the temple (23), and the latter affirms the contrary (24); but the matter is easily reconciled, by supposing, that the first means only, that none of that money was used to those purposes, till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raised, were fully finished.

(23) 2 Kings xii. 13. (24) 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 14. (25) Ibid. ver. 17. (26) *Vid. int. al.* Num. vii. 2, & *seq.* xxv. 14. & *alib. pass.*

(Y) The author of the book of *Chronicles* calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for those had been all destroyed by *Athaliah*, so that there were none alive then but *Joash*'s children; but here is meant only the chiefs of the families of that tribe, which, as well as those of the other tribes, are often dignified with that title (26).

a that they did not depoſit his body in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, but in ſome place apart [t].

Amaſiah ſucceeded him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, by which time *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, having reigned 17 years in *Iſrael*, had left the kingdom to his ſon *Joaſh*. During this time, nothing conſiderable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had alſo expoſed them to the cruel oppreſſions of the king of *Syria*, till *Jehoahaz*'s repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance [u]; for the fuller account of which, we ſhall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his ſon's reign, we ſhall ſee in its proper place; in the mean time, the young king of *Judah* had no ſooner ſettled himſelf

b upon his throne, than he cauſed the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here obſerved, that he ſpared their children, according to the law of *Moſes*, which forbids them to be puniſhed for their father's crimes [w]; from which one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all his predeceſſors were not equally ſtrict obſervers of it. The truth is, that *Amaſiah* had ſeen ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted upon *Joaſh* his father and his apoſtate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too ſoon, and, like *Joaſh*, having began his reign piouſly and ſucceſsfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His ſignal ſucceſs againſt the *Edomites*, of which an account has been formerly given *, promiſed to him by God himſelf, did but too much ſwell the

c heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Iſrael*, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God, to diſmiſs thoſe auxiliaries, aſſuring him, that ſuch idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obſtacle to his ſucceſs, if he perſiſted in making uſe of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only ſolicitous how to get back the 100 talents of ſilver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he diſmiſſed the *Iſraelitiſh* troops, not without great reſentment and heart-burning on their ſide, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries

d they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendſhip between thoſe two monarchs, and proved the ſource of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amaſiah* if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became ſo ſtupidly fond of the idols which he had taken from them, that, as if all his ſucceſs had been owing to them, he cauſed them to be ſet up in *Judah* at his return, and went ſo far as to burn incenſe himſelf before them. He was ſeverely rebuked for this by a prophet, who aſked him, among other things, what aſſiſtance he could hope for from thoſe falſe deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themſelves, from his hands? But the king, who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, aſked him, who made him his

e counſellor, and, in a threatning tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to puniſh his inſolence. After ſuch monſtrous inſtances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder, if he was abandoned by God to ruſh into his own ruin.

Joaſh *ſucceeded by* Amaſiah.

Year of the Flood, 2160. Before Christ, 893.

Amaſiah's *ſucceſs, and idolatry.*

Amaſiah had indeed cauſe to reſent the ravages which the diſbanded *Iſraelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition againſt *Edom*, and had he been leſs proud of his ſucceſs, he might have taken more proper meaſures for doing himſelf juſtice for them; but he ſeems to have been above all theſe conſiderations, and the inſolent challenge which he ſent to *Joaz*, the then king of *Iſrael*, and grandſon of *Jehu*, *Come and let us ſee one another in the face*, doth plainly ſhow, that

f he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him. On the other hand, *Joaz* had no leſs reaſon to truſt to his own; *Joaz*, ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown, had been paying a mournful viſit to the prophet *Eliſha*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to repreſent, to that holy perſon, the melancholy ſtate in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already ſuffered the greateſt calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two laſt reigns; and the prophet, touched with a ſenſe of it, had propheſied to him, that he ſhould gain three

Is defeated by the king of Iſrael.

ſucceeding

[t] 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. [u] 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6. † See before, p. 389. a. under not. B.
[w] Deut. xxiv. 16. * See before, p. 316. b.

ſucceeding victories over that domineering nation [x]. *Joaz* therefore, who had by a
this time given ſuch ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, by thoſe three
victories, which he had gained over the *Syrians*, and by recovering all the places
which they had taken from his predeceſſors (Z), could not forbear expreſſing the
utmoſt indignation at the receipt of this arrogant chartel. The anſwer he returned
was couched in the moſt ſcornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a
deſpicable thiſtle, which, having aſpired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had,
for his ambition, been cruſhed under the feet of a wild beaſt: he concluded with
adviſing him to reſt contented with his late petty victories, and not ſuffer his
ambition to drive him into a deſperate attempt, which would end, in all likely-
hood, in the total loſs of his kingdom. But *Amaſiah*, who was not to be humbled b
by words, was only the more exaſperated at this anſwer, and haſted to go out
againſt his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Bethſhemeſh*, where
Judah was totally routed. *Joſephus* adds, that they were ſeized with ſuch a pannic,
at the very firſt onſet, that they turned their backs without ſtriking one ſtroke, and
Amaſiah *taken priſoner.* left their king at the mercy of the conqueror [y]. *Amaſiah* was actually taken
priſoner, and *Joaz* marched on with him and his own army to *Jeruſalem*, where
he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and ſilver
which were found either in the temple or in his own treaſury; after which, having
demoliſhed about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken ſome hoſtages
with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one c
year, after which he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jeroboam*, the ſecond of that name,
after he had reigned 16 years. As for *Amaſiah*, though he outlived his diſgrace
above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign;
when, having diſcovered a conſpiracy that was formed againſt him at *Jeruſalem*, he
was forced to flee to *Lachiſh*, where, notwithſtanding his precaution, he was purſued
and murdered by the conſpirators. He was carried back upon horſes to *Jeru-*
ſalem,

[x] 2 Kings xiii. 14, & ſeq. See alſo before, p. 389. b. [y] Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

(Z) It is not eaſy to determine the time when *Joaz* won theſe three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from *Amaſiah*, when he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the *Syrians* ſoon after the beginning of it (28). Archbiſhop *Uſher* places it in the ſix and ſubſequent years of his reign, when having, as he ſuppoſes, taken his ſon, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into conſortſhip with him; he left the kingdom under his care, whilſt he went out againſt the armies of *Syria* (29).

The manner, in which the good old prophet did foreſhow theſe ſignal victories, is too remarkable to be paſt by. The king having expreſt his ſenſe for the loſs of ſo great a protector, in the moſt pathetic terms, *Eliſha* bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himſelf in a poſture of ſhooting out of his window eaſtward towards *Syria*; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's and bid him ſhoot, and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from* Syria; and then told the king, that he would beat the *Syrians* in *Apheck*, till he had quite conſumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to ſmite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done ſo three times, the prophet was diſpleaſed at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have ſtruck the ground five or ſix times, it would have been a certain ſign of his totally defeating of his *Syrian* enemy; but ſince he had ſtayed his hand at the third ſtroke, he ſhould gain but three battles againſt him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and *Syria*, after having been kept under, during *Joaſh* and *Jeroboam*'s reign, began to recover itſelf again, after the death of the latter, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

As for *Eliſha*, he died ſoon after; and, before the year was out, ſome *Iſraelites*, going to bury a corps in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of *Moabites* coming towards them, for fear of whom, they caſt the dead body into *Eliſha*'s tomb and fled; but as ſoon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived and ran after them. What uſe a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relicks of their ſaints, is foreign to our ſubject: we have *Eliſha*'s panegyric in few words in the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, "*Eliſheus*, ſays that author, was filled with the "ſpirit of *Elijah*; whilſt he lived, he was not o-"ver-awed by any prince, neither could any bring "him into ſubjection, no word could overcome "him; and after his death he propheſied, &c. "(31)" The *Jews* add, that the man thus miraculouſly raiſed was called *Sallum*, and that he begat ſons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man, and, as ſuch, unfit to lie near the ſacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwiſe (32), neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is moſt in the right.

Some authors, however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out theſe words, with ſuch a loud voice, that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jeruſalem*: *This is he that is to deſtroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33).

(27) *Vid.* USSER. *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3178. (28) *Vid.* 2 Kings xiii. 22, & *ſeq.* (29) *Ub. ſup. ſub A. M.* 3168. (30) 2 Kings xiii. 14. & *ſeq.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 389. b. c. (31) Eccleſ. xlviii. 12. & *ſeq.* (32) *Vid.* MUNST. *in* 2 *Reg.* 13. *ſub not.* f. (33) *Vid.* DOROTH. EPIPHAN. & ISIDOR. *de more. prophet.* & *Chron. paſchal ap* CALM *ſub voc* Eliſeo.

a *ſalem*, and buried with his anceſtors; and his ſon *Azariah* proclaimed in his ſtead [z].

In the mean time, whilſt *Amaſiah* ſpent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive ſecurity in *Jeruſalem*; *Jeroboam* II. the brave great-grandſon of *Jehu*, ſeemed ordained by providence to reſtore the kingdom of *Iſrael* to its priſtine ſplendor and greatneſs. His reign, which laſted 41 years, beſides thoſe 10 which he had ſpent in copartnerſhip with his father, gave him time more than ſufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah*, the ſon of *Amittai* (A), and *Hoſea*, the ſon of *Beeri*, who were cotemporaries with him, and foretold, that he ſhould compleat the deliverance of *Iſrael* which his b father had began, notwithſtanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predeceſſors. Accordingly, he took the *Syrian* capital *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah* [a], and all the country on the other ſide of *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the ſea of the plain, or the dead ſea [b]. The particulars of all theſe glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Iſrael*, long ſince loſt. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was buried with his anceſtors in *Samaria*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Zachariah* [c]. *Jeroboam*'s reign was indeed a glorious one, with reſpect to his conqueſts, but it ſtands branded for various idolatries, and for the injuſtice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time; inſomuch, that c the prophets *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the diſorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Iſrael* (B), and were ſent to foretel the ſad and total ruin, which their ſins would

Jeroboam II. *king of* Iſrael.

[z] 2 Kings xiv. paſſ. to ver. 21. 2 Chron. xxv. p. tot. [a] See, 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Num. xiii. 21. [b] 2 Kings xiv. paſſ. [c] Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the ſame *Jonah*, or *Jonas*, as he is called in the goſpel (34), who was afterwards ſent to preach repentance to the *Ninivites* (35). *Uſher* juſtly obſerves, that he was a native of *Gathepher* (36), a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* (37) in *Galilee*, of the *Gentiles* (38), againſt that falſe affirmation of the *Jews*; That out of *Galilee* there never aroſe a prophet (39). It is uncertain, whether thoſe glorious ſucceſſes, which he foretold to the king of *Iſrael*, were committed to writing, and ſince loſt, or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being ſent to preach repentance at *Nineveh*, the metropolis of *Aſſyria*, and is therefore foreign to our preſent ſubject.

(B) The former of theſe prophets ſeems to accuſe the *Iſraelites* (40) of the ſame enormities, as had been formerly committed in *Gibeath*, where the *Levite*'s concubine had been abuſed to death (41). He ſpeaks of their having multiplyed their idols to a ſhameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practices, he denounces a total ruin and deſolation to the king and people; which he alſo lived to ſee accompliſhed in the ſixth year of *Hezechiah*, when *Iſrael* was carried away captive (42).

Hoſea's prophecy begins with the command, which he received from God, to go and marry a common proſtitute, and to adopt her ſpurious brood (43); a command, which has given ſo much offence to the pious, and has adminiſtred ſuch occaſion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to ſet the matter in a true light, for the benefit of thoſe, who have not leiſure, or opportunity, to conſult the beſt commentators upon it. And here we may ſafely reject the ſolution of thoſe ſubtile doctors, who pretend, that God may diſpenſe with the laws of purity; or of thoſe, who look upon this marriage to have been tranſacted only in a viſion, or that it is only a parable; ſuch evaſions do often leave a greater difficulty, than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious, than that the ſcriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had; thus the blind and deaf are ſaid to ſee and hear, the dead to live, ſinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not thoſe certainly who continued ſuch, but thoſe who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the prieſts, elders, and outwardly ſanctified *Phariſees* (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman, whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common proſtitute before ſhe became his wife? The prieſts indeed were forbid to marry ſuch women, but none elſe; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in ſuch marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the propereſt emblem of God's merciful dealings with the *Iſraelites*, whom he eſpouſed and adopted, notwithſtanding all their former wickedneſs, and from whom he might juſtly challenge the ſuitable returns of obedience, faithfulneſs, and gratitude; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection, ſuch as a woman in *Gomer*'s caſe would deſerve, if ſhe ſhould relapſe into her former vices, after ſhe had been ſo kindly reclaimed from them (46),

We may add, that *Hoſea*, or, as the original calls him, הושע *Hoſheagh*, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Chriſt, who, we know, came to eſpouſe to himſelf a church, conſiſting, not of righteous, or of thoſe that thought themſelves ſuch, but of repenting ſinners, of all kinds and nations, and to reclaim them from their ſins by his precepts and

(34) Matt. xii. 41. (35) Jona. iii. *paſſ.* (36) 2 Kings xiv. 25. (37) Joſh. xix. 13. (38) Iſai. ix. 1. (39) John vii. 52. *Vid.* Usser. *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3197. (40) Hoſ. x. 9. (41) Judg. xix. 14, *& ſeq.* (42) Conf. Hoſ. i. 1. & 2 Reg. xviii. 10. (43) *Hoſ. Ibid. paſſ.* (44) Mat. xxi. 31. *& alib.* (45) *Vid. de* Lyra. Riber. Piscat. *& al. in loc.* (46) *Vid.* Pfeifer. *Dubia. S. Script.* Le Scene. *Eſſay on a new ver. p.* 1. *Ch.* 10.

would ſhortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was ſent a from *Judah*, where he was a common ſhepherd, to denounce the moſt ſevere judgments againſt *Iſrael*, even to the total diſperſion of it; which he did under the types of graſhoppers, which deſtroyed all the fruit of the land; of a devouring fire; and laſtly, of a plummet line and a tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of *Iſrael* under its ruins [d]. For theſe prophecies he was accuſed to the king, by *Amaſiah*, one of the idolatrous prieſts of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah* and prophesy there; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment againſt the meſſenger *Amaſiah*, that his wife ſhould become an open proſtitute in the city, that his ſons and daughters ſhould fall by the ſword, and himſelf die in a polluted land [e], namely, that of *Aſſyria*; b whither the ten tribes were ſoon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zachariah. *Zachariah* ſucceeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the great-grandſon of *Jehu*; and ſo far was God's promiſe to this laſt fulfilled, that the kingdom ſhould continue in his family to the fourth generation; but his threatnings againſt that kingdom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfal of *Iſrael* from the reign of *Zachariah*. From that time, we read of nothing but treaſons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and univerſal deſolation: *Zachariah* had ſcarce reigned ſix months, before he was publickly maſſacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domeſticks, according to *Joſephus* [f], who ſeized upon the kingdom, and, after a c reign of thirty days, was himſelf murdered by *Menahem*, *Zachariah*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As ſoon as this laſt was ſeated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the reſidence of *Jeroboam* I. [g], which place refuſing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on their pregnant women, that ever were done by the vileſt barbarians. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by *Pul* king of *Aſſyria* (E); and, as he was not in a condition to make

Year of the Flood, 2227. Year before CHRIST, 772.

[d] Amos vii. paſſ. [e] Ibid. ver. ult. [f] Ant. l. ix. c. 11. [g] See, 1 Kings xiv. 17.

and example, as well as by his grace and holy ſpirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal ſalvation of *Judah*, and ruin of *Iſrael*, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the caſe, if we conſider the names, character, and other circumſtances, relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman; particularly their changing of their names from *Lo-Ammi*, *thou art not my people*, into *Ammi*, *thou art my people*; and from *Lo-Ruhamah*, *ſhe ſhall have no mercy*, to *Ruhamah*, *ſhe ſhall obtain mercy*; as alſo, their becoming as numerous as the ſands of the ſea; all which ſeem chiefly to relate to the converſion of mankind to the chriſtian religion. But theſe are out of our province.

Hoſea is the firſt, whoſe prophecies we have had tranſmitted in writing; he continued in the exerciſe of his prophetical office near the ſpace of 70 years, during the reigns of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jothan*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezechiah*. His prophecies are divided into 14 chapters; in the four firſt, he expoſes the various iniquities of the ten tribes; from thence to the 12th chapter, he denounces the puniſhments impending on them, particularly their deſtruction by *Shalmanezer*. The remainder is full of comfortable promiſes to the godly and penitent: what became of him at laſt, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to truſt to any thing elſe.

(C) As for *Amos*, as he was neither prieſt nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary caſe, to the latter, it is probable, that, after his return into the land of *Judah*, he retired into the city of *Tekoah*, where he continued to propheſy againſt *Iſrael*, for ſilencing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold, in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after *Jeroboam* II's death; the murther of his ſon and ſucceſſor; the coming of *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileſer*, kings of *Aſſyria*, againſt *Iſrael*; and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled againſt *Syria*, *Tyre*, the *Philiſtines*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*; and ſome againſt the kingdom of *Judah*. His ſtyle is plain and low, and his expreſſions, ſuch as one might expect from a ruſtick or a ſhepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in ancient fathers, we omit, becauſe we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbiſhop *Uſher* (48) obſerves here, that there muſt have been an inter-regnum of eleven years and half, before *Zachariah* aſcended the throne; without which ſuppoſition, it will be impoſſible to make his death and *Shallum*'s ſhort-lived reign to coincide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is ſaid to have happened (49).

(E) The ſame prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him *Sardan-Pul*, as *Merodach* king of *Babylon* called *Merodach-Baladan* from his father *Baladan*. *Pul* is the firſt king of *Aſſyria* we find named in ſcripture from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed to have reigned in *Nineveh*, at the time of *Jonah*'s preaching; and to have been converted by him.

Thoſe who follow the verſion of the ſeventy believe, that *Pul* was invited by *Menahem* to come to his aſſiſtance. One of the prophets upbraids indeed the king and people of *Samaria*, with ſending to *Aſſyria* for help, for which he threatens them with

(47) Amos ii. 13, & *ſeq.* iii. *paſſ.* & *alib.* (48) *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3220. (49) 2 Kings xv. 8. 17. (50) *Ub. ſup.* (51) Hoſ. v. 13. viii. 9. 13. x. 6. 13.

a make head againſt him, he was forced to buy his friendſhip at the price of 1000 talents of ſilver, which he levied upon the wealthieſt of his own ſubjects, whom he obliged to pay 60 ſhekels *per* head; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menahem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pekahiah*, in the 50th year of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah* [b].

THE kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, whom the people had ſet upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder, (that is, as the text expreſſes it) in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* IId's reign [i] (F), was then but ſixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but ano-
b ther, who is only known for the great wiſdom and piety of his counſels to the young monarch; ſo that, during the life of that faithful counſellor, *Azariah* became equally conſpicuous for his zeal againſt idolatry, for his pious imitation of his beſt predeceſſors, and for his great ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of his neighbours, eſpecially the *Philiſtines* [k]. He likewiſe fortified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demoliſhed by the king of *Iſrael*, and built ſeveral fortreſſes and magazines in ſeveral parts of his kingdom, and in thoſe countries which he had taken from the *Philiſtines*, *Arabians*, and *Mehunims* (G). His army conſiſted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, *Maaſiah* and *Hananiah*, and of *Jehiel*, his ſcribe, or ſecretary of war, who appointed each band
c their reſpective turns, according to the muſter-rolls. Beſides theſe, he had alſo 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all ſorts to ſupply his army with, and which he kept in ſeveral ſtrong ſtore-cities all over his kingdom. To theſe he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large ſtones, and other deſtructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks, which are ſaid to have been contrived by ſome of his expert engineers. Whilſt he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the buſineſs of agriculture; on the contrary, the text ſays, that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of huſbandmen and vine-dreſſers; and that he built towers and cots, and
d digged wells every where for the convenience of his ſervants and cattle. So that whether we look upon him in peace or war, he ſeems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth.

BUT all this he unhappily loſt by one raſh act, his attempting to infringe upon the prieſtly office, and to burn incenſe upon the ſacred altar. He was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by the then high-prieſt *Azariah*, at the head of fourſcore other zealous prieſts, who repreſented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the ſons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not deſiſt from it, till he felt himſelf ſmitten with leproſy, in ſuch a ſudden and extraordinary manner, as made him ſenſible, that it was ſent from God, as a puniſhment for his
e preſumption. The prieſts, as ſoon as they perceived the firſt tokens of that polluting diſeaſe appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but

Year of the Flood, 2238. before CHRIST 771.

Azariah's *piety*;

and ſucceſs;

Army, and magazines.

[b] 2 Kings xv. 13, and 22. [i] Ibid. ver. 1. [k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & ſeq. See before, p. 358. d.

with being ſent thither captives (52); but the original affirms, that he came againſt, or invaded, the land; and the book of *Chronicles* ſays expreſsly, that God ſtirred up the ſpirit of *Pul* againſt him, as he did afterwards that of *Tilgath-pileſer*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Joſephus* reckons this invaſion of *Pul* to have happened towards the latter end of *Menahem*'s reign (54); but *Uſher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(F) That is, as the ſame *Uſher*, and the margin of our bibles rightly obſerve, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father *Jehoaſh*, though but the 16th from his reigning ſole monarch.

(G) Theſe *Mehunims* the *Chaldee* paraphraſt renders בְּמִישַׁר מָעוֹן, *The inhabitants in the wilderneſs of* Mahon, which was in that part of *Arabia-petrea*, toward *Gerar* and *Pharan*; for which reaſon they ſeem joined with the *Arabians* of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the ſame province; and as both were in the ſame neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah*'s fame was ſpread abroad, even unto the entring of *Egypt* (55).

We ought to obſerve here, that theſe wars of the king of *Judah* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his hiſtory ſeems ſtrangely curtailed, but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(52) *Chron.* ix. 3, & *alib. paſſ.* (43) *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xv. 19. & 1 *Chron. v. ult.* (54) *Ant. l.* ix. *c.* 11. (55) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 23. LE CLERC. *Com. in loc.* & *al.* (56) *Comp.* 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 1, & *ſeq.* & 2 *Kings* xiv. 21, & *ſeq.*

but *Azariah* was by that time ſtruck with ſuch terror and remorſe (H), that he ſaved them that trouble, and made what haſte he could, not only out of that ſacred place, but even out of the city, and went to live in a ſeparate houſe, where he continued, infected with that diſtemper, ſecluded from common ſociety, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death, and was buried in a ſepulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his anceſtors [l]. He died in the 52d year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age [m], and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's ſecluſion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziah*'s hiſtory was written by *Iſaiah* the ſon of *Amos* [n]; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name [o].

His death.

Two years before *Azariah*'s death, *Pekejah* ſucceeded his father *Menahem* in *Iſrael*; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekah* the ſon of *Remaliah*, one of his generals, who aſcended the throne about a year before *Jotham* ſucceeded his father in *Judah*. The character of theſe two princes was very oppoſite: *Pekah* was a wicked prince, and followed the ſteps of his predeceſſors, ſo that his reign proved troubleſome and unſucceſsful, and ended in a violent death: *Jotham* was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wiſe and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's vertues without any of his vices, and was bleſſed with extraordinary ſucceſs. *Pekah*, having made a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt againſt *Judah*; but he was ſoon forced to go back and defend his own territories againſt *Tilgath-pileſer* king of *Aſſyria*, who had invaded the land of *Naphthali*, took the moſt conſiderable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilſt *Jotham* gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages againſt his neighbours, eſpecially againſt the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver, 10,000 meaſures of wheat, and the ſame quantity of barley [p]; as we have ſeen elſewhere †. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other publick acts, *Jotham* died in peace, after he had reigned ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ahaz*. As for *Pekah*, after he had had the mortification to ſee one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the laſt ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and ſucceeded by *Hoſhea* the ſon of *Elah*, in the 20th year of his reign [q], and about three years after *Jotham's* death.

Pekejah *king of* Iſrael *murdered, and ſucceeded by* Pekah.

Jotham *king of* Judah.

HOWEVER, he was more ſucceſsful, during thoſe three laſt years, againſt *Jotham*'s unworthy ſon, whoſe impieties made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and ſucceſsful. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of *Iſrael* and

[l] 2 Chron. xxvi. p. tot. [m] 2 Kings xv. 2. [n] 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. [o] See Iſai. i. 1. vii. 1. [p] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. † See before, p. 297. d. [q] 2 Kings xv. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxvii. p. tot. See alſo USSER. An. ſub. A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

(H) The reaſon of *Uzziah*'s being thus miraculouſly ſmitten with leproſy is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Joſephus* (57) adds a very remarkable circumſtance, which accompanied this puniſhment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that, while the king perſiſted to threaten the prieſts who oppoſed his impious deſign, God ſent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leproſy; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, ſtopt againſt another mountain, choaked the high-way, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbiſh.

Some of the prophets do, indeed, ſpeak of an earthquake, which happened in *Uzziah*'s days; but, beſides, that neither they, nor the ſacred hiſtorian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects againſt that monarch; it is plain, *Joſephus* muſt be out in his chronology, becauſe he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; (for he ſays expreſly, that he died of grief, ſoon after his misfortune,) whereas the former of the prophets above-mentioned ſays, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziah* and of *Jeroboam* II. Now it is plain, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves, that this was long before *Uzziah* was ſmitten with leproſy, becauſe his ſon *Jotham*, who took the government upon him immediately upon his ſecluſion, was not born till ſome time after *Jeroboam*'s death (59). This remark will alſo hold equally good againſt the reſt of the *Jews*, who, to make the earthquake and the king's puniſhment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25th year of his reign, that is, before *Jotham* was born. Both therefore, *Joſephus* and they, have joined two events together, to make the kings's puniſhment appear more wonderful, which, it is plain from what has been ſaid above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years diſtance from each other.

(57) *Ant. l.* 9. *c.* 12. (58) *Amos* i. 1. *Zechar.* xiv. 5. (59) *Vid.* USSER. *An. ſub. A. M.* 3221.

a and *Syria*. *Ahaz* was then under the utmoſt conſternation, at the news of two ſuch powerful enemies coming up againſt him, and ſeem to have expected nothing leſs than the total diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* monarchy; when *Iſaiah* the ſon of *Amos* (I), who had began to prophecy even from the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign, came to him from the Lord, to aſſure him, that thoſe two princes ſhould try their ſtrength in vain againſt *Jeruſalem*, which they were then about beſieging [s]. At the ſame time to aſſure him, that the final end of the *Jewiſh* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him aſk a ſign of God, though never ſo hard, and it ſhould be granted to him. Here the king whether out of reſpect, or deſpondency, and unbelief, refuſing to aſk for the promiſed ſign, the prophet aſſured
b him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin ſhould conceive and bear a ſon, and call his name* Himmanu-el, *or* God with us, and ſo on (K).

Ahaz's idolatrous and unſucceſsful reign.

No ſooner had the firſt part of the prophecy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious *Ahaz* gave himſelf up to the vileſt impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worſt of his predeceſſors; burning incenſe to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of *Hinnon*, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other
c nations [t], till God was pleaſed at laſt to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himſelf amends for his ill ſucceſs againſt *Jeruſalem*, went and recovered *Eloth*, a conſiderable ſea-port town upon the *Red-Sea*, which *Uzziah* had taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* ſubjects; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his ſucceſſors *. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly ſeen in the *Syrian* hiſtory †.

A great ſlaughter of his ſubjects.

The king of *Iſrael* was ſtill the more inveterate and ſucceſsful of the two, and it is not eaſy to ſay, how far he might have carried on his conqueſts againſt him, had not a prophet been ſent from God to put a timely ſtop to them. He had already killed in one ſingle battle, 120,000 of his braveſt ſubjects, beſides *Maazaiah*, *Ahaz*'s ſon,

[r] See Iſai. i. 1. xxviii. 3, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. vii. 1, 2, & ſeq. 2 Kings xvi. 5. See alſo before, p. 389. b. [t] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, & ſeq. * 2 Kings xvi. 6. † See before, p. 390. a.

(I) *Iſaiah*, called from the womb to be a prophet, (60), and endowed with ſingular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the *Jews*, and believed by many *Chriſtians*, to have been the grandſon of *Joaſh* king of *Judah* (62). His firſt viſion was about the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign (63); but his prophecies relate to his ſucceſſors, namely, the firſt ſix chapters to *Jotham*, the ſix next to his ſon *Ahaz*, and the reſt to *Hezekiah*; excepting, that ſeveral of them are interſperſed, which relate to the Meſſiah, and to the fate of ſeveral foreign kingdoms. He is juſtly eſteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftineſs and majeſty of his ſtyle, as well as for the clearneſs of his prophecies.

He was highly reſpected by the good kings, eſpecially by *Hezekiah*, who ſent to conſult him upon all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, eſpecially by *Manaſſeh*, by whom he is ſuppoſed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elſewhere †.

(K) This we take to be a much more natural ſenſe of that prophecy, than to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done (64), that ſuch a miraculous child was really born in *Ahaz*'s time, to aſſure him of the promiſed deliverance; for as there is not the leaſt mention of ſuch an extraordinary birth, ſo neither do we ſee, that there was any neceſſity for it, in order to convince the deſponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, *that the ſcepter ſhould not depart from* Judah—*till* Shiloh *was come* (65); much leſs that he was to ſpring of the lineage of *David*. But what ſtaggered *Ahaz*'s faith, and made him fear, that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to ſet up a ſtranger upon his throne (66). All, therefore, that was wanting to diſpel his preſent fears about it, was for the prophet to aſſure him from God, that this *Shiloh* promiſed to *Judah* and *David*, who was to fore-run the total exciſion of the *Jewiſh* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character, and other remarkable circumſtances, ſuch as, he might be eaſily ſatisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophecy which is commonly urged on the other ſide, namely, *Before this* wonderful *child ſhall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorreſt ſhall be forſaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that if it be rightly underſtood, it will rather confirm our ſenſe of the prophecy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For*, (or rather, as the particle כִּי *Ki*, ſeems to import here,) *Nay before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou* (קָץ *Kotz*, not *abhorreſt*, as our verſion renders it, but) *art ſo ſollicitous about, or giveſt up for loſt*, ſhall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be underſtood, not the kings of *Syria* and *Iſrael*, for the former could not be called her (*Canaan*'s) king, and the latter had but a ſhare in it at beſt, but the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*; as it really was before the coming of the Meſſiah.

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we ſhall venture no further upon the argument, much leſs upon ſome other parts of this prophecy, leſt we ſhould be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(60) *Vid. Iſai.* xlix. 1, *& ſeq.* (61) *Ibid. l.* 4. (62) *Ita. Rabbin. Omn. Vid. &* Hieron. *in Iſai. paſſ.* (63) *Ibid.* vi. 1, *& ſeq.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 674. *not.* D. (64) Whitb. *in loc. Literal prophec. & al.* (65) *Gen.* xlix. 10. *See before, p.* 462. *not.* G. (66) *Iſai.* vii. 6. (67) *Ibid. ver.* 16.

ſon, and ſome of the nobleſt that were next his royal perſon; and had likewiſe taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to *Samaria*; when *Obed*, that was the prophet's name, ſtopped them ſhort, and aſked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made ſuch a horrid and univerſal ſlaughter of their brethren, unleſs they carried away a much greater number into ſlavery? He added that though the idolatries of *Judah* had drawn thoſe heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they perſiſted to carry thoſe innocent priſoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much ſeverer ones upon themſelves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to ſend their captives back to *Jeruſalem*; which they at length complied with. This ſpeech did even work ſo far upon them, that they did not diſmiſs them without ſome ſignal tokens of pity and humanity [u].

Edom *and the* Iſraelites *invade him.*

WHILST *Ahaz*'s affairs were in this diſmal plight, the *Edomites* and *Philiſtines* did invade other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered ſeveral conſiderable frontier towns from him [x]. In this extremity he had recourſe to his old ally the king of *Aſſyria*, whom to gain to his aſſiſtance, he made no ſcruple to ſtrip both temple and city of all the gold and ſilver. *Tilgath-pileſer* received his preſents, but, inſtead of coming to aſſiſt him againſt the confederate kings, he turned his whole ſtrength againſt that of *Syria*, under a pretence of cauſing a diverſion (L); and having killed *Rezin*, and ſeized upon his capital, *Ahaz* came thither to pay a viſit to him, upon what deſign is not eaſy to gueſs. Among the curioſities which he ſaw at *Damaſcus*, he was ſo taken with the elegance of a heatheniſh altar, that he cauſed a model to be taken from it, and to be ſent to *Urijah* the high-prieſt, with orders, that he ſhould cauſe one to be made after it, and to be ſet up in the temple. *Urijah* dared not diſobey, but cauſed the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been ſet up by *Solomon*; which laſt was put by on the north ſide of it. At his return, the king highly pleaſed to ſee his orders

His idolatry.

ſo punctually executed, offered up incenſe, and a vaſt quantity of ſacrifices upon it; but he ſoon after cauſed the temple to be ſhut up, whilſt he reared altars in every corner of *Jeruſalem*, and every where elſe to the *Syrian* gods, which he ſaid had been ſo ſucceſsful againſt him; and having abandoned himſelf to the moſt

and death.

abominable idolatries, he finiſhed his impious reign in the 36th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hezekiah*; he reigned ſixteen years [y], and was buried in *Jeruſalem*, not in the ſepulchre of *David*, of which he was eſteemed unworthy, but in ſome other place by itſelf [z].

THE kingdom of *Iſrael*, all this while was in no better plight than that of *Judah*: *Pekah* had paid dear for his ſucceſs againſt it, being murdered by *Hoſhea* ſoon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of *Ahaz* (M). This revolution, however,

[u] 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. [x] Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See alſo before, p. 359. a. [y] 2 Kings xvi. 2. [z] 2 Chron. xxviii. ult.

(L) This is, at leaſt, the beſt way to reconcile the book of *Kings* and that of *Chronicles*, the former of which ſays, that he came to *Ahaz*'s aſſiſtance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather ſtraightned him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that *Ahaz* put himſelf too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependent upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him. This is indeed far from improbable, ſince he left his ſucceſſor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. This made *Tremellius* conjecture to be the reaſon, why he is ſaid to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely leaſt *Tiglath* ſhould aſſault him that way, and ſo break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks that the ſame fear made him remove the מוסך *Maſſac*; or, covering of the ſabbath which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the kings uſed to ſeat themſelves during the ſervice of the temple; and cauſed it to be hid, leſt that prince ſhould carry it away with him. There might indeed be ſome ground for it, if we had the leaſt hint in the text of his coming towards *Jeruſalem*; but as that is not the caſe, we may ſuppoſe, that *Ahaz* did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own uſe.

This *Tilgath-pileſer* is the ſame with *Ninus*, the younger, who reigned in *Aſſyria* 19 years as will be ſeen in its proper place.

(M) The text ſays (73) in the 20th year of *Jotham*, but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years, from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his ſon and ſucceſſor. In the ſame manner we muſt underſtand what is ſaid in another place (75), that *Hoſhea* began to reign in the 12th year of *Ahaz*: by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reaſon of the ſtirs and tumults, which aroſe after the murder of his predeceſſor.

(68) *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xvi. 7, & *ſeq.* & 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 20, 21. (69) *Vid.* USSER. *An. A. M.* 3265. (70) TREMEL. *in loc.* (71) 2 *Kings* xvi. 18. (72) CALM. *Hiſt. V. T. l. v. c.* 44. & *al.* (73) 2 *Kings* xv. 13. (74) *Ibid. ver* 33. (75) *Ibid.* xvii. 1.

a however, proved ſo diſtaſtful to the *Iſraelites*, that it cauſed a kind of anarchy, which laſted almoſt nine years; during which time, *Hoſhea* found it a difficult taſk to keep himſelf upon the throne: and after he had quelled theſe commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hoſtile attempt, either againſt *Ahaz* or his ſucceſſor. He had indeed other buſineſs upon his hand, *Shalmaneſer* had, by this time, ſucceeded *Tiglath-pileſer* in *Aſſyria*, and whether *Hoſhea* had been forced to make uſe of his aſſiſtance to ſettle himſelf upon his throne, or whether his predeceſſor had committed any hoſtilities againſt *Iſrael*, during his alliance with *Ahaz*, *Hoſhea* was by ſome means, not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Aſſyria* [a], and was endeavouring to free himſelf from that b yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the ſource of new troubles, which ended at laſt in the total exciſion of the *Iſraelitiſh* monarchy, as we ſhall ſee very ſoon.

Hoſhea *king of* Iſrael.

His trouble-ſome reign.

In the mean time *Hezekiah* had aſcended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 12th, or, as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoſhea*'s reign, that is, abating the firſt nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the laſt note. It was not difficult for him to diſcover the ſource of all *Judah*'s misfortunes, and the moſt effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he ſet about with the utmoſt diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had cauſed to be ſhut up, and commanded the prieſts and *Levites* to c purify themſelves and it, and to renew the daily worſhip of God, according to the law of *Moſes*. This good work was begun upon the firſt day of the year, it being the ſabbath [b], and was finiſhed on *Saturday* the 16th of the ſame month. The king then aſſembled the elders of *Judah* on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the prieſts and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the ſins of the nation; after which, they ſacrificed ſuch numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the prieſts who aſſiſted at the ceremony, being inſufficient for the ſervice, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their aſſiſtance, and theſe accepted the office with the utmoſt readineſs and joy (N). All this while, the air was filled with the d ſound of the trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, and with the voices of the ſingers, who accompanied the ceremony with pſalms and hymns, ſuitable to that extraordinary ſolemnity, which was concluded with expreſſions of the utmoſt joy and ſatisfaction, both in the king and People. It could not indeed but be a pleaſing ſight, to ſee a king and nation ſo ſuddenly turned from the worſhip of the filthieſt idols, to that of the living God [c]. One misfortune there was however, that the ſeaſon was paſt for celebrating the paſſover; that ſolemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, and it was now the 17th; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moſes*, where it is preſcribed, that thoſe, who, by reaſon of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that feſtival on the firſt, e ſhould do it on the ſecond month †. The good king poſtponed it accordingly, and made uſe of that interval, to ſend circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his ſubjects to be preſent at that feaſt, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further; and the miſeries, under which the idolatrous *Iſraelites* groaned, inſpired him with a deſire of endeavouring, at leaſt, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end he wrote a moſt pathetick letter to them, which he ſent by proper deputies, wherein he diſcovered to them the ſource of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worſhip of the true God, and to preſent themſelves before him at the enſuing ſolemnity, as the moſt effectual means,

Year of the Flood, 2272. Year before Christ, 727.

The temple opened, and purified.

A ſolemn paſſover celebrated.

Iſrael *invited to it by the king.*

[a] 2 Kings xvii. 3, & ſeq. [b] 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. tot. † before, p. 604. & not. P.

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of prieſts had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, ſo that they could not vacate at the ſervice of the temple, for want of being purifyed, whilſt the *Levites*, who had ſhewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear; but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they helped to kill and prepare that vaſt number of victims, which were then offered; whilſt the prieſts were taken up with making the proper aſperſions with the blood, and offering the fat and fleſh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxx. 15, & *ſeq.*

means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the a
gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Aſſyria* had carried into captivity [d] (O).

WHILST the king's meſſengers took their progreſs from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, the *Jews* were taken up with burning and demoliſhing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jeruſalem*, and flung them into the brook *Kedron*, ſo that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed feſtival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but alſo from that of *Iſrael*, out of the tribes of *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, *Manaſſeh*, and *Iſſachar*. Theſe did not indeed come in b
ſuch numbers, there being many even of theſe four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jeſt of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hoſhea* did in any way oppoſe it, for it doth not appear that he did: On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far leſs wicked than any of his predeceſſors [e], it is probable, the bad ſituation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means, that would render providence more propitious to him. However, thoſe of his ſubjects, who came to the feaſt, either had not had time enough to purify themſelves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of thoſe neceſſary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Iſrael*, during ſo long an interval of diſuſe, ſo that they ventured to eat the paſſover with the reſt, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted *Hezekiah* with it, but the king, who had nothing more c
at heart than to cheriſh their pious zeal, eaſily overlooked that circumſtance, and only prayed to God to do the ſame. However, for the ſake of thoſe of his own people, who were alſo unpurified, among whom were ſeveral prieſts and *Levites*, he ordered the feſtival to be celebrated another ſeven days, that none might be excluded from it. This ſolemnity, the like to which had not been obſerved ſince the latter end of *Solomon*'s reign [f], inſpired the people with ſuch uncommon zeal, that, as ſoon as they were diſmiſſed from it, they went about deſtroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their reſpective countries, the king himſelf encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very braſen ſerpent, which *Moſes* had cauſed to be ſet up in the d
wilderneſs [g], did *Hezekiah* cauſe to be broken in pieces, becauſe he found, that the people had offered incenſe to it, and in contempt called it *Nehuſhtan*, that is, *a piece of braſs* [h].

Several of them come to the feaſt.

HIS next care was to reſtore all the branches of the worſhip of God, to make an exact ſcrutiny into the genealogies of the prieſts, *Levites*, and muſicians, in order to ſettle their ſeveral claſſes, according to *David*'s model. He provided for their maintenance by reviving the laws of *Moſes*, concerning the firſt fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and ſuch like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them, ſo that by *October* following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper diſtribution had been made of it among them [i]. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was bleſſed with ſucceſs equal to his piety; and as ſoon as he found himſelf ſtrong enough to free himſelf from the tribute, which the *Aſſyrians* had forced from his predeceſſor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces againſt the *Philiſtines*, over whom he got ſuch conſiderable advantages, that he regained, with uſury, all that they had gotten during *Ahaz*'s unhappy reign †.

Hezekiah's *ſucceſs.*

IT fared quite otherwiſe with the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and *Hoſhea*, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Aſſyrian* bondage. But *Shalmaneſer*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did ſoon diſcover and break all his meaſures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to ſtop his progreſs, he took care to ſecure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities [k], according to *Iſaiah*'s

Iſrael *invaded.*

[d] 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & ſeq. [e] 2 Kings xvii. 2. [f] 2 Chron. xxx. paſſ. [g] Num. xxi. 8. & ſeq.
[h] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [i] 2 Chron. xxxi. paſſ. † See before, p. 359. b. [k] Ibid. p. 292. a. b. See alſo *Uſher*'s Ann. ſub. A. M. 3280.

(O) This ſhews, that *Tiglath-pileſer*, or his ſucceſſor, had invaded part of *Hoſhea*'s kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unleſs we will ſuppoſe with ſome authors (77), that it had began in *Pul*'s time: ſee the next note.

(77) *Vid.* CALMET. *Hiſt.* V. T. *Tom.* iii. *Ch.* 47. *ad fin.*

a *Iſaiah*'s prophecy denounced three years before [l], and laying waſte all that land and that of *Iſrael*, till he was come to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid cloſe ſiege to it. *Hoſhea*, who had not been able to make head againſt him, had however ſo well fortifyed himſelf in that city, that it held out almoſt three years againſt the *Aſſyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this ſiege or war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, the reſt of the kingdom was forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his ſubjects were carried away into captivity, and diſpoſed of into the ſame provinces of that empire, whither their brethren had been ſent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in ſome of the prophets, who deſcribe the diſtreſs of the b people in the ſtrongeſt terms [m]. The *Aſſyrians* committed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and daſhing their children againſt the ground [n]; and, having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbiſh [o], and laid waſte all the land, returned home laden with the ſpoil of *Iſrael*. As for the land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been ſought in vain by the learned of all ages: what the moſt probable conjecture is concerning it, will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. This was the ſad and fatal end of the *Iſraelitiſh* kingdom [p], after it had ſtood divided from that of *Judah* 254 years [q]. It happened in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*, and in the 9th of *Hoſhea*. A great number, however, of the *Iſraelites* did eſcape with their lives, ſome into *Egypt*, and a much greater number c into the kingdom of *Judah*; where they weaned themſelves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became ſubjects to *Hezekiah* and his ſucceſſors. On the other hand, the *Aſſyrians*, *Joſephus* ſays *Shalmaneſer* [r], but it was more probably his ſucceſſor, ſent colonies from ſeveral of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthah*, to repeople the land of *Iſrael*, from whence theſe new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans* [s] (Q).

Hezekiah, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and *Sennacherib*, the new king of *Aſſyria*, contenting himſelf with the tribute which both he and his predeceſſor paid to him, had ſuffered him to enjoy the fruits of his piety and conqueſts; but as ſoon as he found him to fail in it, he came againſt d him with ſuch a powerful army, and took from him ſuch a number of fortified cities, in ſo ſhort a time, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. *Hezekiah*, who ſaw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion; he ſent an embaſſy to *Sennacherib*, acknowledging his fault, and promiſing him to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould impoſe upon him; and accompanied it with the richeſt preſents, for which he was forced to ſtrip the temple and his own treaſury of all their ſilver and gold. This wrought ſo well upon the conqueror, at leaſt for the preſent, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of ſilver, and 30 talents of gold. But this reſpite, though ſo dearly bought, did not

[l] Iſai. xv. 1. [m] Hoſ. paſſ. [n] x. 8. 14. [o] Micah. i. 6. & alib. [p] 2 Kings xvii. paſſ. [q] Vid. Usser. Ann. in A. M. 3283. See alſo before, p. 733. c. [r] Ant. l. ix. c. 14. [s] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. Joseph. ub. ſup.

a Samaria *beſieged and taken.*

(P) The firſt book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that God ſtirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pilneſer*, kings of *Aſſyria*, againſt the impious *Iſraelites*, and that the latter did carry away the two tribes and half from beyond *Jordan*, and ſent them into the countries of *Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gozan* (78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe of *Naphthali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried away by *Enemeſſar*, who is the ſame with *Shalmaneſer*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and himſelf in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he left ten talents with his kinſman (79). What thoſe countries were, which we mentioned out of the *Chronicles*, and how they are underſtood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at leaſt a double invaſion of the land of *Iſrael* by the *Aſſyrians*, and a double captivity.

(Q) The text adds (80), that theſe new colonies were like to have been deſtroyed by lions, *Joſephus* ſays by peſtilence (81), upon their very firſt ſettlement, for their diſregard to God; ſo that they were forced to ſend into *Aſſyria*, to deſire the king to ſend them ſome *Iſraelitiſh* prieſts, to inſtruct them how to worſhip and appeaſe him. This being complyed with, they ſet themſelves immediately about it, but without forſaking the worſhip of their own gods, which they had brought from their reſpective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the *Iſraelites*; conſiſting in the worſhip of the true God, and of a number of falſe deities. Hence ſprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and theſe always diſclaiming any kindred with them in time of adverſity, though forward enough to claim it in time of proſperity (82).

(78) Ch. v. ult. (79) Ch. i. *paſſ.* *l.* 9. *c.* 14. (82) *Id. ibid.*
(80) 2 Kings xvii. 25, *& ſeq.* (81) *Ant.*

not laſt long; for the treacherous *Aſſyrian* king, who continued ſtill at *Lachiſh*, did a ſoon after ſend his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabſaris*, and *Rabſhakeh*, directly againſt *Jeruſalem*; ſo that *Hezekiah* ſaw himſelf in much greater danger than ever of loſing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST theſe were coming againſt him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, ſurrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good ſtore of arms and proviſions for the ſiege. He likewiſe cauſed all the fountains about the city to be ſtopped, and the courſe of the brook *Gihon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as poſſible, all ſupply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city; b and exhorted them, in a grave and pious ſpeech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be diſcouraged at the number and ſtrength of the faithleſs *Aſſyrians* †. It is not, indeed, eaſy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illneſs, or after it, more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him; for about this time he was ſeized with a dangerous diſeaſe (R), and forewarned by the prophet *Iſaias* to ſet his affairs in order, ſince he would certainly die of it. The good king, who, about a year or two before, had received a ſevere reproof from that prophet, and probably alſo about the ſame time from *Micah* the *Moraſhite*, for truſting too much upon *Egypt*, c and ſeeking for help from thence [t], received the dreadful ſummons with inexpreſſible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to ſhorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age [u]. *Joſephus* attributes this exceſſive ſorrow to another cauſe, namely, his dying then without an heir to ſucceed him [w]; which is not at all improbable, becauſe his ſon was but twelve years old when he aſcended the throne [x]. As ſoon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hezekiah* turned himſelf towards the wall, and addreſſed himſelf to God in the moſt humble and pathetick terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved ſuch powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was ſcarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, d and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove ſo ſpeedy, that he ſhould be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, *Iſaiah* was bid to aſſure him, that his life ſhould be prolonged fifteen years, and himſelf and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger (S) [y].

THESE glorious promiſes did not, however, gain credit wi h the deſponding king; he could not eaſily reconcile two ſuch different meſſages from the ſame prophet, and therefore thought, that he had a right to inſiſt upon ſome more ſignal proof to aſſure him of the laſt. The prophet ſoon obtained, by his prayers, ſuch an authentick proof, as ſhould at once convince, both him and his whole e kingdom, that it was backed with the divine ſanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the ſun's ſhadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which, a cataplaſm

† 2 Kings xviii. 13, & ſeq. [t] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21. 2 Chr. xxxii. 24, & ſeq. Iſai. xxx, & ſeq. & Jerem. xxvi. 18. [u] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the laſt note. [w] Ant. l. x. c. 1. [x] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. [y] 2 Kings xx, 1, & ſeq. Iſai. xxxviii. p. tot.

(R) This diſeaſe, if we may gueſs at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the ſpeedineſs of the cure, ſeems to have been a kind of quincy, or impoſthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

(S) This ſickneſs of the king is, indeed, poſtponed in the ſacred hiſtory, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Aſſyrian* hoſt (83); but it is plain, that it muſt have happened before it; 2. becauſe the prophet aſſures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. becauſe he promiſes him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now *Hezekiah* reigned but twenty-nine years in all (85), from which the fifteen being ſubtracted, it is plain, that he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Aſſyria* began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T) The text runs literally thus in the original; *and the lord brought back the ſhadow of the ſteps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial*, or degrees of *Ahaz*, *ten degrees or ſteps* (87), which we purpoſely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel miracle †, to ſhew, that the ſacred hiſtorian had expreſſed him in ſuch terms, as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the ſolar ſyſtem now commonly received.

It

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & *ſeq.* Iſai. xxxviii. 1, & *ſeq.* (84) 2 Kings *ibid.* ver. 6. (85) *Ibid.* ch. xviii. 2. (86) *Ibid.* ver. 13. *vid.* USSER. *ſub A. M.* 3291. *p.* 70. (87) 2 Kings xx. 11. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 558. *not.* G.

a a cataplaſm of dried figs was effectually applied by the prophet's direction; and the king thus happily recovered by the time appointed, compoſed that noble pſalm, wherein he expreſſes the exquiſiteneſs of his anguiſh and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer, and promiſes to be everlaſtingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promiſe, the deliverance from the *Aſſyrian* power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals preſented themſelves at the

It is true, that *Iſaiah*, who relates the ſtory in almoſt the ſame words, and mentions only the ſhadow, when he puts it to the king's option, whether it ſhould go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the ſun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the pſalmiſt ſays; *the ſun ſhall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89); and in *Jonah*, that *the ſun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expreſſion in all languages, the ſun comes in at ſuch a window, or ſuch a part of the houſe, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus, *and* the beams *of the ſun* (being miraculouſly inflected) *cauſed the ſhadow to go back over ten of the degrees*, or ſteps, *which it had paſt, upon* Ahaz's *dial*, or flight of ſteps. This was miracle ſufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying, it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to ſuppoſe, as they do, that the whole fabrick of the univerſe went back, or even that the earth alone did ſo, was not only needleſs, becauſe the buſineſs was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Joſhua*, but only to put the ſhadow back ſo many degrees: but it ſeems to carry a further abſurdity; for either this extraordinary motion muſt have been cauſed all at once, which, conſidering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the univerſe round it, is ſcarcely conceivable; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in caſe *Hezekiah* had choſen to have the ſhadow go forward inſtead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole hiſtory, it ſeems, as if the thing was done in an inſtant, and not gradually. What need then is there to ſuppoſe, that God did interpoſe his miraculous power, to cauſe ſuch a retrogreſſion, even in the bare earth, when the end might be anſwered by the ſole inflection of the ſun's rays? To ſay that either of them was equally eaſy to an omnipotent power, is too unphiloſophical to deſerve an anſwer, becauſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that God acts with leſs œconomy in his ſupernatural, than he doth in his natural, works.

This hypotheſis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the moſt received, becauſe attended with feweſt difficulties, will ſave us a great many needleſs enquiries, ſuch are thoſe that follow; What portion of time is implied by thoſe ten degrees: How much the day was lengthened by it: Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the courſe of nature was again haſtened by the ſame miraculous power to its priſtine harmony, either by ſubtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way: Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judea*: And many more of the like nature.

The *Jews*, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already ſhortened one day by ten hours, when wicked *Ahaz* died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only reſtore the univerſe in *ſtatu quo* upon this occaſion. But ſuch an expeditious way of anſwering all thoſe enquiries will ſcarcely be allowed of by any but *Jews*. However, archbiſhop *Uſher*, who believed, that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet obſerve, that the divine providence ſo ordered it, that the conſtant and ever ſelf-like motion and harmony of heavenly bodies, did receive no hindrance from it; he proves it by three previous eclipſes of the moon, out of *Ptolomy*, whoſe calculation, being traced back from this time, coincide as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no ſuch retrogreſſion had happened in nature (91); But is not this multiplying the miracle without any neceſſity?

But what confirms ſtill farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle conſiſted in the bare reverſion of the ſun's beams, is, that if either the ſun or the earth be ſuppoſed to have gone back ſo many degrees, it muſt have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary ſeems plain to us, from the embaſſy which *Merodach-Baladan* ſent to *Hezekiah*, to inform himſelf about this miraculous phœnomenon (92); for if it had been ſeen at *Babylon*, there would have been no neceſſity for ſending into *Judea* to know the truth of it; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that he ſent thither to be informed about the cauſe of it. The *Babylonians* were much better aſtronomers than the *Jews*, or rather, theſe laſt were known to be perfectly ignorant of that ſcience, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. It ſeems then much more probable, that this retrogreſſion was only felt about *Judea*; and if ſo, it cannot be better accounted for, than by ſuppoſing an inflection of the ſun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judea*, we ſhould certainly find ſome footſteps of it in profane hiſtory, it being hardly to be ſuppoſed, that ſo remarkable a change could go unobſerved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield ſo many good aſtronomers and hiſtorians; or that the memory of it ſhould be ſince entirely loſt, when we can find ſo many footſteps of the ſun's ſtanding ſtill in *Joſhua*'s time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For theſe reaſons, we ſhall wave all farther enquiries which reſult from the other ſide of the queſtion, and only add ſome few remarks concerning the moſt probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be conſidered, 1. That the original, מעלות *Meghaloth*, doth ſignify no more than *ſteps* or *ſtairs*; 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* paraphraſts render it, the former αναβαθμους, and the latter by אבן שעוא *a ſtone of time*, accordingly; 3. That the *Jews* did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94); 4. that the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flouriſh till almoſt 200 years after *Hezekiah*; and laſtly, That there is not a word of a ſun-dial in all the writings of *Homer*: All theſe will at leaſt amount to a ſtrong preſumption, that it muſt have been a kind of ſteep aſcent, leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper diſtances with

(88) *Chron.* xxxvi. 8. (89) *Pſal.* cxxi. 6. (90) *Jonah* iv. 8. (91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. *p.* 71. (92) *Vid.* 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 31. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 729. c. d. (93) *Joſh.* x. 12. *See alſo before, p.* 558, *& ſeq.* (94) *Vid. ſup. p.* 729. c.

the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with *Hezekiah*'s miniſters; and as ſoon a
as theſe appeared upon the battlements, attended with vaſt crouds of people, who
came to hear the purport of their meſſage, *Rabſhakeh* addreſſed himſelf to them
in a haughty and threatning ſpeech, filled with the bittereſt invectives and oppro-
brious language, not only againſt the king, but even againſt the God of *Iſrael*. It
was ſpoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the liſtening
people; and when they were deſired to ſpeak in *Syriac* to them, inſtead of com-
plying with their requeſt, they only renewed their threatnings of reducing the
kingdom to the worſt extremities, unleſs they prevented it by a timely yielding
of themſelves captives to the great *Sennacherib* [z].

THIS vapouring ſpeech was, by the king's order, anſwered only by a deep b
ſilence; but the *Aſſyrian* generals being ſoon after informed, that their maſter was
forced to go back to defend his own territories againſt *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia*,
who was then invading him; they left *Jeruſalem* and marched directly after him.
But before *Sennacherib* departed from *Lachiſh*, he ſent a threatning letter to *Hezekiah*,
to aſſure him, that, if he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal of yielding himſelf his captive,
he would ſhortly come again with double fury againſt him, and make him ſeverely
feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he ſhould find
as weak and impotent againſt his irreſiſtible power, as thoſe of many other nations
had hitherto proved. As ſoon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the
temple, accompanied with his chief miniſters, and ſpread it before the Lord, and, c
in the humbleſt terms, beſought him, that he would make good his late promiſes,
and vindicate his honour againſt his inſolent and blaſphemous enemy, who had dared
to level the God of Heaven to the ſenſeleſs idols of the more ſenſeleſs heathen. He
had ſcarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious anſwer by the prophet
Iſaiah, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces
againſt *Jeruſalem*, yet God would ſo protect it againſt them, that they ſhould not
ſhoot an arrow againſt, nor open a trench before, it; that this proud inſulting
enemy ſhould be forced to flee with ſhame and loſs, and fall at length by the ſword d
in his own land. This prophecy was likewiſe ſoon after verified. *Sennacherib*
returned againſt *Judah*, fluſh'd with his late victory over the *Ethiopians* [a], and
breathing death and deſtruction againſt the whole kingdom; but before he could
have time to commit any hoſtilities againſt it, the beſt part of his army was ſmitten
by an angel in one night, *Joſephus* ſays with peſtilence [b], inſomuch that 185,000
of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful Judgment did ſo
alarm the proud *Aſſyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmoſt confuſion and ſpeed
into his own capital, where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by two of his ſons, and
ſucceeded by a third [c]. Thus was *Iſaiah*'s prophecy exactly fulfilled againſt that
blaſphemous tyrant [d], and the kingdom delivered from the moſt imminent danger.
As for *Hezekiah*, though one would expect, that ſo many extraordinary bleſſings
would

Sennacherib's *proud letter.*

His miraculous overthrow.

[z] 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & ſeq, Iſaiah xxxvi. 2, & ſeq. xxxvii. 1. ad 10.
[a] See *Uſher*'s ſub A. M. 3292. ex Iſaiah c. xviii. & xx. [b] Ant. l. x. c. 2. [c] 2 Kings xix. 1, & ſeq. to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 1. ad 22. Iſaiah xxvi, xxvii. p. tot. [d] Ibid.

with figures, ſhewing the diviſion of the day; rather than a regular piece of dial-work.

We have indeed a much finer deſcription of it in *Grotius*, out of one Rabbi *Eliah Chomer*, who pre-tends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemiſphere, on which were drawn, at proper diſtances, the ſeveral lines which divided the day into 28 parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been obſerved above, that ſuch a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of thoſe early times? for our part, we cannot think, that even this flight of ſteps was originally deſigned by the architect to ſerve both for that and for a ſun-dial: on the contrary, it ſeems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter uſe was owing to obſervation. Some ornaments, ſuch as pyramids, obeliſks, flower-pots, and the like, might have been placed upon the rails or battlements of the aſcent, whoſe ſhadow, being in time obſerved to go over thoſe ſteps, at proper periods of the day, might naturally induce ſome curious obſerver to mark down the ſeveral portions of the day; firſt into four parts, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom of dividing it, and then into as many ſub-diviſions as was thought proper; ſo that all that we think is meant in the text before us is, that the ſhadow of the obeliſk, or whatever other ornament did ſerve inſtead of a gnomon, went back again over ten of thoſe ſteps, which it had already paſt. But what portion of time the ſhadow did uſually take in going over thoſe ſteps, is impoſſible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the reſult of what we find written upon this ſubject; yet, for the ſatis-faction of ſuch of our readers, as deſire to be further informed about it, we ſhall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(95) *Vid*, GROT. *in loc.* & HIERON. *in loc.* & *in Iſaiah* xxxviii. 8. SCALIG.

(96) CYRIL. ALEX. GROT. VATABL. MUNST. SALMAS. GASPAR. SANCTIUS. LE CLERC. CALMET. & *al.*

a would have inſpired him with ſentiments of the deepeſt gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; ſo that, inſtead of acknowledging the amazing goodneſs of his great deliverer, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himſelf and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death [e]. *Hezekiah* was a pious prince, but vanity ſeems to have been his predominant paſſion, and to have been ſwelled to an unreaſonable height by ſuch a wonderful ſeries of ſucceſſes; and God made uſe of the following juncture, at once to make him ſenſible, and to cure him of it.

THE king had, about this time, received a ſpecial embaſſy from *Berodach*, or, as *Iſaiah* calls him, *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon
b his late ſucceſs and recovery, and to inform himſelf about the prodigy of the ſun's retrogreſſion [f]; and, as his ſucceſs and the ſpoils of his enemy had made him exceedingly rich, he took a particular pleaſure in entertaining the embaſſadors with a ſight of all the wealth, grandeur, and ſtrength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Iſaiah* to the king, who had no ſooner acquainted him with his own weakneſs and oſtentation, than he received this dreadful meſſage from God; that thoſe very *Babylonians*, whoſe eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a ſhort time, not only ſtrip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive ſome of his off-ſpring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to ſuch a ſenſe of his overſight,
c that he acknowledged the mildneſs of the ſentence, ſince he was ſuffered to end his days in peace [g]. Among others of his publick acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to ſupply *Jeruſalem* with water; and to have been an encourager of huſbandry, himſelf having numberleſs flocks and herds in his own paſture-grounds, beſides vines and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and *was buried in the chiefeſt of the ſepulchres of the ſons of* David. His funeral obſequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but alſo throughout the whole kingdom [h] (W).

Year of the Flood, 2306. Before CHRIST, 693.

Manaſſeh was but 12 years of age when he ſucceeded *Hezekiah*; and, whether he
d was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counſellors, we may date the ruin both of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his aſcending of the throne. He ſeems not only to have ſtrove to outdo all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, idolatry, tyranny, and ſacrilege, but even to have ſhewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct oppoſition to him. *Hezekiah*'s firſt care had been to root out all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to reſtore the worſhip of God and the ſervice of the temple, to its priſtine order and ſplendour. His graceleſs ſon, on the contrary, made it his ſtudy to baniſh religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; beſides witch-craft,
e ſorceries, and every wicked cuſtom, that was uſed among the *Heathen* far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worſhip; the ſun, moon, planets, and a vaſt multitude of other heatheniſh gods, had alſo their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*. *Moloch* and the valley of *Hinnom* became more frequented than ever, the impious king encouraging his ſubjects to ſacrifice their children there, as *Ahaz* had done before. But the moſt execrable piece of wickedneſs and ſacrilege was his introducing of the vileſt of idolatries into the very temple of God, and cauſing a *graven image of the grove*, a filthy idol, worſhipped with

Manaſſeh's *wicked reign.*

idolatries.

ſacrilege.

[e] 2 Chron. xxxii. 25. 26. [f] Ibid. ver. 32. [g] 2 Kings xx. 12, ſeq. Iſaiah xxxix. p. tot.
[h] Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. & ſeq.

(V) The jubilee year ſeems likewiſe to have been about this time (97), at which ſolemnity there flocked a vaſt concourſe of people to *Jeruſalem*; which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis, becauſe upon ſuch occaſions the wealthy men of the kingdom were uſed to pour their rich preſents into the temple, eſpecially after ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text ſays, that they did ſo accordingly (98).

(W) Beſides the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Micah*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak, *Nahum* did likewiſe prophecy in the days of *Hezekiah*. It is he, who foretold the dreadful deſtruction of *Niniveh*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Joſiah*, and deſcribes it in the moſt lively colours, comparing it to that of *No*, a populous city in *Lower Egypt*, lately taken by the *Aſſyrians*, who committed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt her inhabitants (99).

(97) *Vid.* USSER. *in A. M.* 3295. (98) 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 23. *& ſeq.* (99) *Nah. paſſ. &c.* 3. 8. *& ſeq.*

with the filthieſt ceremonies, to be ſet up in the moſt ſacred (X) place; as if he had a
deſigned to drive the God of *Iſrael* out of his habitation, and to diſclaim at once
all thoſe great bleſſings, which he had made to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all
that did worſhip him there [i].

FOR theſe abominations he was often and ſeverely reproved by ſeveral prophets,
who foretold him, that he was provoking God to bring ſuch dreadful deſolations
upon him and his kingdom; that *Jeruſalem* would become like a diſh, that is
wiped clean and turned upſide down. But theſe threatnings were ſo far from
reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him ſeek only for the moſt
violent means to ſilence not only thoſe prophets, but all that dared to expreſs a
His murders and tyranny. diſlike to his impieties. *Jeruſalem* became ſoon after the ſcene of the moſt horrid b
cruelties, which *Manaſſeh*, now become a tyrant of the firſt magnitude, cauſed to
be exerciſed on prophets and prieſts, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had
filled that metropolis with blood and with butchered bodies, from the one end to
the other [k]. At length, providence was pleaſed to put a ſignal ſtop to his bloody
career, by delivering him into the hands of ſome of the chief commanders of the
Aſſyrian army, who came upon him ſo ſuddenly, that, ſeeing no way to eſcape, he
went and hid himſelf in a thicket. He was, however, ſoon brought out of it, and
loaden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there caſt into a dungeon by
Eſſar-haddon or *Aſſaradin*, king of *Aſſyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy*'s canon, had
made himſelf maſter of *Babylon* about ſix years before, and was by this time become c
ſole monarch over both empires [l].

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invaſion,
His miſerable captivity. or, which ſeems more likely, by ſome ſudden incurſion, nor in what year of
Manaſſeh's reign it happened; the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in
which they are followed by the generality of our annaliſts. However that be, the
diſtreſſed king ſoon opened his eyes to all his miſcarriages and impieties, which
his proſperity would not ſuffer him to ſee; and, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, did
ſend ſo many deep ſighs to heaven, ſo humble an acknowledgment of his fault,
and ſuch earneſt prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, d
Reſtored to his liberty. and a happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y). How long his impriſonment
laſted (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not ſay; thus
His repentance and reformation. much is plain from it, that from the greateſt ſinner, he returned the greateſt peni-
tent (A), and from the bloodieſt tyrant, became one of the beſt monarchs. So
that

[i] 2 Sam. vii: 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3, &. al. paſſ. [k] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 ad 10. [l] See USHER ſub A. M. 3323.

(X) Some think, that he did even cauſe the ark to be taken out of the moſt holy place, to make room for his molten idol; becauſe it is ſaid in the *Chronicles*, that *Joſiah* did order the *Levites* to depoſite it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it ſhall be no longer a burden upon your ſhoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the prieſts had timely conveyed it out of the ſanctuary before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their cuſtody till *Joſiah*'s reign.

(Y) Theſe remarkable circumſtances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which ſays only that he reigned fifty-five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All theſe particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Achbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves (2), from the following chapters out of the ſame author, that the kingdom of *Iſrael*, had not been ſo far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a conſiderable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the ſame time, and perhaps by the ſame forces, which took *Manaſſeh* priſoner. This laſt and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by *Iſaiah* about ſixty-five years before againſt *Iſrael*, under the name of *Ephraim* (3). We read, indeed, of ſeveral *Iſraelitiſh* tribes being invited to the paſſover at *Jeruſalem* in a ſucceding reign, but we take them to be thoſe who came and ſheltered themſelves in the kingdom of *Judah*, during the ſiege of *Samaria*, to eſcape being carried into bondage by the *Aſſyrian* king; as we hinted under the laſt reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it laſted as long as *Eſſar-haddon* lived, that is, as our *Chronologers* compute it, about ſix years (4). *Joſephus* only ſays, that the king of *Babylon* gave him his liberty after ſome time, but doth not ſay how long (5); but the general opinion is, that he was ſet free in the very ſame year that he was taken priſoner. This is alſo the opinion of the *Talmudiſts*, who place both his repentance and impriſonment in the 34th year of his age; and this ſeems the more probable of the two, becauſe the author of the book of *Kings* makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty-five years reign, as if no ſuch thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old teſtament, intituled, *The prayers of* Manaſſeh *king of* Judah, *when he was holden captive in* Babylon, which, if it was penned by him, expreſſes the

(100) 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 2. (1) *Ibid* xxxvi. 11, *&c.* (2) *Sub A. M.* 3327. (3) *Iſai.* vii. 8. (4) *Vid.* USSER. *ub. ſup.* CALMET. *Hiſt.* V. T. *ſub. A. M.* 3310. (5) *Ant. l.* x. c. 4.

a that after his return, he beſtowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages, which his impiety had cauſed, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his firſt cares was to clear the ſanctuary and the court of the temple, of thoſe idols which he had cauſed to be ſet up there, and which the prieſts had not had the courage, or power to remove during his abſence; and to reſtore the ſervice of it to its antient order and ſplendor. He then ſent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his ſubjects to follow his example, and to demoliſh all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with alſo by the people every where; only the high places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal
b to go through with theſe, by reaſon of the people's obſtinate fondneſs for them. He took the ſame care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the ſenſe of his former miſcarriages not ſuffering him to think himſelf worthy to be depoſited among his anceſtors; and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ammon* [m]. *His death.* Year of the Flood, 2356. Year before CHRIST, 643.

Ammon was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, ſo that he could have obſerved nothing in his father's example, but the greateſt tokens of piety and goodneſs; and yet ſo infatuated was he, that he gave himſelf up to all the vile
c idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give ſome early proofs, that he deſigned to outdo him in his moſt abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by ſome of his chief officers, who aſſaſſinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the ſame garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpuniſhed: the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, who had had no ſhare in this rebellion, roſe up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conſpirators, they placed his ſon *Joſiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age [n]. Ammon's *idolatry, and death.*

d It is amazing to think, how the whole kingdom could be ſo ſoon over-run with all kind of wickedneſs and idolatry in the ſhort time of *Ammon*'s reign, after it had been ſo thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to ſuch a degree of impiety, when *Joſiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was cotemporary with him, gives us a moſt dreadful catalogue of the licentiouſneſs and irreligion, that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magiſtrates, reigned injuſtice, oppreſſion, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the prieſts, pride, avarice, corruption, and a ſhameful traffick of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men ſwearing with the ſame breath by the LORD and by *Malcom*; altars reared every where to *Baal*, to the whole hoſt of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen [o];
e the very ſanctuary itſelf was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furniſhed with male proſtitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries [p].

In this ſad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it; ſo that it required nothing leſs than a miracle to reform it. But a *Joſiah* had been miraculouſly promiſed above 300 years before, by a prophet ſent on purpoſe to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel* †, one who was to work the greateſt reformation, that ever Joſiah's *good reign.*

[m] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. ad 20. [n] Ibid. xxxiv. ver. 21, to the end. 2 Kings xxi. 19, & ſeq.
[o] Zephan. paſſ. iii. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, & ſeq. † See before, p. 805. d.

the greatneſs of his guilt, repentance, and miſery, in the ſtrongeſt terms; particularly with reſpect to the laſt, it has this expreſſion, That he was ſo loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentick proof of theſe, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; though we ſhould be loth to deny, that this prayer was compoſed by him, during his impriſonment, becauſe we find an expreſſion in the book of *Chronicles* (6), which ſhews, at leaſt, that there was ſome ſuch prayer of his compoſing kept upon record; and it is ſcarce poſſible to pen one more expreſſive of his miſery and repentance, than this we are ſpeaking of.

It was alſo about this time, or ſoon after it, that the ſiege of *Bethulia* happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherouſly murthered by *Judith*; but as the ſtory is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the hiſtory of the kings of *Judah*, we ſhall ſay no more of it here.

(6) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.

ever was done in the land, ſince it was to reach through the two kingdoms, and a
this *Joſiah* was the perſon deſigned by God for that glorious work. However, his
tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except
perhaps adviſing with ſuch pious counſellors, as could beſt inſtruct him, both about
what was to be done, and the propereſt means of accompliſhing it. He married
in the 15th year of his age, and in the 16th he had a ſon and a ſucceſſor born unto
him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B); after which he ſet himſelf about his premedi-
tated deſign, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, conſidering his years
and the arduouſneſs of the taſk, could be owing to nothing leſs than a ſupernatural
impulſe. His extraordinary ſucceſs and expedition, and the univerſal deſtruction
A total reformation in his kingdom. he made, both in *Judah* and *Iſrael*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and b
other idolatrous monuments, but alſo of the high places, which ſeveral of his prede-
ceſſors had in vain attempted to aboliſh, do ſhew indeed, that he was aſſiſted by
the ſame divine power, that had inſpired him with the deſign. This laſt kind of
worſhip was not indeed an idolatrous one, becauſe it was directed to the God of
Iſrael, to whom the prieſts, the ſons of *Aaron*, offered ſacrifices upon thoſe altars,
which had formerly been reared by *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; but it was after-
wards expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes*, and the tabernacle and temple ordered
to be the only places for ſuch ſacrifices, unleſs it was otherwiſe commanded by
inſpired perſons, and upon ſome particular occaſions, as we have elſewhere hinted *.
The more effectually therefore to cure this obſtinate evil, *Joſiah* cauſed all thoſe c
places to be polluted with dead men's bones, and ordered all thoſe prieſts, who had
vacated at that unlawful worſhip, to be for ever excluded, both from all ſacer-
dotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewiſe
ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combuſtible materials, which had
ſerved to any idolatrous purpoſes, together with the chariots and horſes, which
had been dedicated to the ſun (C), the veſſels where the perpetual fire was kept
to his honour, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the
temple, to be burnt, and the aſhes of them to be thrown over the graves of their
votaries, and thoſe that could not be burnt he cauſed to be flung into the river d
Kidron.

FROM *Jeruſalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, called alſo the mount of
corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars, which had been ſet up there
by *Solomon*, and repaired from time to time by ſeveral of his impious ſucceſſors, and
demoliſhed and defiled them all. He did the ſame at the valley of *Hinnon*, a
place infamous for the horrid crueities, that were practiſed by the worſhippers of
Moloch; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jeroboam*, the firſt
king of *Iſrael*, ſet up one of his golden calves; which he deſtroyed, together
with the groves, idols, and altars, cauſing the bodies of the idolatrous prieſts to
be

* See before, p. 662. not. H.

(B) Probably in full confidence, that God would proſper his deſign, אליקים *Eliakim* ſignifying, *God ſhall eſtabliſh, make to proſper*, &c. the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is eaſily inferred from being 25 years old when he began to reign (7), for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was ſucceeded at firſt by *Jehoahaz*, who was younger by two years than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharoah-necho* ſet upon the throne ſome three months after (9).

(C) Theſe chariots and horſes, the text ſays (10), ſtood at the entrance into the houſe of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved, or molten, is not eaſy to determine. The antient *Perſians*, we are told, did indeed uſe to conſecrate white horſes and chariots to the ſun, with which they adorned their proceſſions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can ſee no reaſon, therefore, why ſo many learned commentators ſhould ſcruple to ſuppoſe, that the *Jews* had adopted this, among other far worſe heatheniſh idolatries, and rather chuſe to fancy, that theſe chariots and horſes were only carved, or caſt, and ſet up in a chappel dedicated to the ſun, or barely carved in baſs-relief, or even painted againſt the walls of it; eſpecially, conſidering how ſoon the prophet *Amos*, and from him St. *Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is, of the ſun, as we have ſhewed more than once, and the ſtar of their god *Remphan*.

What convinces us farther, that theſe were real chariots drawn by horſes, and bearing ſome image of the ſun, is, that the text expreſly ſays here, that *Joſiah* did not burn chariots and horſes, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horſes, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee what we have obſerved concerning this kind of idolatrous proceſſions, in another place, out of ſome verſes of the 16th pſalm †.

(7) *Vid.* 2 Kings xxiii. 36. (8) *Ibid.* xxii. 1. (9) *Ibid.* xxiii. 31, & *ſeq.* (10) *Ibid.* ver. 11. (11) *Vid.* HERODOT. *lib.* 7. XENOPH. Q. CURT. *al.* & OVID. *faſt. lib.* 1. JUSTIN. 1. § 10. *vid.* & BOCHART. HIEROZ. *pt. I. l.* 2. *c.* 10. & *al.* (12) *Vid.* HIDE *Rel. vet. Perſ.* KOPPING. *Antiq. Rom.* (13) *Amos* v. 25. Acts vii. 43. (14) 2 Kings xxiii. 11. † *Vid. ſup.* 531. *not.* O.

a be digged up and burnt upon them. It was upon this occaſion, that having obſerved a kind of monumental inſcription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet, who came from *Judah* to denounce to *Jeroboam* that total deſtruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard ſhould be paid to his aſhes; by this means thoſe of the lying prophet, who had been the cauſe of his diſobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried cloſe by him, eſcaped being diſturbed, and perhaps being burned with the reſt. After this, *Joſiah* took a circuit through all the cities of *Iſrael*, many of which lay almoſt deſolate, and deſtroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the *Iſraelites*, or the *Aſſyrian* colonies, and
b ſet up, and put all their idolatrous prieſts to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, had ſet himſelf about reſtoring the worſhip of God and the uſual ſervice of the temple (D).

By this time *Joſiah* had attained to the 26th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that ſacred place, which made it neceſſary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings uſed to be depoſited, to be opened, and the money to be diſtributed among ſuch faithful overſeers, as would ſet about the work out of hand; and to encourage them to be doubly dili-
c gent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilſt this was doing, the high-prieſt, who probably preſided over the work, ſent word to the king, that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had ſent to him by the ſecretary of the temple.

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet *Jeremiah*, who began to propheſy in the 13th year of his reign (15). *Jeremiah* was a prophet altogether miraculous, being choſen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exerciſe of it whilſt he was but a child; he was the ſon of *Hilchiah*, not the then high-prieſt of that name, as ſome have imagined, but of the race of *Ithamar*, and lived at *Anathoth* (16), a place within two or three miles from *Jeruſalem*, it being the ſeat of one of their anceſtors (17); ſo that it is hardly poſſible, that he ſhould be unknown to ſo pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it muſt be remembred, that he delivered his prophecies at firſt only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*; but we find him very early, at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments againſt *Judah*, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18). As he continued to propheſy till the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and was often conſulted by ſeveral kings and nobles, we ſhall have occaſion, more than once, to ſpeak of him in the ſequel.

Zephaniah did likewiſe propheſy in the ſame reign, and much to the ſame purpoſe with what we mentioned of *Jeremiah*; the main ſcope of their prophecies being chiefly levelled againſt the various abominations committed in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* (19); and both were probably deſigned to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent them murmuring againſt or obſtructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by *Moſes*, and by him ordered to be depoſited, with the ark, in the moſt holy place (20), but which ſome pious high-prieſt had cauſed to be thus hid, in the reign of *Ahaz* or *Manaſſeh*, to prevent its being deſtroyed with all the other copies of it; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the hiſtory, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much diſputed, whether it was the whole *Pentateuch*, emphatically called תורה, *Hathorah*, the law; or only *Deuteronomy*, or even barely the 28th, 20th, 30th, and 31ſt chapters of it. *Joſephus*, by calling it the ſacred books of *Moſes* (20), ſeems to declare intirely for the firſt; others have declared for the ſecond (23), becauſe the book of *Deuteronomy* is a kind of repetition or epitome of the *Moſaic* law; laſtly, a late commentator, among ſome others, holds the laſt of theſe three opinions (24), and thinks, that nothing more is meant here, than that ſhort ſummary which is found in the 28th and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the bleſſings and curſes, which ſo alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed, that part, which, we obſerved elſewhere, *Moſes* enjoined their future kings to write, and preſerve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded *Joſhua* to ſet up upon mount *Gerizim* (26); perhaps it might alſo be all that he ordained to be read by the prieſts, in the audience of all the people, every ſeventh year, at the feaſt of Tabernacles (27); though it is called the law in all thoſe places.

But if either this ſhort epitome, or even the whole *Deuteronomy*, was all that the high-prieſt found hid in the temple, when was the reſt of the *Pentateuch* recovered? If it be ſaid, that there might be ſome copies of this laſt ſtill extant, then this ſummary muſt have been in it; and it will be ſurpriſing, that ſome one or more ſhould not have been brought to ſo good a king, after he had given ſuch ſignal proofs of his piety and zeal; and if any ſuch had been preſented

(15) Jerem. i. 1. (16) *Ibid.* & ver. 5, 6. (17) *Vid.* 2 Kings ii. 26. (18) Jerem. c. vii. & *ſeq.* (19) Zeph. i. 1, & *ſeq.* ii, iii. paſſ. (20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & *ſeq.* (21) *It. Jud. ſer. mm. vid. lib.* NITZACHON. (22) *Ant. l.* x. c. 5. (23) PROCOP. GAZEN. & *al. ap.* PATRIC. *in loc.* (24) CALMET. *Comm. in loc.* & *Hiſt.* V. T. *l.* 5. *c.* 8. (25) *See before, p.* 540. *in fin. not.* F. (26) *Ibid.* & *alib.* (27) *Ibid. p.* 541. e.

temple. *Josiah* delayed not to read it; and when he found what dreadful judg- a
ments were denounced in it, against those very abominations, with which he had found the whole land over-run at his first coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expressed the most likely tokens of grief, not doubting, but both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those threatnings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jerusalem*, a famed prophetess named *Huldah*; to her therefore *Josiah* dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to inquire, what would be the fate both of the king and people, seeing they had incurred the curses contained in that sacred volume; and these brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that as for himself, b
the concern and remorse, which he had lately expressed for it, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

IT was in the same year, and probably upon the reading of that sacred book, that *Josiah* became sensible, that they had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand festivals enjoined by *Moses*. To retrieve this fault, he assembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them, how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Mosaic* law, and read it himself before them; he then acquainted them with his design of expiating, as much as possible, their former neglect, c
by a more careful observance of it; and, as the solemn feast of the passover was near at hand, which he was resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were purifying themselves, *Josiah* commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed out of it in some former reigns, and to deposite them in their former place and order: All these were readily complied with both by priests and people; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paschal lamb. This is again noted to have been observed with d
greater zeal and magnificence, than had been done by any of his predecessors since *Samuel*'s time. After this, the king took a second progress through the kingdom, to purge it of all those abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the first circuit; he expelled all the wizards, enchanters, and such-like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; settled courts of judicature every where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and *Levites*, to see, that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of *Moses* [r].

The passover kept.

THUS did that good monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry; in hopes, if possible, to avert his impending judgment e
from

[r] 2 Kings xxii, & xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv, & xxxv. pass.

sented to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (28), that it was the whole *Pentateuch*; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly, as to come presently to those blessings and curses, which are contained in the very latter end of the last of them; it may be answered, that that might be the very reason; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a considerable length, which were rolled up round one or two sticks, it might so happen, that these last chapters proved on the out-side, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have curiosity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the *Jews*, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Something like which we find happened under the gospel (30).

What appears most surprising is, that all the copies of the scriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* seems to have caused to be written and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished, that neither *Josiah* nor the high-priest had ever seen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be said in the case is, that *Manasseh*, during the former part of his reign, had made such havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preserved them with the utmost caution and privacy. The *Jews* do even add, that he caused not only the scriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be destroyed.

(28) *Vid.* MUNST. GROT. JUN. USSER. LE CLERC. PATRIC. PRIDEAUX. & *al. mult* (29) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* PRID. *Connect. lib.* I. (30) Acts viii. 26, & *seq.* (31) *Vid.* PROV. XXV. 1.

a from falling upon them. But for all this, the text obſerves, that his anger was not abated in the leaſt againſt the people; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole hiſtory ſhews, ready for every market. They could ſo far comply with their pious monarchs, as to ſhew an outward zeal for God, and a diſlike for idolatry; but what proves their want of ſincerity, whenever they acted ſuch a part, is their readineſs to relapſe into the vileſt abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. Theſe forced reformations therefore could not but render them more odious in the ſight of God, ſo that, having denounced a total deſtruction againſt the land, by his prophet *Zepaniah* [s] and by the propheteſs *Huldah*, he haſtened to take the good prince to
b himſelf, according to his promiſe, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Joſiah had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when *Pharaoh-Necho* came up againſt the *Aſſyrians*, or rather *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemiſh*, which was ſituate upon the river *Euphrates*. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether *Joſiah* looked upon the deſign of this expedition to be levelled againſt his own territories (G); or, which is ſtill more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of tribute and obligation to thoſe of *Babylon*, ever ſince *Manaſſeh* had been reſtored to his kingdom; which would have made a breach of faith in *Joſiah*, to have ſuffered an enemy of theirs to paſs through his territories, in an
c hoſtile expedition againſt them; or, laſtly, whether he had entred into ſome alliance with them; he came with a powerful army againſt him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo*. Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him from concerning himſelf in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by aſſuring him by his embaſſadors, that he had no hoſtile deſign againſt him; *Joſiah* would not be perſuaded, but diſguiſed himſelf, and drove directly againſt him. The text ſeems even to intimate, as if his chief deſign had been to fight him in perſon; but before he could reach him, he received a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as ſoon as he had reached *Jeruſalem* [u], in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all
d his good ſubjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is ſuppoſed to have compoſed that moſt excellent elegy, known o us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death [w]; wherein he expreſſes the mournful ſtate of the kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than deſcribe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the compoſition is of the acroſtic kind, and as the ſubject of the whole is mourning, which is always moſt naturally and freely vented and expreſt, when confined to number, ſo here every verſe is a ſentence, which abounds ſtill with ſome new, ſtrong, and lively image of the deepeſt grief (H). There was indeed the greateſt cauſe to lament ſo good

Joſiah *mortally wounded at* Megiddo.

Year of the Flood, 2389. Year before Chriſt, 610.

[s] Zeph. i. 1, & ſeq. [t] See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. [u] Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 29, & ſeq. See alſo before, p. 267. c. d. [w] Vid. HIERON. præf. in thræn. USSER. & al.

(F) This place, *Iſaiah* tells us, had formerly belonged to *Sennacherib* (32), and was now under the *Babylonians*; for theſe had, ere now, reduced the *Aſſyrian* empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in ſome former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of *Manaſſeh* (33), *Joſiah* might not only reſent his paſſing thro' his territories without his leave, but alſo think, that his deſign was to invade them, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations to the contrary, and his pretended commiſſion from God to make war againſt the king of *Babylon* (34). It is likely indeed, that this laſt pretence from an *Egyptian* prince could not make any great impreſſion upon him, becauſe he had only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be ſuppoſed to come not from the true God, but from his *Egyptian* deities. But *Joſiah* was given up to die by this expedition, and was ſuffered to ruſh into it, without conſulting the Lord about the juſtice or ſucceſs of it.

(H) The Text ſays indeed, that *Jeremiah* compoſed a lamentation, which was ſung by a number of ſinging men and women, both at his funeral, and paſſed into uſe afterwards upon all mournful occaſions, and that they are written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Joſephus* adds (36), that they were ſtill extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the ſame with thoſe we have now under that name.

But as *Joſiah*'s death was ſudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible, that ſuch a long elegy as this, could be compoſed, and ſet to muſick, againſt his funeral; and it is more probable, that that which accompanied his obſequies was much ſhorter, ſuch perhaps as *David* made upon the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (37), and was ſince loſt; and that this we are ſpeaking of was compoſed in ſome ſubſequent reign, or perhaps, more probably, upon occaſion of the *Jewiſh* captivity, (38); we find likewiſe, that the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded by God to compoſe

(32) *Ch.* x. 9. (33) *Vid.* Joſh. xvii. 11. (34) 2 *Ch.* xxxv. 20. (35) *Ibid. ver.* 25. (36) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 6. (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, *& ſeq.* (38) *Vid. int. al.* Lament. i. 3.

good a prince's fall, ſince with him expired at once the religion, happineſs, and glory of the nation. a

Joſiah was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoahaz*, whom the people ſet upon the throne, in the 23d year of his age; not in right of ſucceſſion, for he was the youngeſt of *Joſiah*'s (I) ſons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he deſigned to reign as wickedly as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, but it was ſoon put out of his power: however, *Jeremiah* was at firſt ſent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, inſtead of making a ſhew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he ſhould be carried away captive and die in a ſtrange land [x]. *Pharaoh-Necho* came accordingly againſt *Jeruſalem*, in his return from the *Aſſyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having ſet his elder brother *Eliakim*, whoſe name he changed into that of *Jehoiakim* (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver and one talent of gold; he put the captive prince in bands at *Riblath*, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he ended his days [y] (L).

Jehoahaz's *ſhort reign*:

depoſed, and

carried captive into Egypt.

Jehoiakim was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's ſteps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; for this *Jeremiah* was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his ſevere judgments againſt them, unleſs they repented. The time choſen for this was the feaſt of tabernacles, when there was the greateſt concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom, and the place the court of the temple. He threatned them, among other things, with the deſtruction of the city and temple; and for this he was ſeized by the prieſts and people, and accuſed as a ſeditious perſon, worthy of nothing leſs than death. He was, however, acquitted and ſet at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court; who, being perſuaded, that he ſpoke by divine command, reminded his accuſers of ſome other prophets, who had formerly denounced the ſame heavy judgments unpuniſhed and unmoleſted [z]. *Jeremiah* was not the only one who was ſent upon this dangerous errand; *Uriah*, another prophet, was forced to fly towards *Egypt*, for having dared to utter much the ſame prophecies againſt *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*; but the king was ſo exaſperated at him, that he ſent ſome of his men to fetch him back; and, as ſoon as he was come to *Jeruſalem*, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcaſs to be thrown among thoſe of the viler ſort. *Jeremiah* had doubtleſs undergone the ſame fate, had he not

Jehoiakim's *wicked reign.*

Jeremiah *accuſed.*

Uriah *put to death.*

b

c

d

[x] See Jerem. xxii. 1, & ſeq. [y] 2 Kings xxiii. 31, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4. and Ezek. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4. [z] Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19.

compoſe ſuch another *Lamentation* upon this laſt occaſion *, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the firſt book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Joſiah* left four ſons, the youngeſt is there, and by *Jeremiah*, called *Shallum*, but is the ſame with *Jehoahaz* (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at leaſt two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he ſucceeded him, which he did three months after. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who thinks, that the people choſe him in haſte, leſt *Pharaoh-Necho* ſhould ſurpriſe them without a head, ſuppoſes, that they exchanged his name *Sallum*, which they thought unfortunate, becauſe the only king of *Iſrael* of that name had been murdered in the firſt month of his reign, for that of *Jehoahaz*, which they thought carried a more promiſing omen (51).

(K) The ſame learned prelate ſuppoſes this change of names to have been deſigned by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgment, that he owed his victory over the *Aſſyrians* to the God of *Iſrael*, by whoſe command he had undertaken that war againſt them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יהוה-יקים, *Jehovah-Jakim*, that is the God of *Iſrael* hath or ſhall make it to proſper, &c. But, as it was the cuſtom of conquerors to give new names to thoſe whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of ſubjection, this laſt ſeems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not eaſy to gueſs what induced the *Egyptian* monarch to ſhew ſuch preference to *Eliakim*, and to uſe *Jehoahaz* with ſuch ſeverity. It can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he laid ſo much ſtreſs upon the right of primogeniture, as to puniſh this laſt for having uſurped his brother's crown; perhaps the *Jews* have found out, for once, the reaſon of it from the words of *Ezekiel*; the prophet repreſents that young prince as a courageous undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey, and concludes this expreſſion; *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their ſnare, and brought into* Egypt, *loaden with chains* (43).

From this paſſage they conclude, that as ſoon as he had got himſelf choſen king, he put himſelf at the head of an army, reſolved to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpower'd by him; but whether *Pharaoh* came againſt him to *Jeruſalem*, or *Jehoahaz* went out againſt him to *Carchemiſh*, they are not agreed; but either of theſe was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away priſoner, leſt he ſhould in time undertake the ſame exploit againſt him (44).

* Ezek. xix. 1, & *ſeq.* (39) *Ch.* iii. 15. (40) Jerem. xxii. 11, 12. (41) *Sub A.M.* 3378. (42) *Sub A. M.* 3394. *p.* 82. (43) *Ch.* xix. 2, 3, 4. (44) *Vid.* SANCT. & MUNST. *in* 2 Reg. xxiii. 33.

a not had a powerful protector with the king, *Ahikam*, the ſon of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Joſiah*, who found means to ſkreen him from the fury of the king and people [a]; though he had foretold, about the ſame time, the acceſſion of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon* [b].

ABOUT four years after, finding, that his prophecies had had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and of the temple, and the *Babyloniſh* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he ſaid would laſt ſeventy years, ſoon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become deſolate [c] (M). And in the ſame year being ſhut up in priſon, either for that or b ſome former prophecy, he cauſed *Baruc*, who was his ſcribe, to write from his mouth the tenour of the ſame threatnings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then aſſembled at the temple, it ſeems, upon ſome ſolemn faſt (N). *Baruc* obeyed, and ſome of the chief miniſters, being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who was then ſitting by the fire. He had ſcarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and flung it in the fire, notwithſtanding the endeavours of thoſe that were preſent to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his meſſenger had doubtleſs felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpuniſhed. The prophet was ordered to write the ſame denunciations c again [d], which were ſoon after fulfilled, by the coming of the *Babyloniſh* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commiſſion from God, againſt him and his whole kingdom; as we ſhall ſee in due time.

The Babyloniſh *captivity foretold.*

Jehoiakim's impiety; puniſhed.

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worſhip, the only crimes with which *Jehoiakim*'s reign is branded; he added to them moſt horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodſhed; building and adorning the moſt ſumptuous palaces, by violence and oppreſſion; perverting juſtice, inventing crimes againſt the innocent to put them to death, and many more ſuch like impieties; beſides his being deaf to the admonitions of ſo many prophets. For theſe *Jeremiah* pronounced at laſt this dreadful ſentence againſt him; That he ſhould be given up d into the hands of his moſt dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he ſhould die unpitied and unlamented, that he ſhould have the ſepulture of an aſs, and that his carcaſs ſhould rot upon the ground [e]. By this time alſo two ſingular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the reſt, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had, ſome time before, forewarned him from relying upon the aſſiſtance of the king of *Egypt*, whoſe army was ſtill at *Carchemiſh*, ſince it would be totally overthrown by the more ſucceſsful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar* [f], the prince pointed out by providence to ſubdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*'s reign, when that young e victorious prince, having been taken into partnerſhip of the empire with his father, and ſent againſt the king of *Egypt*, gave him an entire defeat at *Carchemiſh*, took the place, put the whole garriſon to the ſword, and beat back the troops that came to its aſſiſtance †.

THIS

[a] Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. [b] Ibid xxvii. 1, ad 11. [c] Ibid. xxv. 1, 2, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. xxxvi. 1, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. ver. 30, 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13, to the end. [f] Ibid. xlvi. 1, & ſeq. † See before, p. 267. f. Uss. ſub A. M. 3397.

(M) This captivity was likewiſe foretold, though not in ſuch plain terms, by *Iſaiah* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and alſo by *Habakkuk*. This laſt, expoſtulating with God about the incorrigible hardneſs of the *Jews*, is anſwered, that they would be ſhortly invaded and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewiſe foretold the vaſt ſucceſſes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the proſperity of that wicked prince and people, he is anſwered, that they alſo ſhould in due time become the ſcorn of other nations, and a prey to thoſe whom they had ſubdued,

(N) Probably that of expiation, which, as we obſerved elſewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month *Tiſri*, anſwering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here obſerved to have been towards winter; and we do not find, that they had any other faſt before the captivity†; neither do they ſeem to have been ſenſible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpoſe, It is indeed ſaid there, that it was in the 9th month, that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have elapſed, before thoſe nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with ſuch diſagreeable news.

(45) *Ch.* xxiii. 15, *& ſeq.* (46) Habak. i. 2, *& ſeq.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 617, *& ſeq. &* USSER. *ſub A. M.* 3397. *p.* 83. (47) Jerem. xxxvi. 22.

Jerusalem *taken.*

THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah*'s misfortunes: the conqueror marched directly against *Jerusalem* and took it (O); rifled the temple of its most precious furniture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Isaiah*'s prophecy to *Hezekiah*[g]; and the city of all its choicest youths, whether for blood, learning, wit, or beauty, to be likewise sent to *Babylon*. Among these last was *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at first put in bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but, upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conquests he found means to rebel against him, after a three years subjection, and continued about three years without paying him any tribute: his rebellion cost him dear, for that prince, exasperated against him, instead of coming in person, sent an army into *Judea*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 prisoners; among whom, *Josephus* says, was the prophet *Ezekiel*[h]; but it is more likely, that he stayed at *Jerusalem* till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcass out of the city gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah*'s prediction (P).

Jehoiakim's *death.*

Jehoiachin's *wicked reign,*

Year of the Flood, 2400. Before CHRIST 599.

and captivity.

HE was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, called also *Jeconiah*, and in contempt *Coniah* (Q), who was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s mind, or endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up against him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in hostile, but submissive, manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the last note. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city were a second time ransacked, and stript of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utensils of the temple, which had continued there ever since the time of *Solomon*, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewise transported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wisdom; besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals, and materials; in a word, he left scarcely any behind, but the very common people to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he set *Mattaniah*, who was the son of *Josiah* and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection[i], returned to his dominions.

[g] Dan. i. 2, & seq: 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [h] Ant. l. x. c. 8. [i] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 10, & seq.

(O) This *Usher* proves to have happened in the ninth month, from the anniversary fast which the *Jews* have kept ever since in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth observing, because the seventy years captivity, foretold by *Jeremiah*, must be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(Q) This last circumstance of the king's death is only inferred from the tenor of the prophecy above mentioned; for neither the book of *Kings*, nor that of the *Chronicles*, make mention of it; the former of which doth even say, that he slept with his fathers (49); by which must be only meant, that he died as they did. *Josephus*, who relates this story a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the *Babylonians*, doth however own, that his body was cast out of the city, and left exposed in the field (50). Other *Jews* think, that he died as they were carrying him prisoner into *Babylon*, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The last quoted place out of the *Chronicles* says, that his acts and *abominations* were recorded in the book of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. These abominations may be reasonably supposed to be his idolatries, murders, oppressions, and rebellion; but the *Targum* mentions, moreover, his having the image of *Baal* upon his forehead; others say, that he had several charms and stigmata found upon his body, which proved, that he dealt in deviliſh arts (52); and much more to the same purpose.

(Q) He is called by this last name in *Jeremiah*, who uttered this dreadful prophecy against him (43), —That he should be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*;—that he and his mother should end their days in a strange country, wishing still in vain to return into their own land: As it happened accordingly not long after.

(48) *Vid.* USS. *ub. sup.* (49) *Conf.* 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8. (50) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 8. (51) ABARBAN. *ap.* PATRIC. *in* 2 Kings xxiv. 6. (52) *Vid. de his. Auct. tradit. Hæbr. in paralip.* HIERON. *in loc.* EUPOLEM. *ap* EUSEB. TOSTAT. *& al* (53) *Ch.* xxii. 24. *& seq.*

a *Zedekiah* began to reign in the 21ſt year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predeceſſors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* ſome few years, during which, he received ſome embaſſies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the ſame yoke with him; ſeemingly indeed to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him againſt the *Chaldeans* †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their propoſal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, ſent to every one of the embaſſadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their reſpective maſters, adviſing them in the name of God to ſubmit themſelves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much ſeverer yoke upon b them, by giving credit to their lying ſooth-ſayers and ſtar-gazers [k]. There were, at the ſame time in *Jeruſalem*, ſeveral pretended prophets, who endeavoured to perſuade the too credulous king, that, in ſpite of *Jeremiah*'s predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be ſhortly at an end, and that, the ſacred veſſels which had been carried away, would be all reſtored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replyed, that thoſe few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the reſt. Thus for ſome years, there was nothing ſcarcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the falſe prophets, and deſolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raiſed him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judea*, but even *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as c *Zedekiah* ſent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the ſeventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into *Judea*, to deſire, that he might be apprehended and puniſhed, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of *Iſrael*, but the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him [l].

Zedekiah's reign.

Deceived by his falſe prophets.

THIS conteſt laſted ſome years, during which, his enemies had in vain eſſayed to ſtop his mouth, by cauſing him to be apprehended and impriſoned. The infatuated king was at length perſuaded, by his falſe prophets, to ſhake off the *Babyloniſh* yoke, and that raſh enterpriſe compleated both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and haſtened the total deſtruction of the temple and city. He was then in the d ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, waſted the whole country, ſeized upon his fortreſſes, and at length laid cloſe ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any proviſion either for his own defence or eſcape [m]. It was then, that, ſeeing his error too late, he ſent privately for *Jeremiah*, to conſult with him what to do; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be deſtroyed, and himſelf and all his ſubjects carried into captivity (R); which anſwer did ſo exaſperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into priſon [n]. In the mean time *Pharaoh-Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army againſt the beſiegers: *Joſephus* ſays, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke [o]; if ſo, he was the e only one that kept it with him; for as for all thoſe other princes, who ſent their embaſſadors to him at the firſt, it is plain, that they were ſo far from aſſiſting him, that they rather became his enemies and accuſers. However that be, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raiſed the ſiege for the preſent, and marched directly againſt them. This ſpread ſuch an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themſelves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their ſervice thoſe very ſervants whom they had but lately diſmiſſed, it being the ſabbatic year; not ſo much out of regard to the law of *Moſes*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*.

Rebels againſt Nebuchadnezzar.

Jeruſalem beſieged.

† See before, p. 292. c. [k] Jerem. xxvii. paſſ. [l] Ibid. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 1, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxix 1. & JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 10. [n] Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & ſeq. [o] Ubi ſup. p.

(R) About the ſame time, *Ezekiel* propheſied at the captivity (54) much the ſame things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jeruſalem*; only with this difference ſeemingly, that the one ſaid, the king ſhould never ſee *Babylon*; whereas the other ſaid expreſly, that he ſhould be carried thither priſoner, and end his days there. This ſeeming contradiction, *Joſephus* tells us (55), ſtaggered the king's faith, and made him give leſs heed to them; but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himſelf, who adds, *that he ſhould die there*, though he did not ſee it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting out that unfortunate prince's eyes.

(54) Ezek. xxii. 13. xxiv. 1, *& ſeq.* (55) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 10.

Chaldeans. The king, however, was not ſo ſanguine, but ſent to deſire *Jeremiah* a to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation; but was anſwered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the ſiege with freſh vigour, and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his eſcape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be ſcourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time, *Nebuchadnezzar*, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the ſiege, and carried it on ſo vigorouſly, that the inhabitants began to labour under ſuch great ſcarcity of proviſions, that they found it impoſſible to hold it out longer. During this laſt ſiege, the king ſent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length ſome comfortable news; but neither his reſentment, nor the grievous things b which he was made to ſuffer, could make him ſend a better anſwer, than that they muſt be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counſel, and tried to ſoften their conqueror by a timely ſubmiſſion; but inſtead of it, the king, to avoid the threatned captivity, endeavoured to make his eſcape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The *Chaldeans*, who were ſoon appriſed of it, purſued after them, and brought them back to their exaſperated monarch at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmoſt cruelty, by cauſing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody ſcene. This happened towards the end c of the eleventh year of his reign; he was ſoon after ſent into *Babylon*, loaden with chains, and ended his days in a priſon.

Zedekiah's miſerable end.

Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before CHRIST, 588.

IN the mean time, the *Chaldeans* having entered the city, fell a plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemen's houſes, and ſeized every where upon the richeſt ſpoil. *Nebuzar-adan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure, cauſed the two braſen columns, that ſtood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, ſilver, and coſtly furniture to be taken away, whilſt the reſt of his army made the ſame havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, anſwering to our *Auguſt* 27 [p], and a ſabbath day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the whole city d to be ſet on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were next ordered to be demoliſhed, and all the *Jews*, down to the very common people, to be carried away priſoners, except ſome few of the baſer ſort, whom he left to till the land [q]. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general ſuch charge concerning him, that he was well treated and ſet at liberty, and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miſerable remnant left behind.

The city plundered,

and burnt.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Iſraelitiſh* monarchy, after it had ſtood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the e exciſion of the *Iſraelitiſh* common-wealth [r]; and had continued under the ſun-ſhine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipſed, but their almoſt conſtant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes, which though become as abominable to God, as they were univerſally practiſed by mankind, yet ſeem to have flowed from a purer ſource, though corrupted by degrees to this vaſt height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind;

[p] USSER. ſub A. M. 3416. p. 91. xxxix. paſſ. JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 11.

[q] 2 Kings xxv. paſſ. 2. Chron. xxxvi. 11, & ſeq. Jerem.

[r] See USSER. ub. ſup.

(8) The ſame which *Solomon* had cauſed to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which we have ſpoken of in the deſcription of the temple. Theſe, together with the large molten ſea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them maſter-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been ſpared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babyloniſh* general, who cauſed them to be all carried away, with a vaſt multitude of other ſacred utenſils, ſuch as cauldrons, cenſers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, ſilver, or copper.

(T) This *Gedaliah*, was the ſon of *Ahikan*, a perſon in ſuch credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to ſkreen that prophet from the reſentment of the king, and fury of the people; ſo that it is very probable, *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nebuzar-adan*. And this might alſo be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judea*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without ſome conſiderable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, *& ſeq.*

a mankind; but for this we ſhall refer the reader to the Appendix here annexed. How the *Jewiſh* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be ſeen in the next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with reſpect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliah*, the *Jewiſh* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judah*.

HIS name was *Iſhmael*, he had eſcaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nebuzar-adan*'s departure, he obſerved, that great numbers of diſperſed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliah*, who gave them a kind reception, and plenty of proviſions to ſubſiſt upon, till they could come to till the land; and being moved with envy, and inſtigated by the *Ammoniti ſh* king, came
b to him with ten reſolute fellows to *Mizpah*, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him. *Gedaliah* was indeed warned of his intent, but was ſo far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendſhip and reſpect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Iſhmael* an opportunity of murdering both him and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourſcore *Iſraelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there; he by ſome means enticed them to *Mizpah*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcaſſes into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of priſoners which he made at *Mizpah*, among whom were ſome princeſſes of *Judah*, whom the *Babyloniſh* general had
c left with *Gedaliah*; but was purſued by *Johanan* and ſome other *Hebrew* captains, who reſcued all the priſoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewiſh* officers, and the reſt of the people, ſo afraid of the *Chaldeans* reſentment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for ſafety. They conſulted *Jeremiah* about it, who gave them this anſwer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in *Judea*, they ſhould be protected from the *Chaldeans*, but that if they perſiſted in their deſign of going down into *Egypt*, they ſhould all inevitably periſh there, and ſhare in the dreadful calamities of that
d periſhing kingdom. This ſpeech, however, was ſo far from deterring them, who were always bent upon diſobedience and contradiction, that, ſuſpecting him to have been inſtigated by *Baruc*, rather than inſpired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them two to go along with them. As ſoon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiah* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the deſolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar*[s]; which happened accordingly ſoon after, as we have ſeen elſewhere†, and ſhall have occaſion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiah* is not known; ſome ſuppoſe him to have been ſtoned by his countrymen; but that is meer gueſs-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

An APPENDIX,

Concerning the Riſe and Progreſs of IDOLATRY *and* WITCHCRAFT.

WE hope our readers will not think it amiſs, if we cloſe this *Jewiſh* hiſtory with a ſhort enquiry into the origin and progreſs of thoſe two epidemic evils, *idolatry* and *witchcraft*, which had ſo long and ſo univerſally infected the world, and
e more particularly the *Iſraelites*; and proved ſo obſtinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total exciſion of one of their kingdoms, and ſo long and ſevere a captivity upon the other.

WE ſhall, however, forbear deſcanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, becauſe we think, that they have gone a great way for the cauſes of it, and overlooked thoſe more natural ones which were juſt at their elbow. But here, with reſpect of the firſt of theſe evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of ſome judicious men[a], which fetches its origin from the promiſe, made to *Adam*, of the ſeed of the woman, or the Meſſiah and Mediator; from the

[s] 2 Kings xxv. 23, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ub. ſup. ad fin. Jerem. xl, & ſeq. paſſ. † See before, p. 269. e.
[a] Vid. int. al. ALIX. in Pentateuch.

the progenitorſhip of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their ir- a
reverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors ſuppoſe *Canaan* might be
induced to obliterate and revenge that loſs and diſgrace, by corrupting the true mean-
ing of the prophecy; and inſtead of one mediator, to be born in after-ages of the
line of *Shem*, to introduce the worſhip of a multiplicity of them, not of human
race, but of ſome ſuperior nature, among their poſterity. And if it be at leaſt a
very probable opinion, that it was this very Meſſiah who appeared in ſome viſible
ſhape, and had frequent intercourſes with *Adam* and the patriarchs; or though
even theſe apparitions were, as others will have them, only thoſe of angels, depu-
ted by God, and ſpeaking in his name †, but from whoſe intercourſe he and his
curſed poſterity may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been excluded; how natural b
was it for him to arrogate a ſuperiority over his rival, as well in the number and
frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of thoſe heavenly viſiters, by rearing an
infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus, for inſtance, *Egypt* was the place,
where *Canaan*, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode; and how thriving a ſoil it proved for
them, needs not to be repeated here; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered
their ſacrifices to the true God upon thoſe altars only, which they occaſionally
reared in thoſe places where he appeared to them, having but a very ſmall number
of them, appeared vaſtly inferior to them in this reſpect in the eyes of an ignorant
world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the riſe of polytheiſm, yet it c
leaves us wholly in the dark about the more abſurd and unnatural worſhip of
ſtocks and ſtones, under various figures of the planets, and of ſeveral parts of the
animal and vegetable creation; which is more particularly the ſubject of our pre-
ſent inquiry. For we cannot ſee, which way theſe can be ſaid, in any ſenſe, to have
been introduced in conſequence of the former. As for thoſe who derive them from
the cuſtom of deifying their heroes, and erecting ſtatues and monuments to them,
which came in time to be worſhipped, inſtead of the prototypes, we can by no
means agree to them; becauſe it doth not appear to us, that thoſe *Apotheoſes* began
any thing ſo early as the times we are ſpeaking of; they ſeem rather to have been
introduced in conſequence of the notion of polytheiſm; ſo that we muſt ſeek elſe- d
where for the ſource of idolatry. For as for what we have ſaid on this head in the
hiſtory of *Egypt* *, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particu-
lar opinion, but either as the beſt account, which the prieſts of that nation could
give for their various kinds of worſhip to *Herodotus*, or as the conjectures of that, or
other authors, concerning their ſuperſtitious and nonſenſical mythology.

BUT as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progreſs of idolatry is plainly
pointed out to us, in the account which *Moſes* gives us of *Laban*'s and *Jacob*'s part-
ing b. The reader may remember, that theſe two, after a ſharp conteſt, being ready
to depart, the one into *Meſopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind
themſelves and their poſterity, by a ſolemn oath on both ſides, to live in peace e
and friendſhip with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate
the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up a heap of ſtones in the place;
which ſeems, therefore, to have been founded upon ſome ancient and common cuſtom
of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by
them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worſhipper of the
true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-hed, a heap of witneſs*, that is,
an authentick record, of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful
performance of the agreement on his part: This was the pure original ſenſe of this
ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theolo- f
gy of his time and country, in terms to this effect; this heap be both a *Galeed*, or
record of our mutual oath; והמצפה *Ve-hammitzphah*, and alſo *a watchman*, or ra-
ther *a watch-tower*, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or
thoſe, of *Nahor*, may behold and puniſh the aggreſſor, when we come to be at
ſuch a diſtance from each other, that there will be none elſe to ſee and judge be-
tween us.

It is true, indeed, that *Laban*'s words might be capable of a more figurative
conſtruction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods c ſhew him to have
been ſuch a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being underſtood in
any

† Vid. ſup. p. 429. not. T. & 484. not. S. * Ibid. p. 209. f. & ſeq. b Gen. xxxi. 44, & ſeq.
c Ibid. ver. 30, & ſeq. paſſ.

a any other ſenſe. This made *Jacob*, who doubtleſs could beſt judge of his meaning, carefully avoid ſwearing by any other oath than by the Dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Iſaac* [d].

HOWEVER, not to lay greater ſtreſs upon this than we need, it is plain, that if ſuch a cuſtom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any ſolemn covenants, the tranſition was eaſy into the notion, that the Godhead, or rather ſome deity, took its reſidence in it, in order to puniſh the firſt aggreſſors; and how ſoon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beaſts, ſtocks, and ſtones, but ſun, moon, and ſtars, were called into the ſame office; though uſed perhaps at firſt, by the deſigning part of mankind,
b as ſcare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant. This is indeed the moſt that it ever did, even whilſt idolatry was at the heighth; whilſt the more cunning ſort laughed at it, and only made it to ſerve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the ſame kind of policy might oblige thoſe *Matchiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as muſt naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of aſtrologers, enchanters, ſorcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar ſpirits, ſooth-ſayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the ſame nature, who were all greedily reſorted unto by the populace upon all occaſions; though, in matters of greater moment, they were forced to receive their
c directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs; if he was really ſo, what we have ſaid will only ſhew how eaſy it was for him to compaſs his end. But tho' the ſcriptures ſeem plainly to intimate ſome kind of intercourſe between ſome men and women and ſome kind of ſpirits, as in the caſe of *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor*; yet we do not find, that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready ſoever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe the hypotheſis we are
d ſpeaking againſt ſuppoſes ſuch an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodneſs, whilſt it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable neceſſity of falling into all his ſnares, with thoſe little aſſiſtances they had, either from the dim light of reaſon, or the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between ſuppoſing, that the devil firſt blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedneſs; and ſaying, that men, having ſhamefully corrupted themſelves, proceeded from one wickedneſs to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable luſts, they became the ſlaves of that evil ſpirit, and were eaſily enticed by him into this exceſs of impiety.

e WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their inſatiable deſire after wealth, their care of preſerving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of ſuperſtitious traſh, we have been ſpeaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Iſraelites*, too prone to imitate them in all theſe, than to make their worldly happineſs riſe and fall, according as they ſhewed the greater abhorrence or fondneſs for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

THUS then the antient and truly religious cuſtom of ratifying oaths and contracts by ſuch monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-ſeeing eye, inſenſibly
f degenerated into the groſſeſt and abſurdeſt idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houſes, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence ſprung the trades of conjuring each reſpective deity to its particular idol, and uſe; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with thoſe deities; the art of ſtar-gazing and aſtrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offenſive and defenſive, under their proper conſtellations; with the whole train of heatheniſh ſuperſtition, forbid under ſuch ſevere penalties by the *Jewiſh* law-giver.

BUT if this ſhould not ſufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we ſhall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually; we mean the heretofore ſo much boaſted craft of enchanting ſerpents,

[d] Ibid. ver. 53.

ſerpens, inſomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and ſome learned fathers ſeem to expreſs ſuch an admiration of it, as if they had really ſeen, or had been ſome other way fully convinced of it. But the notion muſt have been of much older date, ſince the pſalmiſt, ſpeaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the ſad miſchiefs of an evil tongue to the poiſon of the deaf adder, that ſtoppeth her ears againſt the charms of the moſt cunning enchanter [e]. What pains hath it not coſt ſome antient fathers [f], and of late, eſpecially, the learned *Bochart* [g], to find out a ſerpent that anſwered the character given here by the pſalmiſt. Deaf ones we need not be at a loſs for; we have a ſort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the ſame colour with thoſe of our author, but rather of a reddiſh copper hue, ſeem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* ſpeaks of one that ſtoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occaſion to various conjectures, which may be beſt ſeen in the author himſelf. For our part, we ſee no reaſon to underſtand theſe words literally, any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a ſyren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a baſiliſk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope, that in neither caſe there is now any neceſſity, either for diſproving the reality of ſuch creatures, or for vindicating the ſacred poet's alluſion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire, how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and ſo univerſally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old ſerpent in paradiſe [h]. a b c

AND here we need not obſerve, how much every circumſtance in the hiſtory of his ſeducing the woman; his being, according to the common verſion, called the moſt ſubtile of all creatures, his being choſen by the devil, as the fitteſt inſtrument to deceive her, the curſe pronounced againſt him by God, and the enmity intailed between his and her ſeed, might contribute to the notion of ſerpents being infected with ſome diabolical peſtiferous quality, which made them thus ſtrangely deſtructive to mankind. But what we would firſt of all take notice of is, that though, in our former account of our firſt parents ſeduction †, we followed the current of all verſions, which repreſent that reptile as the moſt ſubtile of all living creatures, yet the term ערום *Harum*, which *Moſes* there makes uſe of, ſignifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive ſignification, *naked*; accordingly he ſays, in the preceding verſe, that our firſt parents were ערומים *Harumim*, *naked*; ſo that in a figurative ſenſe, it may properly enough ſignify a harmleſs inoffenſive creature. It ſeems even probable, that the ſacre dhiſtorian takes notice of this circumſtance, as one main reaſon of *Eve*'s being ſo eaſily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpoſe than ſuch a one, which was furniſhed with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one ſingle part, even for its own defence? had it indeed been really the craftieſt of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, ſeeing he gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly miſtruſtful of him, ſo that he would have been the laſt that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would obſerve, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceleſs, and inoffenſive appearance, though adorned perhaps with all thoſe beauties of ſhape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before under that head *, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the ſame term is uſed afterwards to ſignify *cuming*, as it ſometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, *naked* or *ſimple*, ironically applyed. d e

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmleſs and inoffenſive, became the moſt dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of ſhape; a power to kill infuſed into it, without the addition of any offenſive part; inflicting a ſure and ſpeedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a ſeemingly ſlight prick. What could an infant world attribute all theſe ſurpriſing effects to, but to ſome deadly occult quality, which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the firſt riſe to it, than the enmity intailed between mankind and the ſerpent, after the prophetic ſenſe of it had once been obliterated with the far greateſt part of the world? and whence ſhould they expect a remedy againſt this ſuppoſed f

preter-

[e] Pſal. lviii. 4, 5. [f] ORIG. EUSEB. in Pſ. lix. AUGUST. de Geneſ. ad litt. lib. ix. Reſponſ. ad quæſt. 44. vid. & SCALIG. de Animal. lib. 1. [g] De Animal ſacr. lib. iii. c. 6. [h] Gen. iii. 1.
† See before, p. 59. c. * Ibid. p. 61. d.

a preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? ſo that though we are far from thinking, that it ſent men to the devil for help, for charms, and enchantments, yet it might eaſily induce thoſe who firſt found out a cure for the bite of thoſe venemous creatures, to aſſume to themſelves ſome ſupernatural ſkill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their ſecrets. How much farther theſe pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical vertue in ſerpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vaſt variety of ſurpriſing tricks, which they attributed to them [1]; one of which, and that not by far the moſt extraordinary, was that of ſtopping their ears, that they might be proof againſt all enchantments;
b and it is this, we ſhall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but theſe cunning artiſts had acquainted themſelves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of ſerpents; ſome of which, ſuch as our common ſnakes, being found to be perfectly harmleſs, might ſerve them to amuſe the ignorant, by pretending, that they had charmed them into that inoffenſive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmoſt wonder; others, of a more dangerous nature, ſuch as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle uſage, or rendered harmleſs by breaking thoſe two teeth, through which they inject their poiſon; the latter therefore might be uſed as an amuſement, and the former to try experiments, to find
c out remedies; and both together to deceive the world, by ſhewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, inchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many caſes, and againſt the bite of ſome kinds of ſerpents, they had no other way to ſave themſelves, than by pretending, that thoſe had a particular vertue, which was proof againſt their charms; and as the deaf kind is the moſt deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms conſiſted in the ſound of certain words, pronounced in the hearing of thoſe reptiles, which could therefore have no effect againſt them, becauſe they had the ſkill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing
d but with one ear, which they ſtopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it cloſe to the ground, whenever they found themſelves in danger of being enchanted; and many others equally abſurd, invented on purpoſe to account for the pretended ſuperiority of ſkill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

Thus we hope, that the hiſtory of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at leaſt very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and abſurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at firſt foiſtered into the world from the primitive notion of God's ommipreſence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the poſſibility of the deity being preſent and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itſelf out into that
e infinite multitude of deities, of various ſizes and natures, as beſt ſuited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preſerved this pure and primitive notion, ſince, as we obſerved formerly †, the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or upper *Egypt*, did worſhip none but the *Cneph*, or ſupreme deity, whilſt the lower part of the country was immerſed in the groſſeſt idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad ſpirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive ſenſe of God's omnipreſence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the inſtruments of his favour or juſtice, we need not ſay; and if this was the caſe, how eaſy was
f it for the corrupt phyſiologiſts of thoſe times to turn them all into deities, and even aſſign them their ſeveral provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, moſt likely, the worſhip of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *garlick*, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the *heavenly bodies*, both by them and the reſt of the world *.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of ſuperſtitions was owing to that inſatiable deſire after thoſe various kinds of happineſs, which their vitiated taſte made them ſeek after, according to their different inclinations, from thoſe imaginary diſpenſers of them. So that if the *Iſraelites* could but have kept

[1] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat. & Pomponac. de incant. Trithem. Steganogr. Texir. Hiſt. Perſ. Delrio. Diſquiſit. magic. & al. mult. † See before, p. 14. b. * Ibid. p. 12. b. & not. 1.

kept themſelves wholly free from it, it would have proved the moſt effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the reſt of mankind, by ſetting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the heighth of grandeur and happineſs, not from thoſe fancied deities which engroſſed the worſhip of other nations, from whom they were ſo far from expecting any bleſſings, that they had both them, and their ſtupid votaries, in greateſt contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only ſupreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the ſource of their guilt and unhappineſs, that they thwarted, inſtead of complying with, the deſigns of providence; and, by their ſhameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their deluſions and idolatry, whom they were deſigned to cure by their utter deteſtation of them. a b

But there was ſtill a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practiſed at the worſhip of ſome, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were uſed at that of other, of theſe falſe deities. All theſe may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been invented by crafty and deſigning men, meerly to gratify the depraved appetites of a ſenſeleſs vulgar, in order to make it ſubſervient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in ſpight of all his moſt expreſs prohibitions and threatnings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, becauſe they tended to caſt a double diſhonour upon him, among thoſe wiſer heathens, who were ignorant of his laws againſt them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifeſtly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Iſrael*, or how could they believe him to be the ſupreme being, and yet ſuffer his people to commit ſuch abominations? What muſt even the very *Iſraelites* themſelves think of him, if they could ſuppoſe, that he would indulge them in thoſe very impieties, for which he had ſo ſeverely puniſhed the nations, whoſe land they now inhabited? c

To all this let us add their obſtinate unbelief, which hardened them againſt the moſt pathetick remonſtrances, and dreadful threatnings of their prophets, whom God ſtill ſent to them upon all ſuch defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did towards the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties were haſtening upon them, and proved at laſt the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the ſeverity of their thraldom, the monſtrous variety of ſuperſtition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the continued exhortations of *Ezekiel* and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed moſt to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to ſay, but this is plain, that ever ſince their return from thence, they have always expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence to thoſe two crimes. Yet even in theſe two reſpects, they ſeem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have ſtrove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at leaſt equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve concerning them. Thus, for inſtance, idolatry, once their moſt favourite vice, has been ſince had in ſuch abhorrence among them, that they would not ſtoop before a ſtatue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot *; and may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they ſo greedily ſwallowed down ſuch a number of monſtrous fables, of which, thoſe we have quoted in this hiſtory out of their *Talmud*, are but a ſmall ſcantling; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find ſuch plenty of materials to exerciſe their faith, to the ſacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? well might our Saviour charge thoſe of his time with *ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a camel* †; and an honeſt rabbi of theirs adviſes them to inſert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the ſhameful and almoſt univerſal breach of it amongſt them. d e f

However, it behoves us to ſpare and pity them in this reſpect, ſince it was their unaccountable fondneſs for theſe traditions above the ſacred writings, that inſpired them with that bitterneſs and malice againſt the *Meſſiah*, the redeemer of mankind, which made them perſecute him to that ſaviſh death, from which we derive our freedom and aſſurance of a better life; eſpecially, ſince their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us ſo irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Teſtament, and conſequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without ſome ſure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‡.

CHAP.

* See before, p. 598. not. F. † Matt. xxiii. 24. ‡ Vid. Rom. xi. paſſ.

A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL according to this History

PART OF THE MEDITER-RANEAN SEA

The Lake Phiala the true Spring of Jordan

Paneas

M. Antilibanus

Dan

Cadesh

Samachonite Lake

Sephar

Plain of Zebulun

M. Tabor

Acco

Nazareth

Naim

M. Hermon

Sea of Tiberias

M. Carmel

R. Kishon

Endor

Shunam

Plain of Jezreel

Magdiel

Bezec

Arbat

Dothaim

Aser

Bethshan

Dor

Jezrell

Tabbath

Plain of Saron

Bether

M. Gerizim

M. Ebal

Samaria

Sichem

Thenath

Endumia

Shilo

Acrabbim

Lydda

Arimathea

Gezer

Joppa

Emmaus

Gebah

Gophna

Ajalon

Bethshemash

Bethel

Eshtaol

Michmash

Bera

Bethoron

Ephraim

Kirjath-jearim

Gibeah

Jericho

Bethagla

Beeroth

Rama

Gilgal

Gath

Anathoth

Jarmuth

Adullam

Engaddi

Ashdod

Jerusalem

Ascalon

Gibeon

Bethany

Mareskah

Socoh

R. Kedron

Gaza

Bethlehem

Makkedah

Etam

Lachish

Gerar

Keilah

Tekoah

Nezib

Bethzur

Hebron

M. Ziph

Molada

Betonim

Beersheba

PLAIN of SEPHELA

MOUNTAINS OF EDOM

THE GREAT PLAIN

R. Jordan

Dead Sea or Asphaltite Lake

PART OF ARABIA

S. H. Sculpt.

CHAP. VIII.

The History of ASSYRIA.

SECT. I.

The Description of ASSYRIA.

Its name.

a WE have already accounted for the name of this country, declaring it to have been derived from *Aſhur*, its firſt planter after the flood [a], and have obſerved [b], that its name extended very far weſtward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to moſt of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eaſtward, ſouthward, and northward it muſt alſo have extended its name, where-ever its monarchs had eſtabliſhed themſelves by the fortune of their arms (B).

IF we conſider the monarchy of *Aſſyria* geographically, we have already done much towards a deſcription of it, in what we have formerly ſaid of the ſeveral countries whoſe hiſtories go before, and which may, in this light, be conſidered as
b provinces of *Aſſyria*, and more we ſhall do towards this work in our deſcriptions of ſeveral other countries, whoſe hiſtories are to follow, and which the order, we have hitherto obſerved, requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the ſame order obliges us here to confine ourſelves to the *proper Aſſyria*.

Extent.

THE preciſe extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it might be labour quite in vain to attempt to ſettle it; but taking it to have been the ſame with the province of *Curdeſtân* at this day, it lay eaſtward of the *Tigris*, and extended almoſt north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt from the ſprings of that river and the lake *Van*, to the province of *Khuzeſtân* in *Perſia*; or, according to *Ptolemy*, it lay along the eaſtern banks of the *Tigris*, from mount *Niphates* to mount *Zagros*, being
c bounded on the eaſt by mount *Choatras*. Such was its ſituation and boundaries, as ſhould ſeem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent we chuſe to paſs that over, as a thing uncertain, and not within the compaſs of our knowledge.

THIS country, which muſt, in its happy times, have been a land of plenty (C), has almoſt ever ſince the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has been

[a] See before, p. 163. [b] Ibid. p. 360.

(A) *Bochart* (1) divides the *Aſſyrians* into two ſorts, thoſe properly ſo called, beyond the *Tigris*, and derived from *Aſhur*, and thoſe on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from צור *Sur*, or *Tyre* (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in הצורים *Haſſurim*, but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The deſcent of the two nations is ſo different, the one from *Aſhur*, the other from *Aram*, and their diſtance from each other ſo wide, that we can never think ſo ſlight an accident, as an article perfixed to *Sur*, ſhould cauſe the potent and ancient nation of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, to be called, by all the nations about, *Aſſyrians*; and particularly, when there is ſo much to be ſaid againſt it, as may be found in the next note.

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itſelf, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its Dominions; ſo *Meſopotamia*, the *Aram-Naharaim* of the *Jewiſh* writers, is ſaid (3) to have been called the *Mid Aſſyria*; and ſo alſo *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the reſt, we may ſuppoſe, that owned ſubjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus Pompeius* (5), that the *Aſſyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the firſt great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in proceſs of time, even to thoſe who had formerly ſuffered by its power; and hence out of vanity, or from a long ſettled cuſtom, the nations round about affected to call themſelves *Aſſyrians*, or elſe others affected to call them ſo, or, thirdly, they may have been commanded ſo to denominate themſelves by the conqueror. To diſmiſs this, we would take notice, that there ſeems to be nothing more uncertain, than what the *Greeks* and *Latins* mean by *Aſſyria* and *Aſſyrian*; they are of ſuch comprehenſive latitude with theſe writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean*, on the weſt, and the river *Indus*, on the eaſt.

(C) A land of plenty and pleaſure it muſt undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country deſignated in ſcripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of*

(1) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 34. (2) *See before, p.* 393. (3) ARRIAN. *Exped. Alexand. l.* 7. *p.* 453. (4) AMMIAN. MARCEL. *l.* 23. *c.* 20. (5) JUST. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. *See before, p.* 360. (6) 2 Kings xviii. 32.

been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its ſituation, which has, at a times, made it the ſeat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderneſs, a deſart, excepting ſome little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconſiderable towns which ſtand within its borders [c], ſo that there is but little to be ſaid of its productions and properties.

WE have already ſaid as much of the firſt poſtdiluvian ſtate of this country and its antient cities, *Nineveh* and the reſt, as we have been able to gather, ſo that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work [d], and proceed to the diviſion and arrangement of it by the *Greeks*.

Ptolomy [e] divides *Aſſyria*, beginning from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, into b the ſeveral provinces of *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene* (D), *Arbelitis*, *Calacine*, or *Chalachene*, *Apolloniatis*, and *Sittacene*, but there is no pretending to ſet bounds to theſe ſeveral diviſions, or aſſigning to each the cities, that may, in former times, have belonged thereto. Nor are theſe all the parts of *Aſſyria* mentioned by ancient geographers: we have the name of *Aturia* [f], or *Atyria* (E), as a part of this country, as alſo *Artacene* (F) and *Chalonitis* [g] (G).

AMONG the rivers of *Aſſyria*, we may juſtly reckon the *Tigris* (H), not only becauſe it bathed all the weſtern ſkirts of this country, but alſo becauſe all the other rivers

[c] RAUWOLF's Trav. p. ii. c. 9. [d] See before, p. 126. [e] Lib. 6. c. 1. [f] STRAB. l. 16 meunt. [g] PLIN. l. 6. c. 26.

of oil-olive, and of honey, as *Bochart* thinks (7), and *Rauwolf* (8); for *Rabſhakeh*, who ſpeaks of this (9), may, as is moſt likely, have underſtood his words, as of ſome of the new conquered provinces of *Aſſyria*, and not of *Aſſyria* itſelf, properly ſo called; ſo that this does not amount to a poſitive proof of what is aſſerted concerning the fertility and amenity of the *Proper Aſſyria*; though indeed it muſt be confeſſed to be a very ſtrong circumſtance to make us believe, it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may eaſily conceive the conqueror would have ſeized on the beſt for himſelf, and not have beſtowed it on the foreign captives he made and tranſplanted.

(D) The whole country has been ſometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* obſerves (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was in former times called *Aſſyria*; the ſame ſays *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common opinion, which derives it from the *Greek* word Διαβαίνειν *tranſire*, διὰ τὸ εἶναι πλείους ποταμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ δυσχερεστέραν ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν, *becauſe of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or paſs* (13). Thus is it alſo, that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulouſly, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which ſends up ſo peſtiferous a vapour, that no bird or beaſt may take in the leaſt ſcent of it, but death muſt be the unhappy conſequence; and that hence alſo it was called *Adiabene*, or *Impaſſable*. To paſs over other obſcurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Aſſyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldee* הדיב, or הדייב *Hadjab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudiſts* and the *Chaldee* interpreter; as alſo הדייבא *Hadjaba*, or *Hadjava*; whence he deduces (17) *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s (18), *Adiavena*, which whence it became the name of this part of *Aſſyria* may be obſerved anon.

(E) This alſo, though apparently but a ſmall diſtrict of this country, extended itſelf over the whole, and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name ſynonymous with *Aſſyria*, allowing only for the difference of a dialect; the former being the *Hebrew*, and the other the *Chaldee*, way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* conſtantly converting the *Hebrew* ש *Sin* into the ת *Tau*; ſo that what the *Hebrews* pronounce *Aſſyria*, they pronounce *Atyria*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Atyria*, to be no more than a province or diſtrict of *Aſſyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain, it was by the *Greeks* reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(F) This is ſuppoſed to have derived its name from the city of *Erech* (21), or *Arec*. This is the opinion both of *Scaliger* and *Caſaubon* (22); and if ſo, we have nothing to do with it at preſent, for it was not in this country, but in the land of *Shinaar* (23), on this ſide of the *Tigris*.

(G) This may have been the ſame with *Cala* and *Calacine*, for which we muſt refer to what we have already ſaid (24) before, only obſerving, that the *Callonites* of *Polybius* (25) may have been the ſame.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, which ſeem to borrow their names from a cauſe of the ſame nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a *Perſian* word, ſignifying an *arrow* *; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its courſe: But this is contradicted by *Pedro de la Valle* (27), who ſays, it is a ſlower ſtream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) ſeems to aſſign a reaſon why the *Tigris* ſhould not be ſo very ſwift, ſaying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than ever he ſaw, but alſo choaked up with iſlands and great banks

(7) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 19. (8) *In his travels.* (9) 2 Kings *ub. ſup.* (10) *Hiſt. p.* ii. *c.* 9. (11) *Ub. ſup.* (12) *Ibid.* *Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 12. (13) *Vid.* BOCHART. *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 19. (14) *Ad vocem* Ἀδιαβηνὴ (15) *Vid.* CELLAR. *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l.* iii. *c.* 17. (16) *Phaleg. ub. ſup.* (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ub. ſup.* (19) *Phaleg. ub. ſupr.* (20) *Lib.* 16. *initio.* (21) Geneſ. x. 10. (22) *Vid.* CELLAR. *Geogr. Antiq. ub. ſupr.* (23) Geneſ. *ub. ſup.* (24) *See before, p.* 127. *in the notes.* (25) *Lib.* 5. *c.* 54. (26) *Vid.* CELLAR. *ub. ſup.* * *Vid.* GREGOR. *poſthum. p.* 189. (27) *In his travels.* (28) *In his travels, part* 2. *c.* 13.

a rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom [h], *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal distance from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus*, or *Niniveh*, and *Seleucia*.

Concerning the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land we have nothing material to say, and therefore must here close up this section.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the Assyrians.

b *ASSYRIA*, which stands foremost of all in profane accounts, is in scripture the second most antient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Ashur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as some have contended (K), who embrace the *Ctesian* *Antiquity.*

[h] Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Tom. II. l. 3. c. 17.

banks of stone. *Bochart* derives it from its old *Hebrew* name *Hiddekel*; and the *Arabs*, at this day, call it دجلة *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Capras*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*. דיבא *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus* or *lupinus*, *wolf*, or *wolfish*; דיבא *Diava*, being *Chaldee* for a *wolf*; and hence he derives the *Greek Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Hadiaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an *Arabic* word signifying *swift*; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the *Hebrew* זאב *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes, that it is very rapid, that its water is whitish and very cold, which he would seemingly account for by its falling from the mountains of *Curdâstan*, and being merely snow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart*'s thoughts of the smaller of the two rivers above, the *Adiaba*, which he would have to derive its name from the swiftness of its course; but for dimension, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illustrates, in some sort, a passage in the *Nubian* geographer (33) who, as he is translated, says, the two *Zabs* are great rivers, and, when united, equal to above one half of the *Tygris*; though he says a little before, their mouths were six and thirty miles from each other. It is asked, how in this case these two rivers ever should unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be more than half of the *Tigris*, or fill the same river one half fuller than it would be without them? *Thevenot* seems to answer this question by affirming they do.

Bochart (34) also seems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolomy* for one and the same river; and particularly, because he finds none but the two above mentioned elsewhere; but *De Lisle*'s maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the westermost of the three, and therein differs from *Ptolomy*'s maps, which make the *Gorgus* the easternmost; we leave the reader to make his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerbin* of *Pliny*, (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to say to it, observing only that Γοργος is *Velox*, which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the same with his *Adiaba*, which he would have to be denominated from its *swiftness*.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the first foundation of this kingdom is variously interpreted, either, *out of that land went forth* Ashur *and builded* Niniveh, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the *Greek*, the old *Latin*, and the *Dutch*; or, *he* [meaning *Nimrod*] *went out into* Assur *and builded* Niniveh; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Cocceiius*, *Schotan*, *Heidegger*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Ashur*, in the text, signifies the son of *Shem*, or whether it signifies the country of *Assyria*; for both ways it is often assumed in scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to supply a defect in the *Hebrew*, by inserting a particle [into] to serve their purpose, while those who vindicate the other follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original as they stand. But not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we chuse to recur to such arguments, as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Ashur*, or *Assyria*, derived its name from *Ashur* the son of *Shem*; and, according to what we read in scripture (39), it must have been, that he went out of the land of *Shinaar*, where all the descendants of *Noah* were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose, that the text before us is meant of this migration of his? And who is so likely to have founded *Niniveh* and the other cities as himself? except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conquest of this country before *Ashur* had well settled himself in it. If this had been the case, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his

(19) Rauwolf's *Travels*, *part* 2. *c.* 9. (30) *Phaleg ub. sup.* (31) *Ibid.* (32) *In his travels to the Levant*, *part* 2. *c.* 13. (33) *Clim.* 4. *part* 6. (34) *Ubi sup.* (35) *Hist. Natur. l.* 6. *c.* 26. (36) *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l.* 3. *c.* 17. (37) Genes. x. 11. (38) *Vid.* Perizon. *Origin. Babylon*, *c.* 4. *p.* 39. (39) *Ubi supr.*

Cteſian ſyſtem; and was in the beginning a kingdom diſtinct from *Babylon*, though in proceſs of time they coaleſced into one, in conſequence of mutual conqueſts. *Aſſur* departed from the land of *Shinaar* [i] upon *Nimrod*'s uſurpation, and built *Niniveh* and other cities, as *Reboboth*, *Cala*, and *Reſen*; in [k] *Niniveh*, it is likely, he reſided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which, borrowing his name, was called *Aſſur*, or *Aſſyria*. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object againſt the antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* kingdom, though as delivered by *Cteſias* [l] and others, who ſome how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example, *Syncellus* [m], if barely the antiquity of it be conſidered: which would not well ſtand by the *Hebrew* computation. But by the *Samaritan*, which we embrace, this boaſted *Aſſyrian* monarchy, inſtead of running up too far, will fall ſhort by about 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Chriſt is 2997 years: the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign is, by common conſent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Chriſt: if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the *Medes*, according to *Cteſias*, and 1300 more for the duration of the *Aſſyrian*, according to the ſame hiſtorian and his followers, the firſt year of the reign of *Ninus*, the firſt pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Chriſt, or 789 years after the flood; whereas, according to us, *Aſſur* built *Niniveh* and founded the *Aſſyrian* kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier; ſo that with us, its defect, not its exceſs, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* kingdom, which may claim place among the firſt; but then we make a wide diſtinction between this ſimple kingdom and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reaſons to be found in the enſuing Section.

Government. BEING ſo deſtitute as we are of ſufficient authorities and inſtruction, we can ſay nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their hiſtory. That they were a ſmall kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very ſimple, in conformity to what has been obſerved and related of their neighbours, the *Syrians* [n] and *Meſo-*

[i] Geneſ. x. 10. [k] Ibid. ver. 11. [l] Apud DIODOR. SICUL. [m] Chron. p. 165. [n] See before, p. 371.

his great uncle. We elſewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Aſſur* founded *Babel*; but no where is it ever ſuggeſted, that *Nimrod* went into *Aſſyria* and founded *Niniveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moſes* ſhould introduce a paſſage relating to a branch of *Shem*, when he was profeſſedly writing about that of *Ham*; but this is frivolous. Parentheſes of this ſort are common enough in ſcripture; as in that concerning *Iſh-boſheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram*'s fleet (42), introduced in the midſt of other diſcourſe. A late author (43) affirms, the ſcripture expreſly calls the *land of* Aſſyria the *land of* Nimrod. *Bochart* ſhewed him the way, and this would go hard againſt us, if the thing really were ſo; though if it was really the caſe, we might cite the text in *Iſaiah* in the note above, in oppoſition to the text in *Micah*, which ſeems to favour this notion. *Micah* expreſſes himſelf thus (44), *They ſhall waſte the land of* Aſſyria *with the ſword; and the land of* Nimrod *in the entrance thereof.* By this the *land of* Nimrod ſeems to be quite diſtinguiſhed from the *land of* Aſſyria: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the ſame; for the *and* is ſometimes taken disjunctively; but in the paſſage before us nothing requires it. Several expoſitors (45), both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* underſtand thereby the two countries of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Aſſyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manaſſeh*, the ſon of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micah* flouriſhed, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Aſſyria*, when *Eſarhaddon* was king both of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The author (46), we have been contending with, reſolving to wreſt the thing his way, and citing the text in *Iſaiah*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of* Chaldeans; *this people was not till the* Aſſyrian *founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs*, takes the liberty of inſerting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Aſſyria*, diſtinguiſhing it by an *Italick* letter and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcuſable in him, who is quite angry (47) with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, for a little preſumptive addition of the ſame ſort (48). Sir *Iſaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypotheſis to ſerve, and ſo has our author; ſo that one would have thought, he might have over-looked a liberty in Sir *Iſaac*, which he reſolved to take himſelf; except he imagined Sir *Iſaac* had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(40) Iſai. xxiii. 13. (41) 2 Sam. iv. 4. (42) 1 Kings x. (43) BEDFORD, *in his Script. Chron. demonſtr. p.* 773. (44) Ch. x. 6. (45) PERIZON. *ub. ſup. p.* 47. (46) BEDFORD *ub. ſup. in his preface to the reader, p.* 3. (47) *Ibid.* (48) *In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p.* 68, & 217.

a *Mesopotamians* ° (L). When, in after-times, they rose up to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can safely say of it.

Laws

We have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of their laws. We would presume, they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for these emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished [p], and sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves [q], and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world [r] by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined, there could not be any settled form of
b law for the government of this people, except we suppose their kings to have approached so very near to the divinity they would have imperiously arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the same, which cannot be supposed.

Religion

Their religion is also pretty much in the dark: in general we know, they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. *Nisroch* is likely to have been their principal God, at least at one time; but *Selden* declares *, he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry after so palpable an obscurity may be needless. *Nergal* was not properly, as should seem, an *Assyrian* deity, and we shall resume him when we come to treat of the ancient *Persian* religion: *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is said to have been
c represented as a mule, or a peacock [s] (N): *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail [t]; but these are all *Rabbinical* dreams, and to be considered accordingly. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the scripture and the *Jews*, the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere, and accordingly look back to the superstitions of the *Philistines*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*.

Derceto (P), who, according to *Ctesias* [u], must have been an *Assyrian* deity, has been supposed to be the *Philistine* dagon, but we have denied it [w], and already given the reasons for our rejection of this notion [x]; and though we have ventured to
d call her the goddess of *Ascalon* [y], we considered the country then in subjection to the *Assyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her, (what her *Assyrian* name may have been we cannot guess) is plainly an *Assyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in

° See before, p. 371. Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10.
[p] 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c.
[q] Judith iii. 8.
[r] Ibid. ii. 2.
* De Dis
[s] Vid. eund. ibid. c. 9.
[t] Vid. eund. ibid.
[u] Apud Diodor. Sic. l. 2.
[w] See before, p. 343.
[x] Ibid. in the notes.
[y] Ibid. in the text.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard to *Mesopotamia*, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when *Cushan-rishathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conquest of the children of *Israel*, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years (49). Who this *Cushan-rishathaim* was, and how he came to be so great a king, as he seems to have been at first, is a great obscurity. But by the scripture (50) it appears, this *Mesopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the successes of *Othniel* against it (51). *Le Clerc* (52) observes, there is no mention made of this *Cushan-rishathaim*, in the *Ctesian* series of *Assyrian* kings; and that, according to *Eusebius*'s computation, he should have been cotemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Assyrian* king according to him (53); and tho' *Josephus* (54) calls him *Chusarth* king of *Assyria*, misled by the *Ctesian* history, he does not see, why we should depart from scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in the scriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Mesopotamia*, if he had been an *Assyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Mesopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was a transitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there in the preceding part of this history many ages afterwards (55).

(M) All that can possibly be said of him is mere conjecture. *Beyer* (56), who takes upon him to supply, in this respect, what is wanting in *Selden*, supposes, he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*, or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was represented in the form of a ship, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we shall have occasion to shew in the course of this history and that of *Babylon*. He is in the *Septuagint* called *Mesarach* and *Asarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are supposed to have been the same with *Moloch* (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargata*, *Atergatis*, and the like; but we shall forbear saying any further of her till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

(49) *See before, p.* 742. (50) *Judg. iii.* (51) *Ibid.* (52) *In Judic. cap.* III. 8. (53) *See the series of the* Assyrian *kings in the following section.* (54) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 3. (55) *See before, p.* 383. (56) *In Additam* Seld *Syntagm.* II. *cap.* 10. (57) *In Pantheo.* (58) Beyer. *Additam. ub. sup. c.* 9. (59) Selden. *De Dis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c,* 9. *See before, p.* 293.

in subjection to a goddess our author [z] calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis* [a], or the *Phœnician Astarte* on mount *Aphac* [b]. Thus we conjecture; but this *Assyrian Venus* will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of *Babylon*, which was doubtless the same with that of *Assyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his astronomical canon, *Assyrians*. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the *Assyrians* [c] and *Syrians* [d] paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess *Derceto* of *Ascalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort [e]; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by them when exposed after her birth [f], or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird of that sort [g], which is all we have to say of the *Assyrian* religion in this place, except we repeat, that *Semiramis* was sometimes represented, as supposed [h], with a pigeon on her head, and called the *Sign*; as also, that she was represented without that distinction, and in a particular posture of pointing to the great goddess [i], for a reason already given [k]; as also, that *Sardanapalus* was deified, and represented in a particular habit [l]; so that it may hence appear, they deified all their kings in general, whence must have sprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at present very much in the dark to us.

Their customs, arts, &c.

The Assyrian customs, their arts, their learning, and their trade, must certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what will be found of the same concerning the *Babylonians*, so that we shall suspend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of *Syria* and the alphabet of the *Syrian* character, for the language and character of this people, which we have declared to have been the same [m].

Their language and alphabet.

SECT. III.

Of the Assyrian *Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.*

We shall doubtless be excused, if we are very ample, and even diffuse, in our researches after the *Assyrian* chronology, it being not only of the greatest importance towards fixing the chronology of ancient kingdoms, but also for vindicating the authority of scripture, which is quite averse from the common profane account.

The causes, why the antient profane history is so monstrously corrupt and false, in what regards Assyria, &c.

But first we would premise, that the causes, which may have induced or misled historians so to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the neglect, of the earliest people of the more ancient nations, to keep any sort of register of what concerned them. The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking rise in the more early parts, so that nothing is more natural to assert, than that some nations began to keep records before others were in being.

Some nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity [o]; and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and besides, supposing them to have been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preserving, and much less the reading. The first ages must have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose between them about property and dominion, and these broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose

[z] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. [a] See before, p. 372. [b] Ibid. in the notes. [c] Diodor. Sicul. ub. sup. [d] See before, p. 399. [e] Diodor. Sicul. ub. sup. [f] Idem. ibid. [g] Idem. ibid. [h] See before, p. 373. [i] Ibid. ibid. [k] Ibid. ibid. [l] Ibid. ibid. [m] Ibid. p. 377. [o] Just. l. 1. c. 1.

a ſuppoſe any hiſtorical monuments, truly ſuch, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the riſe of themſelves, may have been quite perverted, or totally loſt.

But ſuppoſing there may have been other nations beſides the *Jews*, who had preſerved their primitive traditions entire, they may have periſhed by various means. Theſe nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been deſtroyed by the malice, or, what is the ſame, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predeceſſors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by poſterity, of a humour with that *Chineſe* emperor who reigned about 209 years before Chriſt †, or,

b perhaps, to eſtabliſh an æra as *Nabonaſſar* [p], who may alſo have had an ambition to appear the headmoſt of the *Babyloniſh* kings; but, by the way, this ſeems not to have been the caſe with him, as we muſt have occaſion to obſerve, more than once, hereafter.

Such may have been the interruptions of the regular deſcent of hiſtory to us; though wars, whether foreign or domeſtic, muſt have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been, almoſt ever, the policy of conquerors to deſtroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquiſhed may formerly have been, as alſo to remove all monuments, which, by the ſight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors alſo there have been,

c who have been moved merely by ignorance or ſuperſtition to do the ſame; as may be obſerved of the *Mohammedans*, where-ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be ſaid, that the *Romans* were, in this reſpect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not underſtand, that theſe laſt were over and above indulgent to thoſe they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have ſpared for the ſame reaſons the *Romans* ſpared them; becauſe they beheld them as their maſters in literature and knowledge.

If then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder, why the antiquities of the ſeveral parts of the world are ſo utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, ſo deeply involved

d in the miſt of fable.

The *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine hiſtory from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we underſtand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the moſaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were deſcended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long ſince deſtroyed, and abſurd traditions and ridiculous tales have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are aſſured by *Joſephus* [q], it was a moſt valuable remain.

For us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote hiſtory of nations, they ſhould, from the beginning, have communicated their records

e with each other; and the hiſtorians of every country ſhould have been as ſedulous in collecting and digeſting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms, and ſtates, and actions they knew, as of their own: and in this caſe, nothing but an univerſal ruin could have made the deſolation, their ſucceeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be obſerved by thoſe who are converſant in very ancient tranſactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be ſaid to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A Country no ſooner began to flouriſh and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increaſed with its ſplendor and proſpe-

f rity; and preſently it could admit of no competitor, but muſt look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infuſed into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is ſo unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reaſon and good ſenſe, and nothing, in the main, ſo deſtructive to the peace and happineſs of mankind. And this vanity, added to the compleat ignorance of what has paſt aforetime in the hiſtorians, for the moſt part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monſtrous births which are a reproach to the ſcience.

We might point at many glaring inſtances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining; but ſhall on this head juſt touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom we

† Martin. Hiſt. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239. Coupl. Tab. Chron. Sinic. p. 17. [p] Syncell. p. 207. [q] Contr. Apion.

we are chiefly indebted for the ancient prophane history, confining ourselves to a what at present is before us, till we shall have occasion to resume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or, at least, as much as any nation, that has ever subsisted under the sun. It is plain, they despised the history of all other nations besides their own, never concerning themselves therewith, any farther than it interfered with themselves, and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preserve any thing to us by way of information.

And this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their slighting, and even destroying, the *Persian* records, when they became masters of that empire. No one of their historians, that we are aware of, ever consulting them to compleat b a series of the *Persian* affairs: Nor was there a nation they were sollicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpose. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Eratosthenes*, *Hecatæus* the *Abderite*, and *Menander* the *Ephesian*, may be quoted, as exceptions to what we have been saying, as well as some foreigners, such as *Berosus*, *Manetho*, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries for the use of the *Greeks*. But all this but adds weight to the guilt of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor so much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts from c them, if we except *Josephus* and the *Christian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with history, though their own, but themselves; as may be seen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Berosus* and *Manetho*, preferring his own crude indigestions to any thing in them. And so with regard to *Assyria*, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, such as *Polybistor* may have sometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after *Ctesias*, a most fabulous writer, as will be amply demonstrated in the course of d this section: But being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have suffered the fate which *Ctesias* and *Diodorus* had deserved; the fate which *Trogus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiser, is not much to be lamented.

These writers were like most of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* history, consult the *Byzantine* historians; or, by listening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endless errors they might have avoided, by looking into the translations and extracts the learned would furnish them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them. e

And now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages past been no more; of this number are the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and insolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reasons to be hereafter subjoined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the *Assyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have unwarily been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But as our design f is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, as *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Cellarius*, *Montfaucon*, *Du Pin*, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

A TABLE

A TABLE *of the Successions of the* ASSYRIAN *Kings, according to* Eusebius, *and* Syncellus.

According to *Eusebius*,

		Years.
	* * * * * * * * * *	
1	*Ninus* reigned - - - - - -	52
2	*Semiramis* - - - - - - -	42
3	*Zameis*, or *Ninyas* - - - - -	38
4	*Arius* - - - - - - - - -	30
5	*Aralius* - - - - - - - - -	40
6	*Xerxes*, or *Baleus* - - - - -	30
7	*Armamitres* - - - - - - - -	38
8	*Bel-ochus* - - - - - - - -	35
9	*Bal-eus* - - - - - - - - -	52
10	*Altadas* - - - - - - - - -	32
11	*Mamitus* - - - - - - - - -	30
12	*Manchaleus* - - - - - - - -	32
13	*Spherus* - - - - - - - - -	20
14	*Mamitus* - - - - - - - - -	30
15	*Sparetus* - - - - - - - - -	40
16	*Astacadis* - - - - - - - - -	40
17	*Aimyntes* - - - - - - - - -	45
18	*Bel-ochus* (Q) - - - - - -	25
19	*Bellepares* - - - - - - - -	30
20	*Lamprides* - - - - - - - - -	32
21	*Sosares* - - - - - - - - -	20
22	*Lampares* - - - - - - - - -	30
23	*Panyas* - - - - - - - - -	45
24	*Sosarmus* - - - - - - - - -	19
25	*Mitreus* - - - - - - - - -	27
26	*Tautanes* (S) - - - - - - -	32
26	*Teuteus* - - - - - - - - -	40
	* * * * * * * * * *	
	* * * * * * * * * *	
	* * * * * * * * * *	
	* * * * * * * * * *	
28	*Thinæus* - - - - - - - - -	30
29	*Dercilus* - - - - - - - - -	40
30	*Eupales* - - - - - - - - -	38
31	*Laosthenes* - - - - - - - -	45
32	*Pyriatides* - - - - - - - -	30
33	*Ophrateus* - - - - - - - -	20
34	*Ophratenes* - - - - - - - -	50
25	*Ocrazapes* - - - - - - - -	42
36	*Tonos Concoleros*, by the Greeks, *Sardanapalus* - -	20
	Total -	1240

According to *Syncellus*.

		Years.
1	*Belus* reigned - - - - - -	55
2	*Ninus* - - - - - - - - -	52
3	*Semiramis* - - - - - - - -	42
4	*Ninyas*, or *Zames* - - - - -	38
5	*Arius* - - - - - - - - -	30
6	*Aralius* - - - - - - - - -	40
7	*Xerxes* - - - - - - - - -	30
8	*Armamithres* - - - - - - -	38
9	*Belocbus* - - - - - - - - -	35
10	*Balæus* - - - - - - - - -	52
11	*Sethos* - - - - - - - - -	32
12	*Mamythus* - - - - - - - -	30
13	*Aschalius* - - - - - - - -	28
14	*Sphærus* - - - - - - - -	22
15	*Mamylus* - - - - - - - - -	30
16	*Sparthæus* - - - - - - - -	42
17	*Ascatades* - - - - - - - -	38
18	*Amyntes* - - - - - - - - -	45
19	*Belochus* - - - - - - - -	25
	(R)	
20	*Belatores* - - - - - - - -	30
21	*Lamprides* - - - - - - - -	30
22	*Sosares* - - - - - - - - -	20
23	*Lamphraës* - - - - - - - -	30
24	*Panyas* - - - - - - - - -	45
25	*Sosarmus* - - - - - - - -	22
26	*Mithræus* - - - - - - - -	27
27	*Teutamus*, or *Tautanes* (T) -	32
28	*Teutæus* - - - - - - - -	44
29	*Arabelus* - - - - - - - -	42
30	*Chalaus* - - - - - - - - -	45
31	*Anebus* - - - - - - - - -	38
32	*Babios* (V) - - - - - - - -	37
33	* * * * * * * * * *	
34	*Dercylus* - - - - - - - - -	40
35	*Enpacmes* - - - - - - - - -	48
36	*Laosthenes* - - - - - - - -	45
37	*Pertiades* - - - - - - - - -	30
38	*Ophratæus* - - - - - - - -	21
39	*Epheceres* - - - - - - - -	52
40	*Acraganes* - - - - - - - -	42
41	*Thonos Concoleros* - - - - -	15
	Total -	1460

A TABLE

(Q) Or *Bolochus*; he had a daughter called *Atossa*, as also *Semiramis*, who reigned with him twelve years (60).

(R) *Bion* and *Alexander Polyhistor* (61) divide this series of kings into dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasm. This *Belochus*, who finishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors (62) *Belleus* the *Dercetad*, and in him, say they, the race of *Semiramis* became extinct; when *Beletaras*, *Beletores*, or *Bellepares*, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetadæ*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world, 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who

(60) Euseb. Pamph. *Chronic. lib. poster. p.* 80. (61) *Apud* Agath. *l.* 2. *p.* 63. (62) *Ibid.* (63) Diodor. Sicul. *l.* 2. (64) *Ubi supr. p.* 90. (65) *Chronograph. p.* 151.

A TABLE *of the Successions of the* ASSYRIAN *Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.*

According to Scripture.	According to this History.
1 *Pul.*	1 *Pul.*
2 *Tiglathpileſar.*	2 *Tiglathpileſar.*
3 *Shalmaneſer.*	3 *Shalmaneſer.*
4 *Sennacherib.*	4 *Sennacherib.*
5 *Aſſar-haddon.*	5 *Aſſarhaddon.*
* * * * * * * * *	6 *Saoſducheus.*
* * * * * * * * *	7 *Nabuchadonoſor*, or *Chyniladon.*
* * * * * * * * *	8 *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus.*

The firſt Table. IT is ſurpriſing, how many ſagacious and inquiſitive men, hiſtorians and chronologers, both in antient and modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery of the firſt table. To reconcile it with ſcripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raiſed ſuch hypotheſes, as are contradictory to all hiſtory ſacred and prophane, though at the ſame Time nothing is eaſier, than to detect the whole impoſture, ſo groſs and palpable it ſeems to be. The two liſts which form the firſt table are derived, notwithſtanding the variations in them, from one formed by *Cteſias*, who concluded his hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* with a liſt of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes* [r]. *Caſtor* copied him, who was again copied by *Euſebius* [s]; who, as *Cteſias* had taught his author, begins with *Ninus*, which *Syncellus*, on the a other hand, begins with *Belus*, and aſſigns him a reign of 55 years, though *Caſtor* [t], whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus*'s reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his liſt four kings which are wanting in that of *Euſebius*, and which are no where elſe to be met with; which whence it ſhould come to paſs, we ſhall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather, as we ſhall endeavour, with the concurrence of ſeveral great men before-mentioned, to deſtroy the whole on both ſides; but firſt we would obſerve, that *Syncellus* exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, for while St. *Auguſtin* [u] allows it but 1305, *Caſtor* 1280, *Euſebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author b *Cteſias*, and his two copyiſts, *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore theſe computations are primarily borrowed from *Cteſias*, and lengthened and ſhortened apparently to the fancy of the ſeveral writers his ſucceſſors, it will be abſolutely neceſſary for us to enquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether

[r] PILOT. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmemat. 72. Vid. etiam DIODOR. SIC. l. 14 [s] Vid. MARSHAM, Can. Chron. ſecul. 17. De Regib. Aſſyr. [t] Apud SYNCELL. p. 206. [u] De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 20.

who was on the throne of *Aſſyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He obſerves (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Tithon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father ſent an auxiliary againſt the *Greeks*, and fell by the hand of *Achilles*. He tells us the copy of a letter from *Priam* to him was handed about in his time; and alſo that he was called *Tautanes the Second*. This ſtory is borrowed from *Cteſias* (67), who calls this king *Teutamus*, with *Syncellus*, but makes him a diſtinct perſon from *Tithon*, the father of *Memnon*. This romantick author [*Cteſias*] tells us, he ſent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, with as many *Suſians*, people widely different from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the ſuccour and aſſiſtance of king *Priam*, who was his tributary. *Tithon*, according to this ſame author, was at that time governor of *Perſia*, in higheſt favour with the king; and his ſon *Memnon*, who commanded theſe auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the caſtle of *Suſa*, which retained the name of *Memnonia* to the times of the *Perſians*, and had paved a publick way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it ſeems (68), the *Ethiopians* next to *Egypt* denied all this ſtory, and pretended *Memnon* was their countryman, and made ſhow of his palace, which in our author's days they continued to call *Memnonia*. More is ſaid in contradiction to *Cteſias*'s ſtory, but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the ſubject for the preſent.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this ſeeming interpolation of no leſs than four kings in *Syncellus*, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unſettledneſs of the whole ſeries. It was certainly a vague period of hiſtory; and, from the variations of it, may be ſhrewdly ſuſpected of being raiſed upon no ſure foundation, upon no ſuch ſolid baſis as truth. As the whole muſt have been a fable, thoſe who treated of it uſed it as ſuch, by altering it as they ſaw good; or elſe, we cannot ſee why the ſeveral authors and tranſcribers ſhould not agree together in eſſentials, which we find they do not.

(66) *Ibid. p.* 155. (67) DIODOR. SICUL. *Bibliothec. Hiſt. l.* 2. *p.* 77. (68) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

a whether his ſuperſtructure be raiſed upon truth or falſhood. *Ariſtotle*, who was almoſt his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruſes his *Indica* muſt immediately conclude him to have been a man of no ſort of ſincerity; nor is *Ariſtotle* the only one of the antients that has declared againſt him, nor his *Indica* the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better eſtabliſhed by much than it is, his liſt of the *Aſſyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being eaſier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we pleaſe to them[w], and eſpecially for a man who pretends actually to have ſeen ſuch things in *India* as never
b were, and never can be. Upon this the queſtion might naturally enough be aſked, Might not *Cteſias* as well forge his *Aſſyrian* hiſtory, as create the world of monſters he talks of in *India?* And might we not as juſtly ſuſpect him of falſhood, when he pretends to have compiled his hiſtory from orignal records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witneſs of what no mortal alive can believe?

AND this queſtion may be the more pertinently aſked, as both his relation of the *Indies* and his hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* are equally marvellous, and equally impoſſible. Who can ſee *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth muſt have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind muſt have been a good deal in a ſtate of ſimplicity and nature; who can read this and add faith to the hiſtorian? or
c who can read the ſtory of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*, her 300,000 ſkins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine hiſtory, but a moſt barefaced romance? In a word, his *Aſſyrian* hiſtory, as it ſtands in the next ſection, is moſt evidently calculated to aſtoniſh and amaze, and to ſtrain credulity beyond all poſſible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his liſt of the *Aſſyrian* kings of the groſſeſt forgery, is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laoſthenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas*
d is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Piritiades* is regularly, as ſhould ſeem, formed from *Pyritis*, a medicinal herb, with which *Cteſias*, as a phyſician, muſt have been well acquainted. *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Mithræus*, are *Perſian* names. *Soſarmus*, according to himſelf, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which how it ſhould come to paſs, may not be ſo very unaccountable, conſidering the tranſition of the empire from the *Aſſyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Sethos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, ſhould alſo have been the name of an *Aſſyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loſs for. Nothing is more obvious to thoſe who have dipt into genuine hiſtory, and eſpecially the ſcripture, than the wide difference between the *Aſſyrian* names and the *Perſian*, and the ſtill wider between the ſame
e and the *Greek*; ſo that nothing can be ſaid in his behalf, except that he tranſlated ſome of the original names, which is abſolutely falſe; nay, he is confeſſedly ſo ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Aſſyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; ſo far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a moſt glaring inſtance of which will be ſeen anon.

AGAIN, in all long liſts of kings the ſame names, or ſome ſuch, are obſerved often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the *Aſſyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of ſcripture. *Pul*, or *Phul*, *Tiglath-pileſer*, or *Tiglath-pul-aſſur*, *Shalmaneſer*, or *Shalman-aſſur*, *Eſaraddon*
f or *Aſſur-haddon*. For the *Aſſyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods[x], or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. Theſe gods ſeem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Haddon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Melech*, or *Moloc*, *Atſur*, or *Aſſur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Merodach*; as for inſtance in the following, beſides the names above, *Adra-melech*, *Shar-aſſur*, *Nabonaſſar*, or *Nebo-adon-aſſur*, *Bel-adon*, *Chyniladon*, or *Chen-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-aſſur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nabuchadonoſor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-aſſur*, *Nebuzaradan* or *Nebo-aſſur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ilvoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illuſtrate this point. After this, who muſt not reject the wild and arbitrary names in *Cteſias?* who is ſo ignorantly extravagant, as to ſuppoſe *Sardanapalus* to have been the *Greek* name for the laſt

[w] DU PIN's Hiſtor. Biblioth. des Hiſtor. p. 284. [x] Vid. SELDEN, de Dis. Syr.

last *Assyrian* king, though so naturally derivable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he a
pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no
manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware
of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

IF in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of scripture, five
of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there
appears such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all likelihood,
have been often repeated, and continually but varied, in a long list of 36 of them
according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus*? but nothing of this kind is in
either of them to be observed; the names of all of them are different and indepen- b
dent, except in a case or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one
name at all belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in scripture. To suppose these
names to have been unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were
perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others
after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very
safely contradict; they were actually known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of
them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of
Assyria, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*;
and we may thence very fairly conclude, that had he compleated the history of
Assyria he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings c
in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his
conforming with scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: In consi-
deration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly
wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with
many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*,
though obvious to every sense, are swallowed and received for granted, even though
he in every particular clashes with scripture, while the former confirms it, where-
ever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous inequa-
lity some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; an
inequality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their
behalf but ignorance and want of discernment, But this will be more properly d
discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately con-
cerns us.

THE names in *Ctesias*, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt
us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as
another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early
days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be
wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three
fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its
present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against
Ctesias, and particularly, as he writes in direct opposition to the scripture. *Ninus*, e
according to him, must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered
Persia, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, and all *Asia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his imme-
diate successor, adds *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all
this in the book of *Genesis*? even none. The *Canaanites* were under their own
kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midi-*
anites, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines*, were subject to no foreign
yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword
of *Israel*. *Egypt* seemingly enjoyed herself in peace, apprehensive of no danger
from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, f
moved towards *Egypt* with design to invade it. In proof of all which, we need
only refer to the histories of all these nations in the former part of this work.
It appears then, that no *Assyrian* enemy was in these parts for many ages after the
pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, and that all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were
free also from any subjection to *Assyria*, may be proved as plain.

THE *Syrian* monarchy was confessedly older than the *Assyrian*, and extended
on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, and rose after-
wards to its meridian under the race of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly in
the days of *Ben-hadad* and *Hazael* [y]: These ruled a mighty empire Where then
were the *Assyrian* monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their
power?

[y] See before, p. 387, 388.

power? *David*, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this
a side of the *Euphrates* [z], and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independence and freedom, till the days of *Shalmaneser*, who was set at defiance by the *Tyrians* [a], though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Phœnice*, and you will perceive no glimpse of an *Assyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*, who lived above 2200 years after the deluge, according to the *Samaritan* computation, which we profess to follow.

We have formerly [b] almost ventured to assert, that the *Assyrians* imposed their religion on the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*; which, if it can any way be made to
b appear, must argue the *Assyrian* monarchy to have been posterior to the ancient *Syrian* empire. We have seen, that the ancient gods of *Syria* were *Rimmon*, *Adad*, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings [c]. These were the gods of the *Syrians*; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivation [d], others were introduced into the country, as the custom was [e]; and accordingly, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, we find the statues of *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus* [f]. These, as *Assyrians*, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of *Damascus*; we would urge, that *Semiramis* herself is said to have been a *Philistine*, to have
c been born in the neighbourhood of *Ascalon*, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the *Assyrian* kings, and, as should seem, in the reign of *Ninus* [g]. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the *Proper Palestine*, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of *Pul*, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily discerned by the history of the *Philistines*, in the former part of this work.

The father of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, is said to have been an *Assyrian* [h]; and it is thought, the whole system almost of the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* superstition migrated from the banks of the *Tigris* [i]; and as this seems very natural, and
d may be supported by many powerful arguments, we are apparently wrong in not rejecting *Ctesias*, who, in opposition to scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

Having endeavoured to destroy the credit of *Ctesias*, and therewith the first table of the *Assyrian* kings from *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the *Assyrian* empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of *Syria* and the neighbouring countries it appears, the *Assyrians* had no power in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, in the
e decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer home, is a matter never to be doubted. We have elsewhere said [k], that the *Assyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menahem*; and this is not only to be demonstrated by scripture and *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon, but by several of the most approved and sincerest profane writers.

Herodotus [l], that venerable and much injured historian, observes, that the *Assyrians* had been masters of the *Upper Asia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years,
f inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Asia*. These two sums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, which being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Christ*, which is universally stated at 559 years before *Christ*, will make 1229, the whole interval between the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Christ*, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common profane accounts; though it will

[z] See before 382. 777. [a] Menan. apud Joseph. Antiq. Judai. l. 9. c. 14. [b] See before in the notes, p. 399. [c] See before, p. 372. [d] Ibid. p. 390. [e] Ibid. p. 861. [f] Ibid. p. 237. [g] Ctes. apud Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 65. [h] See before in the notes, p. 400. [i] Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amended, p. 27. [k] See before, p. 173. [l] l. 1. c. 95.

will exceed the æra of *Nabonaſſar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus*'s numbers, as they ſtand with us, are doubtleſs too long, though ſo much ſhort of *Cteſias* and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus*'s computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chuſhan-riſhathaim*, king of *Meſopotamia*, or *Aram-Naharaim*, who kept the children of *Iſrael* under for the ſpace of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel* [m]. In what ſenſe this *Cuſhan-riſhathaim* may have been conſidered as an *Aſſyrian*, we take not upon us to ſay, or whether he was ſo or not, farther than we are obliged to declare him not to have been of that nation *, ſeeing he is in ſcripture [n] called a *Meſopotamian*, and ſeeing we might with as much juſtice call *Chedorlaomer* an *Aſſyrian*, though he is expreſly ſaid to have been an *Elamite*, or *Perſian*: And this care in the ſacred pen-men, thus to diſtinguiſh the men who from the beginning made inroads upon the *Ciſeuphratenſian* regions, expreſly ſaying the firſt was an *Elamite*, the ſecond a *Meſopotamian*, and expreſly calling *Pul* an *Aſſyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of *Aſſyria*; but that *Herodotus* ſhould be a little elder in his date than may have been quite exact, will not perhaps be wondered at by thoſe who rightly conſider what we have urged in the former part of this ſection.

Again, *Herodotus* tells us [o], that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus* [p], or *Cteſias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labynetus* [*Nabonadius*] the laſt king of *Babylon*, which as, by the largeſt computation, cannot exceed 200 years [q], ſhe may have been the wife of ſome one of the kings in *Ptolemy*'s canon, and perhaps of *Nabonaſſar* himſelf.

For theſe reaſons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on, and for the ſame are we much to regret the hiſtory of *Aſſyria* he promiſes; and for which he doubtleſs was furniſhed with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and converſed with the natives; which though a late author [r] makes ſlight of, preſuming the inhabitants might be miſtaken themſelves, and conſequently lead him into errors; yet muſt it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*, ſince he could poſſibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of conſulting the national records themſelves.

Nor is he not ſupported and followed by ſome of the very weightieſt of the ancients. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* [s] takes notice, that the *Aſſyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was ancient, it did not extend over a very great part of *Aſia*, and that it was not ſo potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which aroſe upon its ruins. *Appian* [t] affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Aſſyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Perſian*, to have made up no more in ſum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before Chriſt, will remove the riſe of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy to the diſtance of 1236 years before Chriſt, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above, by no more than ſeven years; upon which we cannot but wonder, St. *Jerome* [u], who follows *Cteſias*, ſhould roundly aſſert, that *Ninus* was the firſt that ruled over all *Aſia*, and that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the ſame mind.

Such are the ſentiments of the moſt judicious of the prophane hiſtorians, concerning the duration of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy; and they ſeem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their ſide, who, in recounting the moſt potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was beſieged, is quite ſilent as to any *Aſſyrian* monarch, though, after the rate *Cteſias* reckons, that ten years war was waged within the *Aſſyrian* dominions.

By what we have ſaid againſt the firſt table of the *Aſſyrian* kings, according to *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*, and the preparatory arguments we have been uſing in behalf of the ſecond, according to ſcripture and this hiſtory, it muſt appear to an attentive reader, that the *Aſſyrian* monarchy is of late date, in compariſon of what has been too much imagined, even by ſome of the moſt learned; as alſo, that it is in ſcripture, that we have the neareſt view of the riſe of the monarchy before us; and more particularly, ſince it is evident, by *Ptolemy*'s canon, that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of *Nabonaſſar*, who may have been a deſcendant of *Pul*'s, the firſt *Aſſyrian* monarch mentioned in ſcripture, a point

[m] Judg. c. iii. ver. 8. * See before in the notes, p. 861. [n] Judg. xi. [o] Ubi ſup. c. 184. [p] l. 2. p. 67. [q] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 522. [r] Bedford, in his Script. Chronol. p. 774. [s] l. 1. [t] In Præfat. p. 5. [u] In Hoſeam c. 2.

a a point, which may be more properly diſcuſſed in the chronology of *Babylon*; though, by the way, *Ptolemy* calls all the kings in his canon *Aſſyrians*, which was a common practice [w].

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be diſputed, and it moſt remarkably reduces the *Aſſyrian* æra to the bounds of ſcripture hiſtory, or nearly ſo; for though *Pul* himſelf will not fall within the compaſs, he will ſo little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince, he was the firſt conſiderable monarch in theſe parts: but this being what we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under conſideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, ex-
b cept we do it relatively to ourſelves in the weſtern parts; and in that caſe we muſt compute from the year of *Pul*'s firſt appearance on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, which was about the ſecond year of *Menahem*, 23 years before the æra of *Nabonaſſar*, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Chriſt.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to aſcertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot ſettle beyond all poſſibility of diſpute. The text of ſcripture, which gives us ſo near a proſpect of its beginning, and relates to us ſome of the remarkable tranſactions of five of its moſt potent princes, drops us on a ſudden; ſo that we are obliged to reſort to the *Apocrypha* and *Ptolemy*'s canon, for the ſucceſſors of the great *Eſarhaddon*. The
c book of *Judith* ſo very nicely correſponds with *Herodotus*, in what he ſays of the war between the declining *Aſſyrians* and the riſing *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and ſeeing the reign of *Nabuchadonoſor* moſt naturally coincides with that of *Chyniladon* in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the ſame king, the ſecond in deſcent from *Eſarhaddon*, or *Aſſaraddin*: as for *Sarac*, whom we borrow from *Polyhiſtor* [x], and whom we alſo call *Sardanapalus*, from a ſimilitude of his ſtory and exit in the ſame hiſtorian, with what is related thereof by *Cteſias*, we muſt confeſs ourſelves conſiderably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Aſſyrian* hiſtory. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polyhiſtor* is a follower of
d *Cteſias*, and as ſuch we have conſidered him; but we would anſwer, with the aſſiſtance of Sir *Iſaac Newton* [y], That there may be ſomething of truth in the bottom of the *Cteſian* Hiſtory, as there uſes to be in romances; as that *Niniveh* was deſtroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that *Sardanapalus* was the laſt king of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and that *Aſtibares* and *Aſtyages* were kings of the *Medes*. But whence it is, that we have no ſuch name as *Sarac* in the *Nabonaſſarian* canon, we ſhall here forbear to enquire; ſeeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the hiſtory of his reign; and therefore, ſince nothing poſitive can be aſcertained, as to this laſt ſtage of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this Section.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of ASSYRIA, *according to* Cteſias *of* Cnidos, *and his Followers.*

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery all and falſehood, yet, as it has been ſo long received for truth, by moſt of the wiſeſt and moſt ſagacious hiſtorians and chronologers, and, as we may ſay, from all antiquity admitted into the body of hiſtory, we are under an indiſpenſible obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is, with great ſolemnity and all poſſible confidence, handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince of martial genius and immenſe

[w] PERIZON. Antiq. Babylonic. p. 10. [x] Apud SYNCELL. [y] Chronolog. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to ſay, there never was ſuch a king as *Ninus*, or ſuch a king as his pretended predeceſſor *Belus*; but it is very likely, theſe names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, *Niniveh* and *Babel*, or *Babylon*. However, thus far we know; he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Aſſur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69); and therefore it is impoſſible, *Ninus* ſhould have been the firſt king. We would do all we ſafely could to reconcile

(69) *See before, p.* 860.

immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and a erect an empire over them: to this purpose, he assembled together the robustest of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, and enured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war [z] (Y).

BEING now in a state to execute his purpose, but apprehending, he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league with *Ariæus* their king; whereby, if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But *Ariæus* joined forces with him, and marched with him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself was stored with b cities, whose inhabitants, unknowing in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to

[z] Apud DIODOR. SICUL. Bibliot. Histor. l. 2.

concile the sacred history with the profane, and will allow, with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Ashur Ninus*; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus*, (whom they will have to be *Cush*), and let *Ninus* be the son of *Nimrod*; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost. Let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in their neighbourhood, not in far distant countries; with a few thousands at their heels, not with millions; with rude and undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus*, is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great *Egyptian Sesostris* (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person; for *Tzetzes* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Assyria*, and observes, he is the same *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesoosis* (74), that he was monarch of the *Assyrians*, that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon the same occasion told of the *Egyptian Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Assyrian*.

The parallel is plain; *Amenophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquests foretold of him (76), the world being then unconscious of the havock of the sword; *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(Z) It is made an objection to the *Ctesian* history of *Assyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians*, before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by *Joktan* (78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these ancient *Arabians*, How it was they were in *Ninus*'s days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesostris* older in these parts than *Ninus?* our author (80) insinuates no. By prophane authors, they must have been nearly of an age. Now if *Sesostris* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; *Justin* (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesostris*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Assyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Ariæus* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his *Assyrian* friend, than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented, our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting; and the rather, because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented, it is very strange, the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Assyrians* themselves knew any thing of the matter; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose,

(70) PETAV. *de Doctr. Tempor.* (71) *Biblioth. Histor. l.* 2. (72) *See before, p.* 249. (73) *Chil.* 3. *v.* 83. *ad calc. edit. Gal.* HERODOT. *p.* 676. (74) *See before, p.* 249. (75) *Ibid. p.* 249. (76) *Ibid. p.* 258. (77) BERN. MONTFAUC. *apud* DU PIN. *Biblioth. Univ. des Histor. p.* 286. (78) *See before, p.* 169. (79) *Ibid. p.* 254. (80) DIODOR. SICUL. *l.* 2. (81) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. (82) CTES. *apud* DIODOR. SICUL. *ubi supr.*

a to the turbulent and aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia*; but upon this condition, that he should be to him as a vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrew its king *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew, the king himself
b was taken prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, and crucified [a] (E).

And now nothing would serve him, but he must make himself master of all *Asia*, between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprise, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conquest *Media*, while he marched away against the other provinces of *Asia*, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced all, but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he subjugated, it seems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one described and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *His conquests.*

[a] Apud eund. ibid.

suppose, that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them should have cultivated the use of the sword before the *Assyrians*, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of *Assyria*; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge, and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83); and the people to have been a warlike enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Shinar*, or *Babylon* (84), making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others, in company with the king of *Elam* (85). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Bactra* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province and its more antient cities were swept away at once. How this agrees with the scripture, we leave the reader to judge; it is *toto cœlo* distant from it; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absurdity of this position; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about; it must have been, because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed, their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another, and so on.

(C) What this prince should have done to provoke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at; but it is plain, he could give him no great offence; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the *Assyrian*; and that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture; perhaps for variety sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first made some resistance; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal, and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards; or we cannot possibly perceive, why he should be suffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and inoffensive king of *Babylon*; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror; and if not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man; so that here *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly proposed for a pattern of true justice and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of resistence in these three nations that were first attacked, upon the supposition, that the world in those days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were first attacked, make no resistence at all; the *Armenians*, whose turn was next, make some faint shew of resistence; and now the *Medes*, who came third in turn, resist indeed. For here we find, they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a most bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, must have made a very extraordinary progress in the art of war, and must have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vassal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and so he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* seems to have been as much too strong, as the *Armenian* and *Babylonian* are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconsistency one could wish.

(83) *See before, p.* 142 (84) *Ibid. p.* 326. 424 (85) *Genes. xiv.*

Lydia, *Troas*, and *Phrygia* upon the *Hellespont*, the *Propontis*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, a together with the barbarous nations from *Pontus* to the *Tanais*; the *Caduſians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrcanians*, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choramneans*, *Borchanians*, and *Parthians*, not excepting *Perſia*, *Suſiana*, and what was called *Caſpiana*, which he penetrated by the paſſes called the *Caſpian Straits* (F). Other nations of leſs account he now ſubdued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impreſſion on the *Bactrians*, who were ſecured by the difficulty of their paſſes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore he defers his war with them, till he ſhould be better aſſured of making his attempt with ſucceſs [b].

Returns into his own country.

LEADING his army back again into his own country [*Syria*, as it is called] (H), he determined to raiſe himſelf as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he b hoped he ſhould enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with this deſign, marked out a ſpot of ground whereon to erect a city, which, for extent and ſtatelineſs, ſhould not only far ſurpaſs all that had ever before been in the world, but alſo be ſuch as ſhould, with the greateſt difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having diſmiſſed the *Arabian* king, who had followed him in his wars, with high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multitude of hands about him, and amaſſed a treaſure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which roſe to that ſtupendous degree, as was never after beheld in any city whatſoever. It ſtood on, or near, the *Euphrates* (L), ſurrounded with lofty walls and towers; the former being 100 feet in height, the c latter 200, and 1500 in number; for this city was an oblong ſquare, no leſs than 480 ſtades in circumference, or 74 miles; the walls were ſo very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breaſt. This city, which he honoured with his name, *Ninus* [*Nineveh*], he gave for a poſſeſſion to the moſt eminent of the *Aſſyrians*

Diſmiſſes the king of Arabia.

Nineveh *built, and deſcribed.*

[b] Apud eund. ibid.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to our author. All theſe conqueſts were made, with uninterrupted ſucceſs, by *Ninus*; and theſe numerous nations, and others, were ever after conſidered as parts of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, till its diſſolution; a falſhood, which may be proved by what we know of the hiſtory of every of theſe nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any ancient *Aſſyrian* king, *Ninus*, or any other, their ſubjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the hiſtory of the ſeveral nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any *Aſſyrian* yoke, from the firſt times we know of, down to the days of *Pul*: an interval of many ages, during which no *Aſſyrian* monarchy, exiſted on this ſide of the *Euphrates*. So that if any ſuch there had been, and if its duration was ſuch as *Cteſias* and his followers report, it muſt, according to the *Hebrew* computation, or the *Samaritan*, have taken riſe may ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time theſe nations, and particularly all on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of *Abraham* down to *Pul*, there is no veſtige of an *Aſſyrian* power extended over the weſtern parts of *Aſia*. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the perſon of *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* king, according to ſcripture; after him, theſe nations, or many of them, and particularly thoſe on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, did confeſſedly pay obedience to the *Aſſyrian* throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at leaſt for any continuance; ſo that there could have been nothing of this pretended *Aſſyrian* monarchy from *Abraham* to *Pul*, which is an interval of about 1150 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between *Abraham* and the flood, will remove the riſe of this monarchy ſo near to us, in compariſon of what profane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How theſe *Bactrians* came to be ſuch very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they muſt never have had the experience of a ſingle campaign before they had to do with the ambitious *Ninus*. The ſame arguments may be brought to prove, that *Ninus* could not poſſibly know what they were for ſoldiers, as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonſtrate he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the *Arabians*; for if we ſuppoſe, with our author and *Trogus* (86), that *Ninus* was the firſt real warrior, we cannot allow, there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conqueſts; and though ſome nations, during his progreſs, may have put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, *Ninus* could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their ſtature and ſtrength of body; which may, it is moſt likely, have been the ſame in all theſe neigbouring nations. In ſhort, conſidering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as alſo the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to ſuppoſe, he could dread any one of theſe nations more than another.

(H) We have already (87) obſerved, that *Syria* and *Aſſyria* are promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and that this is the cauſe of much confuſion in geography (88).

(I) This is *Seſoſtris* exactly: Thus he, returning from the conqueſt of *Aſia*, *applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the publick good* (89).

(K) Thus alſo did *Seſoſtris* to his army (90).

(L) This is falſe; it was not the ſituation of this city (91). This inaccuracy, which is more than once repeated by our author (92), has been noted by ſeveral geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the miſtake from his admired *Cteſias*, or whether he ſtruck it out of himſelf, is quite uncertain.

(86) JUSTIN *l.* 1. *c.* 1. (87) *See before, p.* 857. (90) *Ibid.* (91) *Ibid. in the notes, p.* 126.
(88) *Ibid. in the notes.* (89) *See before, p.* 257. (92) DIODOR. SICUL. *Biblioth. Hiſtor. l.* 2.

a *Assyrians* (M), with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding thereto a large territory to be dependent thereon [c].

THIS work dispatched, but in what space of time they are not so good as to tell us, *Ninus* takes the field again to subdue the *Bactrians*, whom he had left unconquered; and though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation. Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely mortal, for she sprang from a goddess, *Derceto* by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (N), who came to be represented by b a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the following remarkable occasion; This goddess, some how or other, laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to punish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love of a youth, who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her, and unfortunately conceiving by him, she was delivered of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desart, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O*). Mean while the unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves or pigeons (P), which frequented near, and kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring c cottages; and when, at a year old, the child required a more substantial food, they picked cheese for her, and conveyed it to her; which being remarked by the neighbouring shepherds, who had their cheeses thus served, they made search after the cause, and in the end found a beautiful child, which they took home with them, and

Ninus *again makes war with the* Bactrians.

Semiramis; *her birth*;

[c] Apud eund. ibid.

(M) this again is almost the very story of *Sesostris, who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in* Egypt, *on his whole army* (93).

(N) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Proper Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (94); so that by this account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), *Semiramis* was a *Philistine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul*, many ages after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the *Philistine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the *Derceto* of *Ascalon*.

(O*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (98), where, near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess, was a lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature, which we have at length described (99). But whether *Ascalon*, or *Hierapolis*, was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is a most uncertain matter.

(P) Hence it should be, that *Ascalon* was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of the contrary (1).

There are those who are ready to believe, *Semiramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* insinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, signifying a *dove* (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, reject the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of *Assyria* was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the *Assyrian* shield in these terms; *The field* Sol, *a dove volant* proper (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned † to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *quia facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie iræ columbæ*; where, in our translation, instead of the *anger of the dove*, we read the *fierceness of the oppressor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, ἀπὸ προσωπου τῆς μαχαιρας, *the face of the sword*; which, in a very ancient *Saxon* translation in the library of *Christ-church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus taken, *the face of the sword of the kulver*. That the dove was a peculiar distinction of *Assyria*, may be collected from *Hosea*'s (11) *dove out of the land of* Assyria. In fine, it is by *Cornelius à Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of St. *Jerome*, related, that God calls *Nebuchadnazzer* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expressive of the lascivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameless figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14): All this is extremely dark.

(93) *See before, p.* 255. (94) *Ibid. p.* 340. (95) *Ibid. p.* 869. (96) *Ibid. p.* 343. (97) *Ibid. ibid.* (98) *Ibid. p.* 373. (99) *Ibid.* (100) *Ibid. p.* 340. (1) PHILO. *apud* EUSEB. *Præpar. Evangelic. l.* 8. *p.* 398. (2) *Biblioth. Hist. l,* 2. . (3) GREGOR. *in Posthum. p.* 235. (4) JOSEPH. SCALIG. *in Not. ad Fragm, p.* 43. (5) *Vid.* GREGOR. *ubi sup.* (6) *Vid. Eund. ibidem.* (7) *Ibid.* † *Ibid. p.* 236. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Jerem. xxv. com.* 38. (10) *Vid.* GREGOR. *ubi sup.* (11) *Ch. xi.* 2. (12) *Vid.* GREGOR. *ubi sup.* (13) PIER. *apud eund.* (14) *See before, p.* 373.

and sent to the chief of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q), who being childless adopted her his own, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, which signifies doves or pigeons (R), which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities [d]. a

Is married, and carried to Nineveh.

SHE grew up, and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though, at the same time, no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma*'s house, and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself, conducted her to *Niniveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom [e]. b

HAVING said thus much, preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did, or thought he should, before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*; and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* in *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew [f].

Ninus's *extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the* Bactrians.

Why not incredible.

c

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the straits and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemies country [g].

Bactria *a populous and well fortified country.*

BUT before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of *Bactria*, that one *Oxyartes* was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrian* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the [h] city and fortress of *Bactra* itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T.) d e

Semiramis *goes to the camp before* Bactra.

DURING this siege, *Semiramis*'s fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once

[d] Apud eund. ibid. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

(Q) The name of this man, *Simma*, has made some mistake him for no less than *Sem*, or *Shem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Ascalon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the LXX, the name of a river, not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare these *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think, they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered, with any propriety or consistency.

(15) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Posth. p.* 235.

(16) *Vid.* ORTEL. *Thesaur. Geograph. ad vocem.*

a once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so took with the fancy, that the *Medes* are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the *Persians* also [i].

She no sooner arrived before *Bactra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, and with these she, with unspeakable toil and dexterity, got possession of part of the citadel, *She is the cause that the city is taken.*
b and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to assault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildest consternation, the whole place was immediately reduced [k] (U).

Ninus, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as she deserved, and presently fell a slave to her irresistable beauty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to surrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promise of giving him his daughter *Sosana* in marriage; but this making no impression on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately went and hung himself. Thus was it, that *Ninus* became possessed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (V), *marries her;*
c who was now advanced to the imperial dignity [l]. Ninus *first smitten with her;*

Ninus, now lord of *Bactra*, returned with immense spoil, particularly of gold and silver; and some time afterwards had a son by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom (dying) he left to the care of his wife, whom he constituted regent of the empire (W). She deposited her husband in the palace, and raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful *has a son by her.*

[i] Apud eund. Ibid. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid.

(U) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabulist, and an awkard one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic. But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesostris*, his daughter *Athyrte* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Athyrte* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder, that *Tzetzes* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesostris* (18), or if any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus*. We would now add, that the *Bactrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we shall not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(V) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Assur* the son of *Shem*, which is much the same as making, her the daughter of *Shem*, as we have observed, some would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son *Ninyas* better agrees with the *Hebrew* way of writing the name of the city of *Nineveh*, than that of her pretended husband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been imposed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Assur*, the grandson of *Noah* (22). According to this notion *Shem* himself must have been the vulgar *Belus*, the supposed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and descended from *Ham*. The absurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonstrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to animadvert thereon in this place.

(W) Thus was it then, that she became queen of *Assyria*; but by another author (24) we understand, that as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them; though in right of the minor her son. That to conceal this, she cloathed herself so as not to be known from her son, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and that thenceforward they retained the habit. This account of the dress, which she is said by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) relates concerning the same, that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persepolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persepolis* (28).

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* *; since, according to the historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(17) *See before, p.* 254. (18) *Ibid. in the notes, p.* 872. (19) Just. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. (20) *Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp. p.* 43. (21) *Ibid.* (22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) Just. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. (25) *Biblioth. Histor. l. p.* 67. (26) *Ibid.* (27) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 195. (28) *See* Chardin's *and* Le Bruyn's *Travels.* * *Hist. of the World, c.* 12. § 2.

wonderful dimension, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), a conspicuous, and very remarkably so, over all the plain, where the city of *Nineveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument, many ages after the subversion of the empire [m].

Semiramis's character; resolves to build Babylon.

Semiramis, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y), to which end she determined to erect a city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparation for the work, and assembling together two millions of men to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided by the *Euphrates*, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360 stades in circuit (Z), of such thickness, that six chariots might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with 250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and between this wall and the houses therein was left a space of two plethra, or 200 feet [n]. b

The manner she contrived to have the city built in a short time.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dispatch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the surface required, allotting to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed no more than the short space of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and to join the divided parts of the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as substantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypress, and palm-trees; but the breadth of it, which was seemingly too small for the length, which was five stades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred stades in length; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* passing through the midst of *Babylon*, from north to south, these two palaces stood, the one to the east, the other to the west; both of them sumptuous and magnificent to the utmost. The western was surrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 stades in circum- c d

[m] Apud eund. ibid. [n] Ibid.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile; and by this same rule it must have been a mile and half quarter in height. This seems so incredible to Monsr. *Rollin* in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the absurdities of the several profane authors in his history, and rejected most of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in history and geography, by the assiduous researches of later days, that he is willing to think the stade made but little more than the sixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as some have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes, she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (30). Thus is it his translator expresses himself in *English*, which we are, for this once, obliged to use for want of the original *French*. But this thought seems to be a little too refined for the early times he supposes her to have lived in; besides, his historian (31) warrants him in nothing of the sort that we can perceive. This her ambition puts us in mind of a story told of her, That she was a *Syrian* by birth, a servant-maid to one of the king's servants, and the king's concubine; and that at length she got such an ascendant over the great *Ninus*, that she obtained of him to let her sit on the throne and command for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be most exactly executed, she at last ordered her guards to seize on *Ninus* himself, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was she became queen of *Asia* (32). This same story, with some variation, is also told by others. If the former part of this be true, she had some reason to be ashamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor; who, according to this, must have been such a *Ninus* as described by *Phœnix Colophonius* (33), who is represented exactly as another *Sardanapalus*, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same; for we cannot conceive, how so very effeminate a character can suit with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroyed him; but for such a prince, as *Ninus* is on all sides allowed to have been, we cannot apprehend, it could have been in her power, either to have pacified her new subjects, or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) We shall have occasion hereafter to describe this city in form, so that we here confine ourselves to what *Ctesias* relates of it, regardless, whether true or false, which we reserve for a particular inquiry in the history of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

(29) *Hist. of the Assyr. vol. II. p. 8. in a note at the bottom.* (30) *Ibid. p. 9.* (31) DIODOR. SIC. *l. 2. p. 95.* (32) PLUTARCH. *Apophthegm. p. 75.* (33) *Apud* ATHEN. *Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 530.*

a circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathoms high, and thereon were raised towers of 70 of the same measure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures as before; and more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height and upwards; in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself, mounted on a steed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near in close combat with a lyon, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 stades about. To this palace she had three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance [o].

b THIS palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that, besides brazen statues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, their great officers, and *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of various kinds of hunting, to the great delight and recreation of the beholder [p].

The lake she dug.

ALL this being compleated, *Semiramis* sunk a vast lake, vast, considering it was c sunk by the labour of man. This lake, for so we may well call it, was four square; each side of it was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 foot in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of *Euphrates*, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was 20 bricks thick, 12 foot high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its antient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the *Persian* conquest [q].

Temple of Belus.

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, she built a temple to d *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of exceeding height (A); that, like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that on the top of it *Semiramis* placed three statues of beaten gold, *viz.* of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The statue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking, forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: The statue of *Rhea* was of the same weight, and sat in a golden throne, with a lyon standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The statue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she with her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and with her left she held a scepter enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the e three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flaggons, or goblets of 30 talents weight, and near them two censers, but these weighed 300 talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which particularly that dedicated to *Jupiter* weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600 [r] (B).

Builds several cities.

ALL this is attributed to *Semiramis*, and much more there is to come. *Babylon* was not the only city she raised, she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains *Her obelisk.* f of *Armenia*, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses, and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood

[o] Apud eund. ibid. [p] Ibid. [q] Ibid. [r] Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and must refer the reader back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis*'s bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(34) *See before*, p. 145.

(35) *Hist. Nat. l.* 34. *c.* 3. *p.* 584. *Edit. Frob.*

neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world [s]. a

Wars upon the Medes.

WHEN *Semiramis* had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, and marches away into *Media*, and there incamps near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: It was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and towards this same garden; its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said *to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her*. At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, and attended by 100 of her choicest guards [t]. b

FROM hence she marched till she came to *Chaon*, a city of the *Medes*, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C); for, jealous of her power and high command, she would take no partner to her bed; but chose rather to admit the comelicst men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death [u] (D). c

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent precipices impassable, but by much labour and loss of way. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to travel that way (E). This she did with infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRAMIS'S ROAD, or WAY. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any where else done. The city, till then, had laboured under a want of water, a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence [w]. d

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her as she went, in parts incommoded by eminences of the sort; and on the contrary, in plain and champain tracks, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would build towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminence, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS [x].

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Lybia* to what belonged to her before; and paying a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, *She should vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the* Asiatic *nations, at such time as her son* Ninyas *should plot against her life*. How she took this, we are not told; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of that fabulous country, she marched back into *Asia*, and reposed herself at *Bactra* [y]. e

Resolves to invade India.

HERE she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, she meditated a war against the king of *India*. She had been informed of the transcendant amœnity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; and resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, knowing well what a task she should have of it, she ordered all her governors in general to select a proportion of the choicest of the youth in their provinces, and to furnish f

[s] Apud eund. ibid. [t] Ibid. [u] Ibid. [w] Ibid. [x] Ibid. [y] Ibid.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband *Ninus*, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Sesostris*, for valour and magnificence.

a furniſh them with compleat habiliments for war, and to take care they rendezvouſed at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the ſpace of three years. She ſent for ſhipwrights out of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places, and, preparing a ſtore of timber anſwerable to her deſigns, ſhe ordered, that they ſhould frame her a certain number of veſſels, to be tranſported in pieces by land, wherewith to croſs the *Indus*, whoſe adjacencies were deſtitute of wood [z].

Her Mock-elephants.

SHE in the next place conſidered, that ſhe laboured under a great diſadvantage by the want of elephants, in which *Stabrobates*, the king of *India* at that time, was mighty and ſtrong. How to get any ſhe knew not; art therefore muſt be uſed, and ſhe ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking particularly b to terrify the *Indians* by this ſtratagem, they being poſſeſſed with aſſurance, the elephant was no where a native but in their country. The thing is reſolved on, 300,000 black oxen are ſlaughtered, and their fleſh diſtributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be ſtuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were ſurrounded by a lofty incloſure, and no body ſuffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about, and convey the news to the *Indian* king [a].

Stabrobates, king of India, *prepares to receive her.*

HER veſſels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, ſhe, in the third, rendezvouſed her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions c of foot, 200,000 horſe, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded ſwords four cubits long. Her tranſports were 2000 in number, and carried by camels (F), as were alſo the mock-elephants, which the horſemen endeavoured to familiariſe to their ſteeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle [b].

Semiramis *on the banks of the* Indus.

Stabrobates heard of this, and prepared for the ſtorm; and firſt he built him 4000 boats of the great canes [Bamboo's], which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*. He added to the number of elephants he had before, cauſing numbers to be taken for that purpoſe, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful d to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he ſends ambaſſadors to *Semiramis*, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the ſame time, upbraiding her with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She peruſed this letter, ſmiled at the contents, and anſwered, *The* Indian *ſhould ere long be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions* [c].

WHEN ſhe came to the banks of the *Indus*, ſhe diſcovered the enemy's fleet drawn up againſt her; whereupon ſhe prepared and launched her own, which ſhe manned with the braveſt of her people and gave battle, ordering it ſo, that thoſe e aſhore might be aiding and aſſiſting upon occaſion. The fight was obſtinate, but *Semiramis*, in the end, came off victorious, ſunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of priſoners. Elated with this, ſhe fell on the cities and iſlands of the river, and made 100,000 captives [d].

UPON

[z] Apud eund. ibid. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid.

(F) Theſe numbers, ſays *Suidas* (35), ſhe levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus*, who, by his name, ſhould have been her kinſman. The ſame author (36) exaggerates theſe numbers moſt monſtrouſly, writing, that ſhe thus gave orders to the ſaid *Dercetæus*, 'Go to, *and prepare for an expedition in three* 'years, *beginning from the* Helleſpont *and* Libya *to* 'Bactria, *and levy three millions of foot, one million* 'of *horſe*, 100,000 *ſcythed chariots, and the like number* 'of *men to fight upon camels*; 200,000 *camels for* 'other *uſes*; *and let there be* 300,000 *ox-hides pre-* 'pared, *and* 3000 *ſhips built in* Bactria, *with brazen* 'prows, *and manned by* Syrians, Phœnicians, Cy- 'priots, Cilicians, *and others on the ſea-coaſts quite* 'to *the* Helleſpont.' This is a notable addition to the *Cteſian* ſtory, and a great inſtance of credulity, or preſumption, in the writer, and tempts us to ſay, that the *Greek* hiſtorians ſeem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of repreſenting them as they really were. For here it is obſerved (37), that no ſpot on the face of the earth could have ſuſtained theſe multitudes, though every man and beaſt had fed upon nothing but graſs.

(35) *Ad vocem* Σεμιραμὶς. (36) *Ibid.* (37) Raleigh's *Hiſt. of the World, ubi ſupr.*

Stabrobates *feigns a Retreat.*

UPON this *Stabrobates* draws off his army, as if afraid, but in truth to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and ſhe, ignorant of his meaning, no ſooner perceived his retreat, than ſhe ordered a broad bridge of boats to be ſtretched acroſs the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while ſhe went in purſuit of the flying *Indian*. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it ſeems, that herein ſhe did not contrive amiſs; for the *Indian* ſcouts, miſtaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their countrymen, who, all aſtoniſhed, could not conceive, whence the *Aſſyrians* ſhould have furniſhed themſelves with theſe tremendous creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for ſome of *Semiramis*'s people, deſerting over to the *Indians*, for fear of puniſhment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Stabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army [c].

Semiramis *on the other ſide of the* Indus.

Semiramis, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, continuing with her falſe elephants in her front, which came up with the *Indian* horſe and chariots, which had been diſpoſed at ſome diſtance, before the groſs of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright ſeizes the *Indian* horſe, who at a diſtance, accuſtomed to the ſight of elephants, advanced with great fury; but within ſcent of theſe ox hides, it was new and offenſive to them, and they broke into the wildeſt diſorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midſt of the *Aſſyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the diſordered *Indians*, and compleatly routed them and drove them back again to the groſs of their army. *Stabrobates*, in ſome degree of conſternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, ſuſtained by his elephants, himſelf mounted on a ſtately one in his right wing, and oppoſite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The ſhock was violent and had a ſudden effect, and great was the ſlaughter cauſed particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis*'s mock-elephants now proved uſeleſs and cumberſom, and the whole *Aſſyrian* army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midſt of this battle, the *Aſſyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand, and he wounded her firſt in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her ſhoulder, as ſhe was turning about to get from him, and truſting to the fleetneſs of her horſe, ſhe fled with the reſt of her army [f].

Her overthrow and flight.

Her fight with the king of India.

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was ſuch, that many who had eſcaped the hand of the enemy were miſerably preſſed to death, or periſhed under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or ſhoved into the river from the ſides of the bridge. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had croſſed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and deſtroyed, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, many of whom periſhed by this means. And now ſhe was ſafe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and not only ſo, but the *Indian* was alſo admoniſhed not to be eager for the purſuit, by the intervention of prodigies, and the like: In a word, having on each ſide made an exchange of priſoners, *Semiramis* returned to *Bactra* with ſcarce a third part of of the army ſhe had carried out (G) [g],

Her end.

AND now, under this eclipſe of her glory, ſhe approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, ſhe is attempted to be aſſaſſinated by an eunuch, ſubdolouſly and unnaturally employed by her ſon (H), and thereupon, calling to mind the anſwer

[c] Apud eund. ibid. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

(G) *Arrian* (38) and *Strabo* (39), ſay, ſhe died in the midſt of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*, though by this laſt * ſhe ſhould have made her eſcape, but with no more than 20 men at her heels; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* thinks this number to be too ſmall a remnant of ſo infinite a multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long courſe of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forborn to animadvert on, apprehending, we have ſaid abundantly enough in the former part of this Section to prepare the reader for a diſbelief of what was to follow, which indeed were a needleſs taſk, had not this piece of hiſtory received the ſanction of ſome of the greateſt men in all ages; we muſt now enquire into her end, and particularly, how it ſhould come to paſs, that her ſon *Ninyas* ſought her life. We are told (40), that ſhe would unnaturally have tempted him to commit inceſt with her, and that thereupon he conceived ſuch a hatred of her, that he could not bear that ſhe ſhould live any longer, and therefore murdered her. *Diodorus*, or his author *Cteſias* rather, here tells us, her ſon employed an eunuch to diſpatch her, but that ſhe eſcaped and vaniſhed from ſight. We have ſeen, by the ſame author, that ſhe gave herſelf up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*,

(38) *In Lib. Rer. Indicar. p.* 15. *p.* 686, 722.

(39) *Geograph.* * *Ibid. Hiſt. of the World, ubi ſupra.*

(40) *Juſt. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

a anſwer ſhe had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, ſhe ſuppreſſed all thoughts of revenge for what had been cauſed, as it were, by a divine fatality; ſhe forgave her ſon, ſurrendred up every thing to him, commanded all her ſubjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was tranſlated from the ſight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled, ſhe made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which ſettled upon her palace juſt at the time, and ſay they, it was hence the *Aſſyrians* were addicted to the worſhip of a dove (I). In fine, ſhe was queen of all *Aſia*, *India* excepted, and continued in the ſight of men 62 years, 42 of which ſhe reigned [h].

Ninyas (K) ſucceeded his mother *Semiramis*, and taking neither after father nor mother, he choſe to enjoy himſelf in peace; and, indeed, there muſt have been a neceſſity Ninyas.

[h] Apud eund. ibid.

Media, and cruelly ſacrificed her gallants to her furious luſt; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to ſeduce her ſon. Now, according to the courſe of this hiſtory, there ſeem to have been two provocations, that may have ſtirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her ſcandalous way of life; and the other, her uſurpation of his right as king and ſovereign; which, how he ſhould ſo long have ſubmitted to, is paſt our ſolution; though we may juſt touch on it anon, diſmiſſing it for the preſent. It is here ſomewhat to our purpoſe, that *Conon* (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother, of *Ninus*, and that lying with him by accident, ſhe afterwards acknowledged him publickly for her huſband. According to this reading (42) *Ninyas* ſhould be the perſon meant; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* acquits her of all faults of this kind, and aſcribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43). *Gregory* (44) would offer it as an argument of her chaſtity, that ſhe, as *Ammianus* relates, firſt inſtituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(I) Concerning the *Semiramidan* dove, we have treated largely already (45), and may have occaſion to reſume the ſubject hereafter, when we are to ſpeak of the *Babylonian* religion; and the rather, as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Aſſyrian*, appellations confeſſedly ſynonymous. And now, that there was ſuch a woman as *Semiramis*, we doubt not in the leaſt, but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what is here reported, is impoſſible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, and unnatural, and impoſſible, as related by the bulk of hiſtorians; but above all her antiquity, which is exaggerated ſo monſtrouſly by *Joſephus Scaliger* (46) and *Renecius* (47), is a matter ſo eaſily diſproved, by the circumſtances of her birth and country, that it were ſufficient to deſtroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the ſame with the *Atoſſa*, or *Semiramis*, who reigned 12 years with her father *Belochus*, the 18th king of *Aſſyria*, according to *Euſebius* (49), and in the ſame place calls her the *daughter*, and not the *wife*, of *Ninus*, though copies, it muſt be confeſſed, differ in the reading, and have ſometimes (50) *mother* inſtead of *daughter*. But this latter is to be preferred, becauſe of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the *Atoſſa* of *Belochus*, who were confeſſedly *daughter* and *father* (51). *Belochus* then muſt have been the *Ninus* of *Cteſias*, and he, inſtead of being the firſt, or the ſecond, king of *Aſſyria*, is, according to *Euſebius* (52), the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to ſubſcribe the ſame, and the rather, as it may obſerved hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain hiſtory of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, ſhe would have been worthy of the greateſt fame, and even, according to the genius of thoſe times, of deification itſelf. A moſt extraordinary perſonage ſhe muſt have been, nor do we wonder, conſidering the romantic humour of the times, that ſhe ſhould be reckoned to have diſcovered and invented the uſe of metals, to have been the firſt queen and tyranneſs, and, in ſhort, to have been called the goddeſs *Rhea* (54). She may be compared with the *Egyptian Iſis*, and the *Phœnician Aſtarte*, as her huſband *Ninus* may with the *Egyptian Oſiris*, *Seſoſtris* and the like.

(K) He is alſo called *Zames* (55), the *German* writers will have him to have been called *Trebeta*, and to have built the city of *Treves* (56); he is alſo called *Thourias* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*]; and is ſaid to have had the firſt ſtatue erected to him, which they called Βαὰλ Θεὸν, *Lord God*. In ſhort, he is ſaid to have waged war and to have ſlain the tyrant *Caucaſus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Japetus*, and to have been conſecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the ſlothful *Ninyas* in moſt other authors? No extremes can be at a greater diſtance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the ſucceſſor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*, which ſeems to have ſome ſort of agreement with what we have from *Euſebius* obſerved in the note above, that ſhe was the very *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Belochus*, and that ſhe reigned with her father, as his collegue and aſſiſtant, for the ſpace of 12 years only (60). And this ſeems the rather to have been the truth of the caſe, as we cannot help wondering with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (61), how ſhe ſhould have been able to keep the reigns in her own hands, in prejudice of her ſon who was her lawful ſovereign. He has no way to account for this, but by ſuppoſing he had regard to his pleaſures only, and cared not of how much trouble his mother eaſed his ſhoulders (62). But that he was not ſo poor a wretch as this amounts to, will, among other things, be obſerved in the next note.

(41) *Apud* PHOT. *Biblioth. p.* 427. (42) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Poſthum. p.* 234. (43) *Hiſt. of the World, chap.* 12. § 4. (44) *In Poſthum. ubi ſup.* (45) *See before, in the notes, p.* 875. (46) *Ibid. p.* 877. (47) *Apud* GREGOR. *Poſthum. See before, in the notes, p.* 877. (48) *Apud* PHOT. *Biblioth. p.* 427. (49) *See before, p* 865. (50) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Poſt. p.* 234. (51) *See before, ubi ſup.* (52) *Ibid.* (53) RALEIGH's *Hiſt. of the World, ubi ſup.* § 4. (54) SUID. *ad vocem* Σεμιραμὶ. (55) *See before, p.* 865. (56) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Poſthum. p.* 239. (57) *In MSS. Gr. Anonym. apud* GREGOR. *Poſthum. p.* 226, 239. (58) SUID. *ad vocem* Θυρας. (59) *Idem ibid. vid. etiam* JOAN. MALEL. *p.* 20. & CEDREN. *p.* 15. (60) *See before, p.* 865. (61) *Hiſt. of the World, chap.* 12. § 2. (62) *Ibid.*

necessity for it, if his parents had done all that report says of them; he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals [i]. As for *India*, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very impracticable and absolutely dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions, as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it we may suppose, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. By this step of policy it was, he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who having scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to secure himself from insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his successors after him; reserving himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal [k].

Ninyas's *sloth*.

His Policy.

AFTER this rate was it, that all his successors reigned in the great empire of *Assyria*; so that they, it seems, have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they lived and died in their palace at *Niniveh* (L*); and hence it is, we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them [l], *Sardanapalus*

[i] Vid. JUST. l. 1. c. 2. [k] Apud eund. ibid. [l] Ibid.

(L) *Diodorus*, *Athenæus*, *Justin*, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestred himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them but by messages; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed with none but that sex; and yet we see him here consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant and consummate politician, and may thence conclude, that if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that, according to this, he must have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to savour strongly of absolute sway and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on to prove, that he did not succeed *Semiramis* in the manner our historian writes; which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning, we perceive no footsteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at least between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus?* we apprehend, that no body can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder, how Sir *Walter Raleigh* should ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Assyrian* monarch, might be the petty king of *Shinaar*, *Amraphel* in *Genesis* (63), or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine, the monarchy had, even in *Abraham*'s time, even in its very infancy, received a *downright fall* as he calls it (64).

(L*) This vast chasm of inaction in the *Assyrian* monarchs, from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy, as we may call it, of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof, that the profane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable, that in so long a succession of princes there should have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it possible, that in so very long a succession of years there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at *Niniveh*? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of *Bactria*, no king of *India*, to rouse them from their silken slumbers? Had *Ninus* destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his successors for his sake? More, many more, queries of this kind may be made, but we desist. So many pacific ages, such a series of the calmest peace, both from within and from without, may shock the easiest credulity. The monarchies which succeeded this were of very short duration in comparison of this, and why the *Assyrian* should have the sole privilege of standing so long erect, we are at a loss for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and subject to such sudden and violent subversions, as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(63) *See his Hist. of the World*, c. 1. § 9. *l.* 2. (64) *Ibid.*

a *Sardanapalus* (M) exceeded all his predeceſſors in ſloth and luxury. He ſunk into ſuch a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very ſex and nature; he cloathed himſelf as a woman; he ſpun amidſt the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himſelf out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the moſt laſcivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himſelf in the filth of an unbounded ſenſuality, quite regardleſs of ſex and the dictates of nature [m] (N). *Sardanapalus's character.*

UNDER this wretch, as repreſented (O), it was, that the *Aſſyrian* monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his ſubjects about him, and, as ſhould ſeem, particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Beleſis* the *Babylonian*. *Beleſis* was not only a b captain, but a famous prieſt and a great aſtrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is ſaid, to aſſure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, *That he ſhould dethrone* Sardanapalus, *and become lord of all his dominions*. *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promiſed him the chief place over *Babylon*, if things ſhould happen to anſwer his prediction; and fully poſſeſſed, that he was to be as *Beleſis* had foretold of him, he cultivates particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at *Niniveh*, and begins to affect popularity; and therein ſucceeds to his wiſh. But above all, he endeavours to get ſight of the emperor, that he might behold his courſe and manner of life, and deſcribe him accordingly. This he brings to paſs, by the prevalence of a golden cup he preſented to an eunuch, who introduced him c into the preſence. *Arbaces* ſaw him, and, conceiving the higheſt contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend, and, impatient to effect *His reign.*

[m] Apud eund. ibid.

(M) This name is not the only one ſaid to belong to him, he is alſo called *Tonos Concoleros Concoleros, Maſcocoleros*, and by other ſuch names (65).

(N) *Dio Cocceianus* (66) has taken much pains to let us know, he was the moſt libidinous and abandoned wretch the ſun ever ſhone on; and ſays, That no one could tell what he did and ſuffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it; though he deſcends to ſeveral particulars bad enough of all conſcience; but, as they may be built upon no ſolid foundation, merely traditionary, and beſides unfit for us to relate, we paſs them over. *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus* (67) is more moderate, and accuſes him chiefly of paſſing his time with his women, and contending with them about dreſs and ornament, in the very words uſed to the ſame purpoſe in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) alſo ſeems to have deſcribed his way of life much to the ſame purpoſe. *Duris* (70) ſays, he turned woman, dreſſed as ſuch, painted himſelf, and ſpun, all to the ſame purpoſe; and therefore we need ſay no more about it.

(O) A man of pleaſure and lewdneſs he may have been, and doubtleſs was, it being impoſſible to think otherwiſe of monarchs of this ſort, as experience teaches us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than *Conſtantinople*, to take a view of the great *Turk*; but nevertheleſs he may have been a man, who, at ſome intervals, minded buſineſs; ſuch a man we are told he was, for he is ſaid to have built *Tarſus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71); in teſtimony of which he had this inſcription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΥΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΙΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ, Sardanapalus, *the ſon of* Anacyndaraxis, *built* Tarſus *and* Anchiale *in one day, but now is dead*. This is a grave epitaph, and might befit any prince, but we find it varied a little to diſadvantage; for, inſtead of the three laſt words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built theſe two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΣΕ ΩΣ Τ'ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ, *Eat, drink, and be merry, for the reſt is not worth the ſnap of a finger*; which was ſignified by his ſtatue here, in act of ſnapping its fingers (72): This monument and ſtatue is ſaid to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) ſuppoſes the ſame inſcription and ſtatue to have been at the other city *Tarſus*, where St. *Paul* was born, and thinks the apoſtle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die*. However, there ſeems to be ſuch incoherence between the former part of this laſt inſcription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between the action recorded and the reflection that inſues. In the firſt, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a perſuaſive to virtue and humility, by repreſenting, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the reſt of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleneſs and vice, *eat, drink, and be merry, the reſt is not worth caring for*. If this was any where the genuine inſcription, it muſt have been in deriſion of him after his death, and upon a preſumption, that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. *Calliſthenes* (74) writes, there were two *Sardanapalus*'s, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the ſame, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inſcription according to the laſt of the two copies above, thinks, it may belong to the maſculine *Sardanapalus*, though with what propiety we may conſider a little farther.

(65) *Vid.* Geor. Syncel. & Euseb. Pamph. (66) *In Excerpt.* Vales. *p.* 762. (67) *In Excerpt. ejuſd. p.* 424. (68) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (69) Justin. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. (70) *Apud* Athen. *Deipnoſoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529. (71) Athenæus *Deipnoſoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529. *Vid. etiam* Georg. Syncell. *Chronograph. p.* 165. & Euseb. Pamph. *Chron. Can. p.* 110. (72) Aristobul. *apud* Athenæ. *ubi ſup. p.* 530. (73) Gregor. *in Poſthum. p.* 243. (74) *Apud* Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (75) *Ibid.*

The Medes, Babylonians, *and* Persians *revolt.*

effect their purpose, *Arbaces* disposes the *Medes* and *Persians* to an open revolt, and a *Belesis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; and, in short, the matter was disclosed to the king of *Arabia*[n].

The year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes* and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabians*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number all together amounted to 400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*, apprized of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter b pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of *Nineveh*. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belesis*, who presisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with c success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, who in despair had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle, and *Sardanapalus*, victor as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*, though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded [o].

Sardanapalus *takes the field against them, and beats them.*

A second battle; the revolters are again routed.

A third battle; the revolters beaten again.

Sardanapalus had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if *Belesis*, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not, with all imaginable assurance, persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens: He intreated them, therefore, to d stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces*; a transaction unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and a high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army [p]. e

They hold out still.

The Bactrians *revolt to them.*

In the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus* and all his army, with a great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to *Salemenus* his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and once under the walls of the city, when *Salemenus* fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinctured with the gore of the slain for a long while [q].

They attack the imperial camp by surprize.

Sardanapalus

[n] Apud eund. ibid. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. [q] Ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself it is likely, we have the two mentioned by *Callisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency in this, if we consider what follows; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feast with his army after their successful toils.—It seems a little uncharitable to think otherwise of him in this case.

a *Sardanapalus* was now cloſely beſieged: Many other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates; and perceiving things at ſo deſperate a paſs, he ſent away his three ſons and two daughters, with a very great treaſure, into *Paphlagonia*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and iſſued out orders to all parts of his empire (S) to come in to his aſſiſtance, and prepare for a ſiege (T). But though his ſituation may ſeem to have been quite deplorable, he, it ſeems, did not ſuccumb, fully poſſeſſed with notions of a prophecy, *That* Niniveh *could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*, which, according to his concluſion, amounting to an impoſſibility, he looked upon himſelf as ſecure, how great and imminent ſoever the dangers might be that threatened him [r]. *They beſiege* Sardanapalus *in* Niniveh.

b While *Sardanapalus* pleaſed himſelf with this imagination, the confederates, elated by what they had done, conſidered their work as compleated, though they, in thoſe early days, could make no impreſſion on ſuch walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this ſort. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well ſtored with what was neceſſary to enable him to hold out a long time, the confederates ſat two years before the city without any viſible effect: but in the third year the river, ſwelled by unuſual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no leſs than 20 ſtades, of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now ſenſible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall c into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he cauſed a vaſt pile of wood to be raiſed, and heaping upon it all his gold, and ſilver, and royal apparel, and at the ſame time incloſing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he ſet fire thereto, and ſo deſtroyed himſelf and the reſt (V); which *They take the city.*

[r] Apud eund. ibid.

(R) Where this *Paphlagonia* ſhould have been ſituated, and who this *Cotta*, a modern name, ſhould have been, we forbear to enquire, as ſavouring too groſly of fable; but, by the way, we cannot help aſking, how this *Cotta* ſhould have been ſo particularly his friend and faithful ſervant, when no one governor had ever ſeen his face, before *Arbaces* the *Mede* bribed his way to a ſight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconſiſtent within themſelves, of this ſtory of this laſt king of *Niniveh*; nor is it even eaſy to conceive, how he ſhould have ſent away any part of his family and treaſure: the enemy had certainly ſecured the paſſes; the poliorcetic art, in thoſe ſimple days, conſiſted of little elſe. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author *Cteſias* as if he quoted him, that *Sardanapalus*, perceiving himſelf ſore preſſed, and ruin coming with haſty ſtrides upon him, ſent three ſons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Niniveh*. What city of *Niniveh* this can have been, beſides the city he himſelf was beſieged in, we are quite at a loſs for, and ſo we leave this palpable obſcurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this ſeeming miſtake the error ſprang of making two *Sardanapalus*'s as well as two *Ninivehs*, which we meet with no where elſe.

(S) How he could do this, cloſely beſieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we conſider what follows.

(T) Why ſhould he have been ſo ſollicitous about his family, himſelf, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was perſuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this caſe ſhould he have expoſed his children and treaſure by ſending them away, when, according to his belief, they could no where have been in more ſafety? and why ſhould he be ſo buſy with his orders, and calling in his people to his aſſiſtance in the ſiege? they could have been of no uſe to ſuch an impregnable place as was proof againſt every thing, even famine itſelf, but the waters of the river.

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumſtances are moſt prodigiouſly exaggerated by *Athenæus*, who ſeems (77) to borrow what he ſays from *Cteſias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Athenæus* tranſcribed at length. He ſays, he within his palace erected a pile of four *Jugera*, or acres in dimenſion, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midſt of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himſelf, and others for his concubines; that it was all a ſolid piece of timber-work, and that it was ſo fenced about with huge timbers that no body could get out; that within this were no leſs than a thouſand myriads of talents of gold, and ten thouſand myriads of ſilver, together with riches of apparel, and furniture unſpeakable: that he ordered this pile to be ſet on fire, and that it burned no leſs than fifteen days together; that by the ſmoak thoſe without thought he had been ſacrificing, and that, during the time, the whole was a ſecret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) ſeems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. *Amyntas* (79) relates, there was a great mount in *Niniveh* raiſed, as tradition went, as a ſepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the ſame we may ſafely ſuppoſe that is ſaid to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80) and that on ſtone pillars the following epitaph was engraved in *Chaldee* characters; (why not *Aſſyrian*?) which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Chærilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΩΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΦΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ, ΗΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΕΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ, ΔΙΟ ΚΑΓΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. *I reigned, and*

(76) Athen. *Deipnoſoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529. (77) *Ibid.* (78) *Ad vocem* Σαρδα ναπαλος. (79) *Apud* Athen. *ubi ſup.* (80) *See before, p.* 877. (81) *Apud* Athen. *ubi ſup.*

which the rebels hearing, entered the city by the breach, and became lords of the a
place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Niniveh* itself was laid level with the ground. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Ctesias*, subsisted no less than 1400 years [s].

SECT. V.

The History of Assyria, *according to Scripture, and the more approved Authorities.*

Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Christ, 771.

We now come to the true, and only history of *Assyria* that may be depended upon. *Pul* (W), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in scripture in the reign of *Menahem* [t], king of *Israel*, who just about the same time had forced his way to the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of *Shallum*

[s] Apud eund. ibid.

[t] See before, p. 828.

and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I ate, and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasure. This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second, we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Niniveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose, there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this ancient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen, and been known under the same name afterwards; and secondly, *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where *Niniveh* was to stand no more; and besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Niniveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the fame of this dubious prince; dubious we say the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt, as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was despoiled of the empire of *Syria*, or *Assyria*, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be, that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined, there were two kings of *Assyria* of this same name (87). *Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(W) He is also called *Phul*, and mistakenly by the LXX *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the *Greek* Λ *lambda*, and A *alpha*, so that it is no great wonder, this name should, in the *Greek* character, have been written ΦΟΥΑ *Phua*, instead of ΦΟΥΛ *Phul* (89). He is the first king of *Assyria* mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by *Ashur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the custom usually is (90). This *Phul* was by his name a pure *Assyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92), who would have him to have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Assyrian* power, than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of *Assyria*, appears by his name, which is simple, and not compounded, as the rest we read of are. The *Assyrian* names are for the most part compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in these parts, as in *Tiglath-Pul-Assur*, *Nebo-Pul-Assur*, and the like. From this circumstance, and the affinity of the name itself, he is, with seeming certainty, said to have been the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Tyrian Belus* (94). *Pul* is pronounced *Pol*, and *Pal* (95), whence, without any straining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he should have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section, that

(82) Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (83) *See before, p.* 377. (84) Amynt. *apud* Athen. *Deipnosoph. ubi sup.* (85) *See before, p.* 373. (86) Cleitarch. *apud* Athen. *ubi sup.* (87) *See before in the notes, p.* 885, 886, 887. (88) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (89) *Vid.* Cleric. *in* 2 *Reg. cap.* xv. *ver.* 19. (90) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (91) *Vid.* Scalig. *de emend. temp. l.* 6. 577. (92) *See* Patrick *upon* 2 *Kings* xv. 19. (93) *Vid.* Scalig. *ubi sup.* Seld. *de Dis Syris.* (94) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p.* 279. *See before in the notes, p.* 399. (95) Bern. Montfauc. *apud* Du Pin *Biblioth. Univers. des Hist. p.* 285.

a *Shallum* [u]. His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land [w]. What else this king did in particular is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already [x], that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from *Syria*, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from *Israel*, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Christ, 771.

Tiglathi-

[u] 2 Kings xv. [w] 2 Kings xv. [x] See before in the notes, p. 389.

that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as also that they consecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the custom of the ancient *Syrians*, long before them, to deify their kings (97); we have seen their *Adad, king of Gods*, was no more than their dead king *Ben-hadad* II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Cronus*, and *Astarte, are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought*, and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the antient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we but subscribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of scripture, for the idle tales of profane authors, who confound, rather than inform us. It were odd, that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self-evidently gathered from the text of scripture history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we shall therefore pass them over with this bare observation, that by embracing the *Ctesian* fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have almost all run into most intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business then is, to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall have nothing to do but to borrow his arguments. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited to evince, that there never was what might be called an *Assyrian* monarchy before the days of *Pul*, it may be added, 1. Jonah *prophesied when* Israel *was in affliction under the king of* Syria · · · *about* 60 *years before the reign of* Pul (3). 2. Niniveh, *though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about* 120000 *persons* (4). [These are taken to have been children, because it is said, *they could not discern between their right hand and their left* (5); but why this should not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance in a religious sense, we know not; so that it is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included in the number]. 3. Niniveh *was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of* Jonah, *and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within* 40 *days* (6). *Its king was not yet called king of* Assyria, *but king of* Niniveh, [Jonah iii. 6, 7.] *and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all* Assyria, *but only in* Niniveh, *and perhaps in the villages thereof* (6). *But when* Niniveh · · · · *was exalted over all* Assyria, *properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of* Niniveh, *but began to be called kings of* Assyria (8). Our author then observes, that *Amos*, who prophesied soon after *Jeroboam* had subdued the kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of *Pul*, never once names the *Assyrians*, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that *Israel should be afflicted from the entering in of* Hamath *to the river of the wilderness*; meaning of the *Assyrians*, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zechariah*, which were penned after his (9). These and other arguments of the kind, equally demonstrative, he uses to prove what is here asserted; but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this he is he supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians, we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our author (11) concludes *Pul* to have been the first *Assyrian* that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side of the *Tigris*, that he was a great warrior, that he may have founded or inlarged the city of *Babylon* and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of *Chaldæa* to a younger son, who may have been *Nabonassar*, and that the famed *Semiramis* may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same *Nabonassar* (12); but these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of *Babylon*, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to inject a fear of its self into the nations by barely shewing itself, than by a violent irruption at once upon every body, or at first pretending to over-run the world by dint of force. How much more natural is this, than what we read of the sort concerning the pretended *Ninus*? *Pul* seems rather to have laid the foundations of the *Assyrian* monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(Y) Some *Jews* think, he began to transport the children of *Israel*; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(96) *See before, p.* 862. *and in the notes, p.* 888. (97) *See before, p.* 372. (98) *Ibid.* (99) *Ibid. in the notes.* (100) *See before in the notes, p.* 399. (1) *See Sir* Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. pass.* (2) *Idem. ibid.* (3) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p.* 270. (4) *Idem, ibid.* (5) *Vid.* Gregor. *Posth. p.* 194. (6) *Sir* Is. Newt. *ubi sup.* (7) *Idem, ibid.* (8) *Idem. ibid.* (9) *Idem ibid. p.* 271. (10) *See before, p.* 864. (11) *Ubi sup. p.* 277. (12) *Idem, ibid. p.* 277. 279. (13) *See* Patrick's *Comment. upon* 2 *Kings* xv. 19: *and upon* 1 *Chron.* v. 26.

Tiglath-pileſar.

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Christ, 740.

Tiglath-pileſar ſucceeded him (Z); and is ſuppoſed to have been his ſon, but upon a no certain authority (A). Upon what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maachah*, and *Janoah*, and *Kedeſh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Aſſyria* [y], thereby, as we may ſuppoſe, the better to ſecure theſe diſtant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For ſuch a captivation muſt naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring ſo hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increaſe of his power, by peopling ſome tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himſelf obliged to do much more of the kind ſoon after. For receiving an embaſſy from *Ahaz*, king b of *Judah* [z], with a tender from him of homage, and a preſent of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin*, king of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah*, king of *Iſrael*, who were joined in confederacy againſt him; upon this prayer, and preſent, and acknowledgment from the king of *Judah*, *Tiglath-pileſer* marched againſt *Damaſcus*, took that city, tranſplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C), ſlew *Rezin*, and ſo put an end to that antient kingdom [a] (D).

He

[y] 2 Kings xv. [z] See before, p. 309. [a] Ibid. 2 Kings, c. 16.

(Z) He is alſo called *Tiglath-pilneſar*, *Theglath-phalaſar*, *Theglath-phellaſor*, *Thilgamas* (14), as ſuppoſed, and alſo *Ninus* junior, according to *Caſtor* (15). *Prideaux* (16), by an unaccountable inadvertancy, takes him for *Arbaces* the *Mede*. Some (17) are willing to derive the firſt part of his name from *Diglito*, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river *Tigris* (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are ſo far from thinking him to have been the ſon of *Pul*, that they make him a ſtranger to his line, a *Mede*, as we have ſeen in the note above. *Rollin*, miſled by that great and otherwiſe learned guide archbiſhop *Uſher* (20), makes *Pul* to have been the father of *Sardanapalus* (21), by an extraordinary in-attention in the archbiſhop, who thought it muſt have been ſo, becauſe in the name *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardan-Pul*, he could perceive a relation between this laſt and this firſt *Aſſyrian* king, forgetting, that for the ſame reaſon *Tiglath-pul-aſſur* might have more naturally appeared his ſon, eſpecially as he is the king of *Aſſyria*, who is expreſly ſaid to have ſucceeded him in ſcripture. By what biaſſed him above to make this miſtake, he might alſo, and very naturally, have concluded, that *Tiglath-pul-aſſur* and *Sardan-pul* were one and the ſame perſon, and ſo have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The firſt and ſecond monarchy, according to the ſcheme of archbiſhop *Uſher* (22), adopted by *Prideaux* and *Rollin*, ſo entirely repugnant to all hiſtory, ſacred or profane, may ſerve to ſhew how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is ſo ſenſible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of ſcripture (24) which firſt makes mention of *Tiglath-pileſar*, that if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* are true, of their having held the eaſt under ſubjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words, adding, that the learned are now ſenſible, there were ſeveral ſorts of independent kingdoms in thoſe days to the eaſtward of the *Euphrates*, [*ſee before*, *p.* 382.] and that ſometimes one of them was uppermoſt, and ſometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the *Aſſyrians* were moſt powerful; who, now croſſing the *Tigris*, had carried their arms through *Meſopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Paleſtine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king to have been the ſon of *Pul*. From the time of *Pul*'s appearance to the firſt of this king's appearance, is a ſpace, according to *Uſher* himſelf (26), of but about 24 years; ſo that they very naturally ſucceeded one another. It is therefore an eye-ſore to ſee them ſo disjoined as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whoſe judgment and converſance with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of paſſing any cenſure upon him, we ſhall for the future avoid the ſame, as he is a gentleman who does not ſo profeſſedly write to inſtruct the mind, as to the reality and conſiſtence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) *Tiglath-pileſar* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the moſt extraordinary method that could be poſſibly taken to ſecure the empire under due ſubjection, and was the conſtant practice of his ſucceſſors we may ſuppoſe for the ſame reaſons. This their conſtant practice is in all its circumſtances ſo affecting, and muſt have cauſed ſuch utter oblivion of the original nations in thoſe parts, that if *Cteſias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Aſſyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forborn to have improved it after his manner, which we no where find that he did.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which ſay not whither the people of *Damaſcus* were tranſplanted to; others have it, that the place was Κυρήνη, or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by ſome ſimilitude of the names; but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, the king of *Aſſyria* could ſend them into thoſe parts when he was not yet maſter even of *Egypt* (28). *Joſephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Media*. *Bochart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpoſe. It will be in vain for us to think of ſettling the ſite of this, and many other places hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obſcure than this; ſo that we ſhall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the antient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives room to aſſert what we have only ſurmiſed formerly

(14) Ælian. *Hiſt. Anim. l.* 12. *c.* 21. (15) *Apud* Euseb. *Chron.* (16) *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *Part* 1. *at the beginning.* (17) *See* Patrick, *ubi ſup.* ver. 29. (18) *See before in the notes, p.* 859. (19) Cleric. *ubi ſup Com.* 29. (20) *Annal. Vet. Teſtam. Et. Mund. Quint. p.* 83. (21) *Hiſt. of the Aſſyr. in the Engliſh tranſl. p.* 25. (22) *Ubi ſupr.* (23) Joan Cleric (24) 2 *Reg.* xv. 29. (25) Joan. Cleric. *in* 2 *Reg. ibid.* (26) *Ubi ſupr.* (27) *Ubi ſupr.* (28) *Vide* Joan. Cleric. *in loc. ubi ſupr.* (29) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 9. *c.* 13. (30) Phaleg. *l.* 4. *c.* 32.

Shalmaneser.

Year of the Flood, 2271. Year before CHRIST, 728.

Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before CHRIST, 725.

Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before CHRIST, 721.

HE was succeeded by *Shalmaneser* (E), who seems to have made war upon *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, in consequence of his predecessor's engagements to *Ahaz*, king of *Judah* (F). *Tiglath-pileser* had but half fulfilled his promise to *Ahaz*, who had besought him to avenge him of the king of *Damascus* and the king of *Israel* equally, whereas he seemingly concerned himself with the king of *Damascus* only. It is likely then, that *Shalmaneser* made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of *Israel* under *Hoshea*. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatsoever it may have been founded, he reduced *Samaria*, and made *Hoshea* his tributary [b], as it is apparent his predecessors, from *Menahem*, had been to the *Assyrian* power before him. Some years afterwards *Shalmaneser* came to understand, that *Hoshea*, having a mind to shake off his yoke, had entered into a league with *So*, king of *Egypt*; and this was confirmed to him by *Hoshea*'s neglect to send him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays siege to *Samaria*, with such obstinacy, that he continued it for the space of three years, resolved, once for all, to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became master of the place, took the king *Hoshea* alive (G), kept him a prisoner †, made captives of all the inhabitants, and transplanted them into *Assyria* (H), placing them in *Halah* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan* (I), and in the cities of the *Medes*; replacing them by strangers from *Babylon* (K), *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*; and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of *Israel* [c]. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who, for their ignorance in that particular, plagued them so sorely with lyons, that they were necessitated to apply to the king of *Assyria* for this redress [d] (L).

BUT

[b] 2 Kings xvii. † See before, p. 835. [c] See before, Ibid. 2 Kings xvii. 18. [d] See before, p. 842. 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

formerly concerning the alteration the old religion of this country must have undergone when conquered by the *Assyrians* (31). How is it to be imagined, that the strangers, who were brought to take possession of this country, should continue the antient rites and superstitions of its first inhabitants? Well may we say then, that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus* and other *Assyrian* gods (32), unknown on this side of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name also is variously written, as *Salmaneser*, *Salmanassar*; he is called *Enemassar*, by *Tobit* (33), and is supposed to (34) to be *Salman*, or *Shalman*, of *Hosea* (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the same with *Nabonassar* (36); which we shall not here discuss.

(F) We here speak only as the thing may seem; for between *Tiglath-pileser*'s last expedition in these parts, and this of *Shalmaneser*, there is a distance of twelve years; so that the engagements to *Ahaz* may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(G) In the first of these expeditions he carried off with him the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel* (37); and, previously to the siege of *Samaria*, he subdued *Moab* (38).

(H) He did not quite transplant them, he left some behind him for *Esar-haddon* to remove, as will be seen in due place.

(I) There is a town called *Chabor*, or *Habor*, in *Ptolomy* (39), in *Mesopotamia*; and a river *Chaboras*, or *Haboras*; and a region, in the same country, called *Gauzonitis*, or *Gozan*, between two rivers, called *Gauzonitis*, one of which may also have been also called the river of *Gozan* (40); so that in *Mesopotamia* it must be, that we must look for these two places; as for *Halah*, we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Those who follow the common current are at a loss to conceive, how *Shalmaneser* should be so free with the *Babylonians*; supposing them to have been not only a collateral, but also an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reason be imagined, the kings of *Assyria*, as *Shalmaneser* and his two predecessors, would have roamed so far from home after conquests, when such prey as *Babylon* was so near at hand? Is it not natural to think, the *Assyrians* began with those who were next to them? Or is it possible to imagine, the kings of *Assyria* would straggle so far from home, if they had so dangerous a rival as a considerable kingdom of *Babylon* on their skirts, who never, it is certain, could have been quiet or easy in their absence? It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of *Assyria* was now in the vigour of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that *Babylon* was now under *Assyria*, and so were the *Medes*, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the *Medes*, taking advantage of this king's successor, actually revolted from him, and from thence-forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer, than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not saddle divine writ with prophane romance; which has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned *Christians*, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in the sacred historians.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lyons, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of *Esar-haddon* (42); because in *Ptolomy*'s canon

(31) *See before*, p. 372. (32) *Ibid.* (33) c. i. 13. (34) *See* Sir Is. NEWT. *Chronol. of anc. kingd.* amend, p. 277. (35) c. x. 14. (36) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Posthum.* p. 246. & GEORG. SYNCELL. *Chron.* p. 204. (37) SEDER OLAM *Rabba* c. xxii. (38) *See before*, p. 292. (39) *Asiæ Tabul.* 4ta. (40) *Ibid.* (41) *See before in the notes*, p. 127. (42) *See* PRIDEAUX's *Connect.* PATRICK's *Comment.* &c

BUT how effectually soever he triumphed over *Samaria* and others in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by *Hezekiah*, king of *Jerusalem*, who, as it is said, rebelled against him, and would send him no tribute (M). a

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before CHRIST, 717.

But *Samaria* and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all *Syria* and *Phœnice*; and made war upon *Tyre*, where *Elulæus* then reigned [e]. He at first made war upon the whole country of *Phœnice*, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and others, revolting from the *Tyrians*, went over to *Shalmaneser*, who, disdaining the *Tyrians* (N) should dare to dispute his supremity, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of *Phœnicians*, to attack the *Tyrians*, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of *Tyrian* b ships [f], and the project most completely miscarried. *Shalmaneser* therefore, convinced it was to no purpose to contend with the *Tyrians* at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting their waters which supplied the city, doubted not but to reduce this haughty people; who supplying themselves by wells they dug within the city, the *Assyrians* wasted five years in this fruitless attempt [g] (O).

Year of the Flood, 2286. Year before CHRIST, 713.

Sennacherib (P) succeeded *Shalmaneser*, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of *Judah* to the homage and tribute it had professed to the *Assyrian* throne, in the person of king *Ahaz* [h]. He appears then at the head of an army, and bore down all before him [i]. At length he laid siege to *Lachish*, intending in the next place to invest *Jerusalem* itself. As he was laying siege to this place, he received a most c submissive message from *Hezekiah*, asking his pardon, begging, he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. *Sennacherib* seemed satisfied with this, and ordered *Hezekiah* immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further intentions. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him [k]; but, instead of granting the king of *Judah* the truce and the rest he expected, he behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with *Hezekiah*, seemingly with no manner of cause [l]; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris* (Q), and *Rabshakeh* (R), at the head of a great army, d to invest *Jerusalem*, insult *Hezekiah*, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. *Rabshakeh* was the spokesman, as we say, and vented himself to the officers *Hezekiah* had sent out to treat with them [m], and to know what

[e] See before, p. 416. [f] Ibid. [g] MENAND. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 14. [h] See before, p. 832. [i] See before, p. 835. 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. [k] 2 Kings xviii. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 1. [l] 2 Kings ubi sup. JOSEPH. ubi sup. [m] See before, p. 838.

canon they find, that he sat in the throne of *Babylon* as well as of *Nineveh*, and consequently was the only *Assyrian* king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people to *Babylon* to inhabit the land of *Israel*; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of *Shalmaneser*'s history, than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence, into the midst of a reign which was third after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings, and windings, we owe to the tenacious cruelty of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known, it should seem; it was not yet arrived at its summit; it had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned; so it should seem by this. *Prideaux* (43) thinks, he was diverted from resenting this by his war with the *Tyrians*.

(N) The *Tyrians* had as yet never known any thing of an *Assyrian* yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive, that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the *Assyrian*, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought, their purses were as free from expilation and loss: in a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of *Assyria*'s leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniences of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

(O) His army, or part of his army, continued the blockade this while; as for himself, he seems to have retired to the other side of the *Euphrates*, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His *Hebrew* name is *Sanherib*, and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, ever writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Jareb* (45).

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, *The Chief of the Eunuchs* (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The Chief Cup-bearer* (47).

(43) *Ubi supr. l.* 1. *p.* 19. (44) *See before, p.* 393. (45) *Hos.* 10. 6. (46) *Vid.* JOAN CLERIC. *in loc.* (47) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

a what further was expected from him, he vaunted his maſter's mighty power, ſtiling him the great king, the king of *Aſſyria*, ſet at nought *Hezekiah*, and ſpoke contemptuouſly of the king of *Egypt* (S), in whom he ſuppoſes *Hezekiah* to have placed a confidence, as if he could ſave him from the *Aſſyrian* arm; and to crown all, pretended, ſpeaking in his maſter's name, as he all along does, that God had ſent him on purpoſe to deſtroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the *Hebrew* tongue, that all might hear and underſtand him; and being by the *Jewiſh* commiſſioners entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himſelf in the *Syriac* tongue, which they well underſtood [n], that he might not diſhearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raiſed
b his voice higher than before, and, in the *Jewiſh* tongue, particularly addreſſed himſelf to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them, their king *Hezekiah* would obſtinately deceive them to their deſtruction, and that it was in vain he truſted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to ſubmit, promiſing them the free and full enjoyment of their preſent poſſeſſions, until there ſhould be a convenient opportunity to tranſplant them to a country every way equal, if not ſuperior, to their own. He then again admoniſhed them, not to let their king deceive them with falſe hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; obſerving, that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arphad*, the gods of *Sepharvaim*, *Henah*, and *Ivah*, (T), had not been able
c to withſtand the *Aſſyrian* power, or to ſave *Samaria* from captivity, ſo neither ſhould theirs: This he aggravated ſtill farther; but all his oratory procured him no anſwer, and ſo he returned to his maſter, who had left *Lachiſh* and was now at *Libnah*, which he was beſieging. Here as he lay he had advice, that *Tirhakah* (V), king of *Ethiopia*, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he ſeems to

[n] See before, p. 838.

(S) It is thought, this was done more out of mere rage than any thing elſe, *Sennacherib* diſdaining to have been diſappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according to the ſtory we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but however plauſible this may ſeem (49) at firſt ſight, it is ſeemingly contradictory to the text, which ſuppoſes him, if we are right, to be buſied in the ſiege of *Lachiſh*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think, we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expreſſed againſt the *Egyptian*, for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who, being recorded to have been a prieſt, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder, *Sennacherib*, or his ſervant for him, ſhould ridicule and deſpiſe the then king of *Egypt*.

(T) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (51) uſes this boaſt concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy in theſe days, obſerving, that this deſolation is recited as freſh in memory, and to terrify the *Jews* (52). *All the above cited nations had, till now, their ſeveral gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, againſt the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of* Aſſyria; *and therefore they were never till now united under the* Aſſyrian *monarchy, eſpecially ſince the king of* Aſſyria *doth not boaſt of their being conquered by the* Aſſyrians *oftener than once: but theſe being ſmall kingdoms, the king of* Aſſyria *eaſily overflowed them*: Know ye not, ſaith *Sennacherib* to the *Jews*, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much leſs ſhall your god deliver you out of mine hand? *He and his fathers, therefore*, Pul, Tiglath-pileſar, *and* Shalmaneſer, *were great conquerors, and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about* Aſſyria, *and thereby ſet up this monarchy* (53). This is a juſt remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateneſs of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, in compariſon of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as aſſerted (54), That the religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, as known to the *Greeks*, or even to themſelves, to all appearance, was of *Aſſyrian* origin; which may not only be amply proved by the ſtrange nations who were tranſplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be ſtronger than the gods of the vanquiſhed, which, as fallacious an argument as it may ſeem to us (56), was in thoſe days of idolatry and ſuperſtition found and indiſputable doctrine: So *Belus* or *Pul*, the *Aſſyrian* god, having proved himſelf too ſtrong for *Adad*, the *Syrian* god, the former gives place to the latter of courſe; and *Belus* thenceforward became the god of the *Syrians*, inſtead of the unfortunate *Adad* (57).

(V) According to the courſe of the *Egyptian* hiſtory, this *Tirhakah* can have been no other than the *Sabbaco* (58) of *Herodotus*, who was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had ſome time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*, and by that means *Sethon* the prieſt of *Vulcan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Sethon* being more ſtrictly a prieſt than a king

(58) *See before, p.* 264. (49) *Vid.* Joan. Cleric. *in loc.* (59) *See before, p.* 264. (51) *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amended, p.* 273, 276. (52) *Ibid. p.* 274. (53) *Ibid. p.* 276, 277. (54) *See before, p.* 372. *and in the notes of p.* 888. (55) *See before in the notes, p.* 890. (56) *Vid.* Joan. Cleric. *comment, in loc.* (57) *See before, p.* 372. (58) *See before, p.* 263, 264. (59) *Ibid.* (60) *Ibid.* (61) *Ibid.*

to have marched towards *Egypt* (W) to meet him, and to have sent *Rabshakeh* back again to *Jerusalem*, to block up that city, and to prevent *Hezekiah* from joining his friends against him. *Rabshakeh* returned to his post before *Jerusalem*, and would have insulted *Hezekiah* in person, as should seem, but not being able to do that, he sent him a letter as from *Sennacherib*, fraught with the same words almost he had used before in his boasting and vain speech to the *Jewish* commissioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Assyria*, *Rezeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were in *Thelasar* ° (X). His former insolent and blasphemous message had drawn on him the fearful prophecy of *Isaiah*, *That he should fall by the sword in his own land* * ; and for this second it was denounced against him by the same prophet, *That he should not come into the city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank about it* † : The meaning of which seems to be, that he was gone, whence he should return so disabled, that he should neither be able to besiege the city in form, or barely assault it. This is seemingly the import of the text, and if *Herodotus* may be introduced upon this occasion, who makes express mention of his name, though he mistakenly calls him king of *Arabia* (Y) instead of *Assyria*, he will tell us, that, as *Sennacherib* lay before *Pelusium*, there one night come such swarms of field-rats and mice into the *Assyrian* camp, as destroyed all their shield-straps and bow-strings ᵖ. What truth soever there may be (Y*) in this, it must be said very nicely to correspond with the prophecy above. But to wave this, it appears, that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and his sun from henceforwards sets apace. His army is said to have been smitten

° 2 Kings xix. ver. 8. 12. * Ibid. ver. 7. † Ibid. ver. 32. ᵖ HERODOT l. 2. c. 41.

king of *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious, *Sethon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in eminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbacco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in scripture, that we fancy, the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy ; we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others ; that he besieged *Lachish* ; sent to insult *Jerusalem* and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part ; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia* ; and finally, that the gross of his army was miraculously destroyed. But *Prideaux* (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition that he was the *Sargon* of *Isaiah* (64), writes, that he conquered *Egypt*, miserably wasted it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity ; as also that he took *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, (65) by his general *Tartan*. *Sargon* was not *Sennacherib*, but his son *Esar-haddon* ; and if it be answered he must have been the former, because his general's name was *Tartan*, we say *Tartan* was general to both of them. Nor was, as he says, *Sevechus*, the son of *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, at that time king of *Egypt* ; nor were, it is likely, *Sevechus* and *Sabbaco* two persons, the father and son ; they are one and the same name, with a very trifle of variation. *Herodotus* has no such king as this *Sevechus*, nor *Diodorus* : This is sufficient to justify us in what we say ; nor was *Sevechus*, or *Sethon*, whom *Prideaux* (67) supposes to have been the same, the son of the *Ethiopian Sabbaco*, as may appear by *Herodotus*, who calls him priest of *Vulcan*, and plainly insinuates, that he was an *Egyptian*, and a stranger to *Sabbaco*'s line, and one who was chosen to succeed after some seemingly great disturbance in the state (68). Besides, it might be asked, where the dreadful *Tirhakah* can have been, during the three long years *Sennacherib* must have ravaged and lorded it over *Egypt* ; or what he was about all that time, that he should not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone ? In short, nothing is plainer, than that *Sennacherib* not only did not conquer *Egypt*, but even suffered some notable loss or repulse in so much as offering to invade that land ; in which attempt he must have erred against the rules of common prudence and policy, considering that *Syria* and *Palestine*, which should have been his first work, were not as yet fully subdued.

(X) The most probable opinion is, that these places were somewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Resiph* in *Mesopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Saacoras* (69) ; and a city called *Resaph* in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria* : which of these may have been *Rezeph* we decide not ; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of *Herodotus* himself ; it may have been owing to transcribers.

(Y*) True it certainly is not ; bishop *Patrick* (70), with some seeming passion, calls it a *horrible lye* ; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be said to confirm what is written in scripture concerning the sudden destruction of the *Assyrian* army, and therefore may be born with. The *Egyptians* ascribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) *Herodotus* declares as much (72), and so does *Josephus* (73).

(62) *See before, p.* 263, 264. (63) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. l.* 1. *part.* 1. *p.* 22. *Edit. in* 8vo. (64) *xx.* 1. PRID. *Connect. ubi sup.* (65) *Idem, ibid.* (67) *Ubi sup.* (68) *See before, ubi sup.* (69) PTOLOM. *Tab. Asf. Geograph iv.* (70) *Comment upon* 2 *Kings xix.* (71) *See before p.* 264. (72) *Ibid.* (73) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

a ſmitten by the angel of the Lord (Z), who ſmote 185,000 *Aſſyrians* in their camp (A), and *Sennacherib* departed for *Aſſyria*, and took up his abode at *Niniveh* * ; where, finding himſelf fallen in the eſteem of his people (B), he grew ſullen and tyrannical ; particularly venting his rage againſt the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death †, in revenge for his great downfal, which he may have attributed to them. In ſhort he behaved in ſuch a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own ſons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sharazer* (C), ſlew him, as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Niſroch*, in a ſhort time after his precipitate return from *Judæa*. They ſlew him and fled into the land of *Armenia*, ſeemingly fearful of the revenge that might be taken on them for
b their parricide (D) ; thus was he ſlain in the temple of his favourite god (E), and his third ſon *Eſar-haddon* reigned in his ſtead ‡.

Eſar-haddon (F) may be ſaid to have ſucceeded to the ruins, as it were, of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy founded by *Pul*, and enlarged and eſtabliſhed by *Tiglath-pileſar*. Under *Sennacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence, or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes*, taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the ſudden and general deſtruction of his army, revolted ¶, and were never after, as ſhould ſeem, reduced to the *Aſſyrian* yoke, though *Eſar-haddon*, in the courſe of his reign, ſeems to have been both a valourous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of ſupporting and enlarging the empire.
c He was, to all appearance, a mild and a gracious perſonage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been ſo cruelly abuſed by his father after his haſty return to *Niniveh*. He, in the beginning of his reign, ſeems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to ſupport his dignity at home ; till, after ſome years, his kindred race of the *Babyloniſh* kings becoming extinct, or ſome other cauſe producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he, either by art or violence, ſeated himſelf in the throne [r] of *Babylon* (G), thereby retrieving the luſtre of the *Aſſyrian* name, which had been ſo ſullied by the defection of the *Medes*.

Eſar-haddon. Year of the Flood, 2289. Year before CHRIST, 710.

Year of the Flood, 2318. Year before CHRIST, 681.

GROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to eſtabliſh his tottering power over the more diſtant parts of his empire, and marches into *Syria*, and againſt the
d remnant of *Iſrael*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. The remnant of *Iſrael* he tranſplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of *Syria*, ſo that

Year of the Flood, 2322. Year before CHRIST, 677.

* 2 Kings xix. 36. † Tobit c. i. 18. ‡ 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 37. ¶ Tobit ubi ſup. ver. 15. [r] PTOLOM. Can. Aſtronom.

(Z) This a figurative expreſſion common with the *Jews*. Some ſuppoſe this havoc to have been made " by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a " fiery wind, which blows ſometimes in the " neighbouring deſerts, or rather by being ſur- " prized by *Sethon* and *Tirhakah* ; for the *Egyptians*, " in memory of this action, erected a ſtatue to " *Sethon*, holding in his hand a mouſe, the *Egyp-* " *tian* ſymbol of deſtruction" (74).

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter ; whether at *Libnah*, or *Peluſium*, or *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided, part under himſelf elſewhere, and part under *Rabſhakeh* before *Jeruſalem* (75), as we have ſuppoſed ; and conſequently, whether it was the army under himſelf, or that under *Rabſhakeh*, that was thus ſwept away, or whether they both ſuffered. After what we have already ſaid, we leave the reader to ſatisfy himſelf about this obſcurity.

(B) Returning ſo baffled, with ſuch ſhame and diſhonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in compariſon of his predeceſſors ; though *Shalmaneſer*, his father, does not ſeem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have ſeen him ſhamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a ſea fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect.

(C) It is ſuppoſed, he had, in the midſt of his danger, threatned to ſacrifice them to his god, and that they took this opportunity of ſacrificing him, that they might not be ſacrificed themſelves (76) : what grounds there is for this we have not to ſay. We no where read, the *Aſſyrians* had any ſuch unnatural ſuperſtition in vogue with them ; we may enquire into this when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which muſt at leaſt have included that of *Aſſyria*.

(D) If the ſuppoſition in the note above be true, they had reaſon to fly for their diſobedience and murder ; but if not, we cannot perceive, but they might have juſtified themſelves with the people, who may not have been very ſorry for *Sennacherib*'s death, upon the principle of ſelf preſervation ; which might have ſerved for a plea of ſome validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or ſuperſtition.

(E) We have it from *Joſephus* (77), that *Niſroch*, or *Araſcus*, as he calls him (78), was his moſt eſteemed god. Concerning this deity, we have ſaid all we thought neceſſary in the former part of this hiſtory (79).

(F) He is alſo called *Aſar-haddon*, *Aſordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Aſſaradin* in *Ptolemy*'s canon, *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Iſaiah* (81), and *Aſnappar* by *Ezra* *.

(G) It is very unlikely, that he obtained the immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Babylon* by violence ; but this is what we may enquire into when we come to conſider him as king there.

(74) *Sir* Is. NEWT. *Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p.* 282. *See alſo* PRIDEAUX's *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *p.* 24. (75) *See* PATRICK *ubi ſup.* (76) *Idem, ibid.* (77) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 10. *c.* 2. (78) *Ibid.* (79) *See before, p.* 861. (80) *Tobit i.* 21. (81) *Iſaiah xx.* * *Ezra iv.* 10.

that they now utterly ceased to be nations, and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah*, to the state of dependance it had professed in the person of king *Ahaz*, and took *Manasseh* their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon* [s].

Year of the Flood, 2326. Year before Christ, 673.

Elated by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, resolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I). He did so, and subdued them, and transplanted them (K), and held them in subjection to him for three years [t], which may be as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* [u], which cost *Psammetichus* so much time to wrest from his successors [w]. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; whence, and for other reasons (M), we

Year of the Flood, 2331. Year before Christ, 668.

[s] Chron. xxxiii. 11. [t] Isaiah xx. [u] Idem, ibid. [w] See before, p. 267.

(H) His being now called king of *Babylon* has been the cause, that commentators have postponed the transplantation of *Israel*, recorded in the reign of *Shalmaneser*, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all *Syria* and *Palestine*, in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Besides, *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbaco*, may have been now dead; for, according to the history of *Egypt* (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Sethon* (84), who was now unsupported, and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This subduction and captivation was foretold by *Isaiah* (85) *In that day shall there be a high-way out of* Egypt *into* Assyria, *and the* Assyrian *shall come into* Egypt, *and the* Egyptian *into* Assyria, *and the* Egyptians *shall serve the* Assyrians. In this war the city of *Diospolis*, *No-ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably wasted and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So shall the king of* Assyria *lead away the* Egyptians *prisoners, and the* Ethiopians *captives, young and old, naked and barefoot . . . . to the shame of* Egypt. *And they* [the *Jews*] *shall be afraid and ashamed of* Ethiopia *their expectation, and of* Egypt *their glory:* And the latter (88), prophecying the destruction of *Nineveh*, and speaking of the calamity of *Egypt* as a transaction of late date, saith, *Art thou better than the populous* No [No-ammon], *that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of *Assyria*, *Esar-haddon* excepted, and we shall not need to prove this to the reader, who shall think it worth his while to turn back to the history of *Egypt* at this time. For though the *Egyptians* were too proud to acknowledge this conquest of them, yet their history, though silent about it, seems to confirm what is here said. For after *Sethon*, in the latter part of whose reign, or immediately upon whose death, this invasion must have happened, we find the kingdom to have been in some very violent disorder, and to have emerged under 12 men, who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of aristocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the constitution of so regular and precise a kingdom as *Egypt*, but by some such means, and by this most likely, we leave to the reader.

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though Sir *Isaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, "In the "reigns of *Sennacherib* and *Asserhaddon*, the *Assyri-* "*an* empire seems arrived at its greatness, being "united under one monarch, and containing *Assy-* "*ria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Susiana*, *Chaldæa*, *Meso-* "*potamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, "and part of *Arabia*, and reaching eastward into "*Elymais* and *Paratacene*, a province of the *Medes*; "and if *Chalach* and *Chabor* be *Colchis* and *Ibe-* "*ria*, as some think, and as may seem probable from "the circumcision used by those nations till the days "of *Herodotus*, we are also to add these two pro- "vinces, with the two *Armenia*'s, *Pontus*, and *Cap-* "*padocia*, as far as the river *Halys*; for *Herodotus* "tells us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far "as to that river, were called *Syrians* by the "*Greeks*, both before and after the days of "*Cyrus*, and that the *Assyrians* were also called "*Syrians* by the *Greeks*" (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt, whether or no the *Medes* were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father's time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose, that *Esar-haddon* did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the *Euphrates*, to confirm himself in *Syria* and *Palestine*: After all, he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled *the great and noble* Asnappar (92). It is impossible, he should have been represented as a slothful and effeminate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may, it is possible, have been known to the ancient *Greeks*

(82) *See before in the notes, p.* 891. (83) *See before, p.* 263, 264. (84) *See before p.* 264. (85) *Isaiah xix.* 23. (86) *See* Prid. *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *Part* 1. *p.* 22. 8*vo.* (87) *xx.* 4, 5. (88) *Nahum iii.* 8. 10. (89) *Ibid.* (90) *See before, p.* 265. (91) *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p.* 283. (92) *Ezra iv.* 10.

a we cannot be induced to think he can be, in any respect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Ctesias*, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

He was succeeded by his son *Saosduchinus* [x], or *Saosducheus* (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that *Manasseh* was restored to his kingdom (O), and that *Egypt* recovered her liberty (P); that he seems otherwise to have kept full possession of the empire his father left him, and that, dying, he was succeeded by his son *Chyniladan*. Saosduchinus. Year of the Flood, 2331. Year before Christ, 668.

b *Chyniladan* is supposed, and upon good grounds, to be the *Nabuchadonosor* of scripture (Q), an active and a warlike prince, and particularly remarkable for his invasion of the rebellious and now independent *Medes*, who had formed themselves into a separate state, as may be seen in the history of that nation. In order to subdue this warlike people, he summons, as it were, the whole force of his wide-spreading Chyniladan. Year of the Flood, 2351. Year before Christ, 648.

[x] Ptolom. Can. Astron.

Greeks by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Assar-haddon-Pul* (93), but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for we have seen they had two very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the *Sardanapalus* of profane authors, in the section before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(N) *Prideaux* (96) reckons him to have been the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*; but that he is therein most egregiously mistaken, will be proved anon.

(O) *Prideaux* (97) supposes him not only to have been set at liberty by *Esar-haddon* himself, but also to have been invested, by the same monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to support himself against *Psammetichus*, who had now got the dominion of all *Egypt* into his hands, and began to war upon the *Assyrians* in *Palestine* (98); but he has most strangely disturbed the history of *Assyria* by that unaccountable mistake of writing *Sargon* the same with *Sennacherib*.

(P) It is not in nature to suppose it did, before the death of *Esar-haddon*, who, it is most certain, died by the time he had well subdued this kingdom.

(Q) That *Chyniladan*, and no other king in *Ptolemy*'s canon, can have been the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we shall also settle some other points, and especially the three which are the subject of the three notes above, and which *Prideaux* has involved in great darkness. From the death of *Assar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of *Saosduchinus* to the twelfth of *Chyniladan*, that he undertook to reduce the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseh*, king of *Judah*, was taken into captivity by *Assar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, after which he reigned 34 years. His son *Amon* reigned after him over *Judah* two years, which being added to the former number, make 36 years, when *Josiah* began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that *Chyniladan* began his reign about the 41st year of *Manasseh*, and that warring against the *Medes* in his 12th year, according to the number in the vulgate, or St. *Jerom*'s translation, it happened in the 53d year of the said *Manasseh*; *Chyniladan* reigned after this 10 years, or to the sixth year of king *Josiah*; for *Manasseh* reigned full 55 years, and his son *Amon* reigned barely two; so that *Chyniladan* may have died about the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*. This king, as we have observed above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it must have been, if ever, that *Bethulia* was besieged by *Holofernes* for the king of *Assyria*; and here it seems to be most naturally placed by Sir *Isaac Newton* (99). To suppose with *Prideaux* (100) that *Holofernes* invaded the *Jews* in the days of *Manasseh*, is contradicting, in good measure, himself; for it is expressly said, that the *Jews* were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the *Assyrian* captivity, when *Manasseh* was carried away to *Babylon*; and to suppose this war under *Holofernes*, to have been undertaken after the return of *Manasseh* to *Jerusalem*, is undoing what the same historian mentions of the kindness of the kings of *Assyria* to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and the perfect good understanding between them, till *Josiah* was killed in the service of his *Assyrian* sovereign, as he mistakenly writes (2). If he supposes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in prison; then must he also say, that *Assar-haddon* himself was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, since he declares *Manasseh* to have been set at liberty by the said *Assar-haddon*; but this he says not. If this transaction happened in the reign of *Saosduchinus*, it must follow, either that *Manasseh* was not delivered out of prison by *Assar-haddon*, but detained many years a prisoner at *Babylon* by *Saosduchinus*, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and constant harmony between the kings at *Nineveh* and their homagers at *Jerusalem*, as he asserts (4), down to the day *Josiah* was slain in battle by the *Egyptian* king *Necho* (5). *Josiah* reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the first year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by *Ptolemy*'s canon it appears, that *Josiah* was slain in the fourth year of *Nabocolassarus*, or the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, the second king of *Babylon*, and this was after *Niniveh* had been destroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of *Assyria* were no more. In sum, it appears from all this, that *Assar-haddon* must have died much about

(93) *See before*, p. 885. (94) *See before in the notes*, p. 885. (95) *Ibid.* p. 888. (96) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *Part* 1. p. 35. 8vo. (97) *Ibid.* p. 34. (98) *See before*, p. 266. (99) *Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend*, p. 290. (100) *Ubi sup.* (1.) *Judith iv.* 3. (2) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *Part* 1. p. 35. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.* (5) *See before*, p. 267.

Calls in all the nations.

spreading dominions, calling in "all that dwelt in the hill country, and all that a
"dwelt by *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and *Hydaspes*, and the plain of *Arioch*, the king
"of the *Elymæans*, and very many nations of the sons of *Chelod*;" all these easterns
rendezvouzed under his banner. But issuing out his orders, at the same time, to the
Persians, and the western people in *Cilicia*, *Damascus*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and the
inhabitants on the sea-coasts, as well as to the nations of *Carmel*, *Galaad*, the *Upper*
Galilee, and the great plains of *Esdraelom*; as also to all *Samaria*, *Jerusalem*, *Be-*
tane, *Chellus*, *Kades*, the borderers on the river of *Egypt*, *Taphnes*, *Rameſſe*, and all
the land of *Gesem*, beyond *Tanis* and *Memphis*, and in general, to all the inhabitants
of *Egypt* to the borderers of *Ethiopia*; all these received his ambassadors with con-
tempt, and, fearing him not, refused one and all to obey his orders (R). Upon so b
general a defection, it may be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to
invade the *Medes*, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors; but
having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made
as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders; vowing in the most solemn
manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent
and rebellious *Medes* *.

Wars with the Medes.
Year of the Flood, 2363.
Year before Christ, 636.

In the twelfth year of his reign, then, he moved with his army against *Arphaxad*,
king of the *Medes*, and joining battle with him in the great plain of *Ragau*, he
overthrew him horse and chariot, put *Arphaxad* to flight, who made the best of his
way to the mountains; got possession of all his cities, and *Ecbatan*, in particular, c
the capital of *Media*, a sumptuous city, newly erected, and decorated to be the seat
of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy; and to crown all, he
caught *Arphaxad* in the mountains of *Ragau*, where he thought to have sheltered
himself, and coming there to skirmish with him and his followers, he shot *Arphaxad*
so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and, as it were, to
his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure with this more than, perhaps, expected
success, he returns in triumph to *Niniveh*, he and all his company of nati-
ons, a multitude of warriors, and reposing with them after the fatigues of their
victorious expedition (S), they feast and revel with him for the space of 120
days †. d

And now being fated with excess and riot, and confident of being invincible (T),
he and his servants resume their martial fury, and talk of no less than being avenged
on

* Ibid. † Ibid.

about the time *Manasseh* was carried to *Babylon*, or, at most, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from *Saosduchinus* rather than *Assar-haddon*, who could not have had the time either to think much of him or to settle with him; for it must have been something extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of *Israel* and *Syria* shared so different a fate. Again, it must appear, that *Assar-haddon* died immediately after he left *Egypt*, and that his death inspired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that *Chyniladan*, and no other, was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Assyrians*, Those I mean, says he (7), who lived at *Niniveh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did *Phraortes* the *Mede* make war. This *Phraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. *Saosduchinus*, it appears, then had led a quiet and peaceable life for the space of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign; and *Chyniladan* had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the *Medes* had conquered the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes, and as appears in the text of *Judith*, which says, that the *Persians* of all the orientals refused to obey his summons; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack *Assyria* also; hearing of this it roused him; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and in haste sends to all the nations who had bowed to the *Assyrian* throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus* and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way we may, in this distress of *Nabuchadonosor*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Niniveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8); though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(S) This successful war of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, against the *Medes*, is exactly almost what *Ctesias* writes of *Sardanapalus* (10), it is the same story most carelessly told; and this feast is certainly the same *Sardanapalus* is said to have given his victorious army (11).

(T) This is *Sardanapalus* again, or rather *Sardanapalus* is the shadow of this king; he, as we have seen, imagined his city of *Niniveh* could never be taken (12).

(6) *See before*, p. 265. (7) *l.* 1. *c.* 102. (10) *See before*, p. 886. (11) *Ibid.* (12) *Ibid.* p. 887.
(8) *See before*, p. 887. (9) *In the notes, ibid.*

a on the whole earth ; meaning the nations who had ſo contemptuouſly refuſed to attend him in his war intended with *Media*. He therefore calls together his nobles and officers, with whom he conferred, concerning this matter, in private council, and the reſult was, *to afflict the whole earth out of his own mouth*, and that all fleſh ſhould be deſtroyed that *did not obey the commandment of his mouth*. In conſequence of this vain reſolution, *Nabuchadonoſor* calls for his chief captain *Holofernes*, and gives him in charge, as the lord of the whole earth, to take with him 120,000 of his choiceſt foot, and 12,000 choſen archers on horſeback, and with them to invade all the weſt, for that they had dared to withſtand his will and pleaſure, and to command them to prepare water and earth for him, againſt he ſhould, in his wrath, come b againſt them, and cover the whole earth with the feet of his army, and give them up a prey thereto ; threatening, that their ſlain ſhould fill their vallies and their brooks, and make the river ſwell over its banks, and that he would lead them away captives to the uttermoſt parts of the earth : He commanded him to go forth before him and poſſeſs himſelf of all their coaſts for him ; that if they ſubmitted to him, he ſhould let them alone for him to puniſh them in perſon ; but that if they preſumed to make head againſt him, he ſhould utterly deſtroy them without favour or diſtinction ; ſwearing by his own life and the might of his kingdom, that he would, with his own hand, perform what he had ſo preſumptuouſly vented forth ; and warning him, at his peril, not to tranſgreſs any of the com- c mands he had injoined him, but to execute them with rigour and without delay [z] (V).

Holofernes's *charge and orders.*

Holofernes, having received his orders to this effect, departed from before *Nabuchadonoſor*, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of *Aſſur* [*Aſſyria*], he ſelected the numbers, both of horſe and foot, the king had commanded ; and, attended with aſſes and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of neceſſaries, and goats, ſheep, and oxen more than can be ſaid, with plenty of every thing to ſuſtain the army, and gold and ſilver in great abundance from the king's treaſury, he marched off from *Niniveh* ; followed, beſides his army, by innumerable multitudes from ſeveral nations, who like locuſts joined him, or like d the ſand of the ſea ; ſo that by the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough ſaid to cover all the face of the earth weſtward with their chariots, and horſemen, and their choſen footmen [a].

He takes the field.

Holofernes, in this his march weſtward, deſtroyed *Phud* and *Lud*, ſpoiled all the children of *Raſſes*, and the children of *Iſmael* toward the wilderneſs, ſouthward of the land of the *Chellians*. He then croſſed the *Euphrates*, and paſſed through *Meſopotamia*, and deſtroyed all the high cities upon the river *Arbonai* quite to the ſea : He took the borders of *Cilicia*, killed all that reſiſted him, and came to the borders of *Japhet*, ſouthward, oppoſite to *Arabia* ; and falling upon the children of *Madian* (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their ſheep-cotes. From hence he went to the c plain of *Damaſcus*, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harveſt, burnt up all their fields, deſtroyed their flocks and herds, ranſacked and demoliſhed their cities, quite laid the whole country waſte, and ſlew all the young men with the edge of the ſword ; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the ſea-coaſts, that *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Azotus*, *Aſcalon* and others, trembled, and ſued for mercy ; ſending, in all haſte, ambaſſadors to

[z] Ibid. *c.* 11.

[a] Ibid.

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this great degree of inſolent wrath in this prince, were it not for the good aſſiſtance of *Herodotus*, who tells (13) us, as we have obſerved before, that the *Medes* were grown to that pitch as to pretend to ſubdue *Aſſyria* ; which, conſidering this king as he was, muſt have been a moſt violent provocation and muſt have highly inflamed him, when he found himſelf ſo deſerted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on, while he perhaps was ſubdued by a rebellious nation, who muſt for many years, ever ſince the days of *Sennacherib*, have been at greateſt enmity with *Aſſyria*, though at the hazard of their own welfare, ſeeing they might feel the blow that ſtaggered his kingdom. Upon the conſideration therefore that they would not aſſiſt him, though to preſerve even themſelves, he reſolves to execute ſuch vengeance, as ſuch ingratitude, as he might call it, and ſtupidity would well deſerve. The vulgat, according to St. *Jerom*, takes off from this, by repreſenting *Nabuchadonoſor* victorious over the *Medes*, before he called in the nations mentioned, but why he ſhould call them in when his work was done, or how they ſhould have diſobey'd him, when he had ſo lately given ſo extraordinary an inſtance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The *Greek* verſion and our own is doubtleſs here to be preferred, though both, in other reſpects very faulty.

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular ſite of theſe nations ; ſuch of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps.

(13) *l.* 1. *c.* 102.

to him to treat of peace, who, prostrating themselves before him, acknowledged a themselves the servants of the mighty *Nabuchadonosor*, his master, and made a most humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be disposed of by him, as to him should seem best [b].

Upon this, *Holofernes* drew down towards the sea coast, where he filled the chief cities with garisons of his own, whence he, at the same time, picked out the choicest men to supply the place of such as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exercised amidst the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the *Assyrian* general and his army with garlands, and dances, and the sound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where save their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; *Holofernes* having determined to b demolish the former, and to destroy all the gods of the land wheresoever he should come, that all nations might worship *Nabuchadonosor* only, and all tongues and tribes call upon him, and upon him only, as god (X). And having, without opposition, wrought his pleasure in these parts, he moved off towards the plain of *Esdraelon*, and advancing towards *Judea*, he encamped between *Geba* and *Scythopolis*, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and scattered parts of his army [c].

In this situation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of *Judea*, who thereupon took what measures they could to obstruct his passage and defend themselves. *Holofernes* indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt c by others, and, we may be sure, was highly exasperated, when he heard the *Jews* were resolved upon an obstinate resistance. The news and confirmation of this stirred him up to anger; and convening the chiefs of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the sea coast, he required them to inform him concerning the people who thus pretended to withstand his progress; and how it was, that they alone, of all the people of the west, should presume to stand out against the *Assyrian* power? to which he was answered, by the chief of the sons of *Ammon*, *Achior* by name, who, reciting to him the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham*, upon the whole assured him, that if they were in favour with God, it would be in vain for him to think of subduing them; and that it would, in that case, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour against them; but that if d indeed they had sinned, they might be as easily reduced as any other nation. This diffident and ambiguous counsel was not only displeasing to *Holofernes*, but raised a tumult among the chiefs of *Phœnice* and *Moab* who were present, and who would have persuaded him to put *Achior* to death for his insolence, vaunting against the children of *Israel*, and setting them at nought [d].

When the tumult was ceased, *Holofernes* called out to *Achior*, and treated him as a wretch, who had on set purpose prophesied against him, and blaspheming against God, spoke of *Nabuchadonosor* as above him; he then ordered him out of his presence, dooming him to death with the *Jews*, whom he intended shortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his servants to guard him to a strong place belonging to the *Jews*, e that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. *Bethulia* was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried; and being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to *Holofernes* and his designs [e].

Besieges Bethulia.

The next day *Holofernes* ordered, that a motion should in general be made to invest *Bethulia*; the vast multitude obeyed and encamped upon a wide extent of ground from *Dothaim* to *Belmaim*, and from *Bethulia* to *Cyamon*, over-against *Esdraelon*. The day after this, *Holofernes*, at the head of all his horsemen, and in the sight of all the people of *Bethulia*, took a view of the passages to the city, and seizing upon and setting a guard over their springs of water, returned again to the gross of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the *Edomites* advised him not to f think of assaulting the besieged, because of their situation, but rather to keep the waters that supplied the city under a strong guard, and so destroy the people by thirst, while he sat quietly in his camp, and saved himself and army the trouble of putting those to death, who must of necessity die for want of water; and so be sufficiently

[b] Ibid. &. c. iii. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. c. iv. v. [e] Ibid. c. xii.

(X) He here seems to have assumed beyond any of his predecessors. This may serve as an instance, that the *Assyrians* abolished the religion of the countries where-ever they came, to introduce the worship of their own princes, dead or living; to keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majesty of their own kingdom: This may be added to what we have already observed of the same kind on several passages of this history and practice of the people.

a sufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. *Holofernes* approved the advice, and ordered the necessary dispositions to put it effectually in execution [f].

HAVING continued in this inactive state about 35 days, and waiting the miserable end of the besieged, who, for want of water, were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from *Bethulia*, who was without Judith. his tent. He was then reposing himself under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious stones, and hearing of *Judith*, that was the woman's name, he went out to see her in great state, with silver lamps carried before him. *Judith* fell prostrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he spoke kindly to her, desired her to fear nothing, and assured her he never did
b harm to those who were willing to serve his great master *Nabuchadonosor*; and more to the same purpose, relating to herself and the people she came from. In the end, she told him an artful story to encourage him in his hopes against the people of *Bethulia*; with her words she deceived him, and with her beauty she ensnared his heart. For four days he left her mistress of herself, unattempted and unconfined, though her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch, *Bagoas*, to persuade her to his bed; which she dissembling a readiness to comply with, *Holofernes* gave himself up to an excess of wine, and being left alone with her, she took her opportunity in the dead of night, and severed his
c head from his body, with his own sword, and carried it off with her to the besieged [g] (Y).

THE *Assyrians*, ignorant of what had been transacted in the recesses of their general's tent that night, and perceiving the besieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an assault, sent notice of it to *Holofernes* who was found headless in his tent, to the unspeakable surprize of all that beheld or heard it. At this the *Assyrians* lost all courage, and, seized with a panic, betook them to the most precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foresaw their own. They left all their treasure and baggage behind them, and were pursued with a great slaughter to *Chobai* [h].

d THUS ended this insolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner or any other we have not to say; but that it was unfortunate, and highly so, may appear by what in a few years after followed, meaning no less than the fall of the *Assyrian* empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loss to know, except that we are told he was succeeded by a king called

Sarac

[f] Ibid. c. vi, vii. [g] Ibid. c. viii, ix, x, xi, &c. [h] Ibid. c. xv.

(Y) This story may meet with very little credit, and indeed we are very apt to think it is not true; and this may derive such a blemish on the whole book, as to make some doubt of the sincerity of any thing else said in it; nor should we be very ready to add much faith to any part of it, were it not so directly confirmed to us by *Herodotus*, and so sufficiently by *Ctesias* and all his followers, as we have observed in some parallel places. The heroine herself, *Judith*, may be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing else, and visibly meant to inculcate into us an heroic love of our country and readiness to sacrifice ourselves in its defence; or it may have been meant some how or other as a compliment to the *Jews*, by representing them to have had the honour of a share in pulling down the proud towers of *Niniveh*. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of *Judith* herself, the substance of the book in other respects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear, not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but also by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly consistent with. One of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted in the vindicating of this *Apocryphal* book, is, that throughout the whole, there is no mention made of a king in the land; whereupon *Prideaux* (14) observes, that if we could put this history so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, it would be a most important point gained; for that then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king; but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom in the transacting of the whole affair. To put this history so far back as he would have it, he confesses impossible, but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of *Manasseh* and his son *Amon* are right, and if *Ptolemy*'s canon is to be depended on, this story may stand most naturally in the first years of *Josiah*, who was a minor of but eight years of age; so that, according to him, it is no wonder, there is no mention made of so very young a king throughout this whole book of *Judith*. Those who would know more of this may consult the same learned author, who has professedly treated on this subject (15), which is somewhat foreign to our design, and would besides draw us into too great a length.

(14) *Connect of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *Part* 1. *p.* 41. 8*vo*. (15) *Ibid.*

Sarac, (Z), who committing his forces in *Chaldæa* to *Nabopallasar*[i], he rebelled against him, and seized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself, (A), and in that kingdom therefore may be said to have been the immediate successor of *Chyniladon*, or *Nabuchadonosor* (B), as he stands in the canon of *Ptolemy*. The two revolted kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* conspired together against the emperor at *Niniveh*, entered into alliances with each other, *Nabopallasar* particularly sending to *Astyages* the *Mede*, to demand his daughter, *Amyite*, or *Aroite*, in marriage for his son *Nebuchadnezzar*[k] (C). The families thus united make war upon *Sarac*, who, dreading the calamities ready to befal him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and himself therewith[l], and may, it is likely, have been the *Sardanapalus* talked of by profane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of *Assyria*, or in some such manner, a b and

[i] Polyhist. apud Syncel. Chron. p. 210. [k] Idem, apud eund. ibid. [l] Idem, ibid.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchedon*, as this was from *Asserhadon*, *Asserhadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we seemingly see then, whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in profane authors (17), and particularly those in *Suidas* (18), distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great *Asserhadon* (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our supposition must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(A) This *Nabopallassar* was confessedly an *Assyrian* by his name, which must have been derived from *Nebo-pul-assur*; this sufficiently declares the nation he was of, and it is confirmed by *Polyhistor* (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, *Sardanapalus*. So that according to this there must have been two *Sardanapalus*'s existing together, the one rising into prosperity, the other falling into the pit of adversity. From some such notion it must have been, that we read also of another city of *Niniveh*, to which the unfortunate *Sardanapalus* sent in his distress (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and this man, according to our historian (23), was the *Babylonian* that actually joined with the *Medes* to destroy *Niniveh*; so that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's accession to the throne of *Babylon* seems to have been this; as he was confessedly an *Assyrian*, he may have laid claim to the throne of *Babylon* in right of succession, as of the younger branch of the *Assyrians* descended from the great *Nabonassar*, who seems to have had the kingdom of *Babylon* allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* conqueror, while he left *Assyria* to his eldest son. He may, it is likely, have made this claim, and the seemingly unfortunate end of the reign of *Chyniladon* (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unsettled state he must have left things in, have tempted him to seize on *Babylon* immediately for himself, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it must seemingly have been, that we have no mention of *Sarac*, or whatever else he may have been called in *Ptolemy*'s canon.

(B) The note above makes this sufficiently appear, and what we have there already said seems to have been really the case. The *Medes* were at open war with the *Assyrians* (25), the rest of the nations were partly ready to shake off the yoke which had been reimposed on them by *Chyniladon* (26), if they did not really shake it off upon the defeat of his army under *Holofernes* (27); and partly in an actual state of independence, having shaken off the yoke even in the days of *Asserhadon*, and perhaps before (28); and this seisure on *Babylon* must have been such a blow to the *Assyrian* monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprizing kings of the *Medes* and of the *Babylonians* came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the *Assyrian*, who was deserted on all hands, could not long withstand such a Conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

(C) Here we see the new prince of *Babylon* making the most effectual court to the king of the *Medes*, and contracting the most intimate of alliances with him for their mutual support. These two are then the *Belesis* and *Arbaces* of *Ctesias* (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. We see them here contracting with each other as considerable princes, who could no longer brook subjection, and not two obscure revolters and conspirators, secretly combining together at *Niniveh*. It is to our purpose, that *Polyhistor* (30) calls this *Babylonian Nabopallasar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, the first *Babylonian* monarch that makes his appearance in scripture, and thereby so quadrates therewith, throughout the whole system of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* history, as there recorded, as to settle the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, and the fall, nearly, of the *Assyrian*, beyond any possibility of dispute; nor can *Ctesias*'s *Belesis* (31) have been any other than this *Nabopallassar*, and the rather as *Polyhistor* (32) says, he was no more than governor of *Chaldæa* or *Babylon*, while he calls *Astyages* the *Mede*, his friend, the satrapa or lord of *Media*, and thereby makes the distinction of superiority between them which *Ctesias* asserts; so that, in the main, *Ctesias* may be said to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to embellish this part of his *Assyrian* history, as well as the rest, with the glaring tinsel of romance.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father (34) *Phraortes*, who must have been the same with the *Astyages* of *Polyhistor* (35), and the *Arphaxad* of the *Apocrypha* (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride

(16) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend.* p. 293. *See before in the notes*, p. 895. (17) *See before in the notes*, p. 885, 886. (18) *Ad vocem* Σαρδαναπαλος. (19) *See before in the notes, Ibid.* (20) *See before*, p. 895. (21) *Apud* Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 210 (22) *See before in the notes*, p. 887. (23) Alexand. Polyhist *apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (24) *See before*, p. 901. (25) Herodot. *l.* 1. *c.* 102. (26) *See before*, p. 900. (27) *Ibid.* 901. (28) *See before in the notes*, p. 895. (29) *See before*, p. 885. (30) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (31) *See before, ubi sup.* (32) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (33) Herodot. *l.* 1. *c.* 102. (34) *Idem, ibid.* (35) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (36) Judith *c.* 1. *ver.* 5.

a (E), and the *Medes* and *Babylonians* triumphed over its ruins (F), purſuant to the pro-
phets (G): · · · *Wo to the* Aſſyrian, *the rod of mine anger* · · · *I will puniſh the fruit of the ſtout heart of the king of* Aſſyria, *and the glory of his high looks. For he ſaith, By the ſtrength of my hand I have done it, and by my wiſdom, for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and robbed their treaſures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant* man. *And my hand hath found as a neſt the riches of the people:*

pride was ſuch, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivation or deprivation, but choſe rather to undergo the moſt cruel of deaths, even burning itſelf. It is obſerved (37) to be very extraordinary, that ſo many have voluntarily undergone this moſt exquiſite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life ſo many other ways. In the caſe of thoſe who have burned themſelves merely to put an end to their days, without any ſort of conſtraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or ſuperſtition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the caſe of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded a ſevere conſtraint of perſon, or a diſaſtrous loſs of life by the hand of a remorſeleſs enemy, it is no ſuch great wonder, that they ſhould take the moſt effectual way to deſtroy both themſelves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the thirſt of his rage with their blood, or inrich himſelf with their ſpoils. The motive to this, in thoſe that have ſuffered it, may be aſcribed to the higheſt ſort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to diſappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call, a ſufferer even by their deſtruction.

(E) we have made it our buſineſs in ſeveral preceding notes in this ſection, and in ſome at the latter end of the former, to ſhew, that there are two *Sardanapalus*'s in the profane writers, and that theſe two can have been no other than the great *Aſſerhadon* and this laſt king of *Aſſyria* (38), who may have been the ſecond of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, ſeems to imply. The profane accounts, as we have ſeen, repreſent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarſus* and *Anchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a ſluggard, who periſhed in the flames that conſumed his palace, his ſervants, and his treaſures (40). The former then muſt have been the great *Aſſerhadon*, or *Sardon-pul*, of ſcripture, and the latter muſt have been this obſcure prince *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardon-pul*; for that the empire did not fall under the former is moſt evident, and that it fell under the latter is almoſt as plain, by the obſcurity of what is related concerning him. For by *Herodotus* (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great *Aſſerhadon*, and languiſhed greatly under the inactive reign of *Saoſduchinus*, who gave the turbulent *Medes* an opportunity of recollecting that ſtrength, that may have been impaired by the ſucceſſes of his fortunate predeceſſor, who was certainly the greateſt of all the *Aſſyrian* monarchs; inſomuch that *Chyniladon*, who ſucceeded *Saoſduchinus*, with all his reſolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under ſome misfortunes, as ſhould ſeem by his hiſtory, and his ſucceſſor *Sarac* perhaps proving to be an effeminate and ſlothful man, the *Aſſyrian* throne ſunk ſtill deeper than it had ever been, and thoſe who had profeſſed obedience to it hitherto began to deſert it, and to conſpire againſt it; and being under this cloud, and juſt on the verge of diſappearing for ever, it is no wonder, we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final diſſolution; and the rather, as all theſe parts were at the ſame time diſturbed by a violent irruption of the *Scythians*, who kept things in ſuſpence, or rather in ſubjection to them during 28 years, during which time the *Aſſyrian* at *Niniveh* muſt have grown leſs and leſs conſiderable, and but gaſped till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is, that we know ſo little of *Sarac*, the laſt king of *Niniveh*, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(F) After this manner it certainly came to deſtruction, for beſides what *Cteſias* (43) writes, and *Polyhiſtor* (44), even *Herodotus* (45) intimates, that it was ſubverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; by ſaying, that the *Medes* conquered all *Aſſyria*, excepting a part of the province of *Babylonia*. Whereby he ſeems to underſtand, that the *Babylonian* was a dependant on the *Mede*, though he did not deſerve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the *Mede* would have been powerful enough of himſelf, without ſuch aſſiſtance as the *Babylonian* could afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with *Cteſias* and *Polyhiſtor*; for the former repreſents the *Babylonian* rather as a client, than an aſſiſtant, to the *Mede* (46); and the latter tell us, the *Babylonian* had no ſooner ſeized on his portion than he applied to the *Mede* for protection, and, to ſecure himſelf and deſcendants in his new poſſeſſions, ſued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly underſtood by a prophecy in *Iſaiah*, which we ſhall not fail to take notice of preſently. Upon the whole, though *Cteſias* is to be condemned for having made a romance of the *Aſſyrian* affairs, and for the many inconſiſtencies and falſhoods he has heaped together concerning the ſame, it appears, that he had ſome ſort of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already ſeen ſome paſſages in him parallel with others in the book of *Judith*, as forerunning the ſubverſion of this empire (48); but then he has miſapplied his facts to *Chyniladon*, or *Nabuchadonoſor*, the laſt king but one, and not to *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus*, the laſt king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be ſettled pretty nearly. If *Chyniladon*, or *Nabuchadonoſor*, died in the ſixth year of *Joſiah*, as we have as good as proved (49), it muſt follow, that the ſame *Joſiah*, being ſlain by *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*, when there was a king of *Aſſyria* ſtill in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of *Chyniladon*; for *Joſiah* reigned 31 yeas (51), the laſt of which may coincide with the fourth year of *Nabocolaſſarus*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſo that his father *Nabopallaſſarus*, who immediately ſeized upon the kingdom of *Babylon*, upon the deceaſe of *Chyniladon*, or *Nabuchadonoſor*, did not live to ſee the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, which may have ſtood

(37) Is. Casaub. *in not. ad* Athen. *l.* 12. *c.* 7. (38) *See before in the notes, p.* 902. (39) Athen. *Deipnoſ. l.* 12. *p.* 529. (40) *See before, p.* 887. (41) *l.* 1. *c.* 102. (42) *See before, p.* 899. (43) *Ibid. p.* 887. (44) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi ſup.* (45) *Ubi ſup.* (46) *See before, p.* 885. (47) *Apud* Syncell. *Chronogr. p.* 210. (48) *See before in the notes, p.* 899, 900. (49) *Ibid.* (50) *See before, p.* 267. (51) *Ibid. p.* 841.

people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, *have I gathered all the earth, and there* a
was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boast itself
against him that heweth therewith? or *shall* the *saw magnify itself against him that*
shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself *against them that lift it up,* or *as if the staff*
should lift up itself as if it were *no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts,*
send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the
burning of a fire (H). *And the light of* Israel *shall be for a fire, and his holy One for*
a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day; and shall
consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they
shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall
be few, that a child may write them [m]. . . . . *I will break the* Assyrian *in my land,* b
and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them,
and his burden depart from off their shoulders [n]. . . . . *Through the voice of the Lord*
shall the Assyrian *be beaten down* which *smote with a rod* [o]. . . . . *Then shall the*
Assyrian *fall with the sword, not of a mighty man; and the sword not of a mean man*
shall devour him (I): *but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited.*
And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear (K), *and his princes shall be afraid of the*
ensign, saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, *and his furnace in* Jerusalem [p]. . . . .
Behold, the Assyrian was *a cedar in* Lebanon, *with fair branches, and a shadowing*
shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters
made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his c
plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height
was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches
became long because of the multitude of his waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls
of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the
field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was
he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters.
The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs,
and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; not any tree in the garden of God was like
unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that
all the trees of Eden, *that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith* d
the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top
among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him
into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him, I have
driven

[m] Isai. x. 5.——20. [n] Idem, xiv. 25. [o] Idem, xxx. 31. [p] Idem, xxxi. 8, 9.

stood some years after his death. Now that it came to pass, that *Nineveh* stood so long after the combination of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* against it, was owing to a stop put to their designs, by an irruption of the *Scythians* (52), who can have been no other than the *Bactrians* mentioned before (53), to have come upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, while they were besieging that city. These *Scythians* held dominion over *Asia*, as it is called, (54) for the space of 28 years; during which the confederates were so far from being able to act against the king of *Assyria*, that they must have been under considerable constraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in these parts. The *Scythians* then were lords in these parts about six or seven years after the death of *Nabopallassarus*, and the work of destroying the kingdom of *Assyria* could not be compleated till the *Scythians* had been driven out of this part of *Asia*, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years above-mentioned. They then proceeded against *Nineveh*, and destroyed it about the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah*; but whether in the second, third, or fourth year of his reign, we shall leave the reader to determine; but it is certain, to a sufficient demonstration, that in one of those years *Nineveh* submitted to fate.

(H) There may be those who may imagine these words to be predictive of the manner of *Sardanapalus*'s death, as related by profane authors (55).

(I) These two, the one *not a mighty man*, the other *not a mean man*, seem plainly to allude to the mighty *Mede*, and the dependent *Babylonian*, as we have distinguished them in a note or two above; so that this prophecy seems very naturally applicable to the two men that destroyed the kingdom of *Assyria*, as they are represented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing *Ctesias* the justice of observing, That this *flight from the sword*, this *discomfiture of the young men*, and this *retreat to the strong hold for fear*, seem exactly to quadrate with the circumstances he relates concerning the latter end of *Sardanapalus* (56). The *flight for fear* may allude to his flight when surprised in his camp (57); the *discomfiture of his young men*, to the slaughter of his army under *Salmeneus* (58); and his *passing over to his strong hold*, to his betaking himself to his city of *Nineveh* (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to shew, that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly against *Ctesias*, that we have laboured so much against him, or because we are fond of erecting or sustaining an hypothesis; and that we should have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we safely have done it. In a word, he meant no *Assyrian* monarchy but that in scripture, which was either strangely distorted for him, or he must, studiously and most unpardonably, have disguised it himself.

(52) Herodot. *l.* 1. *c.* 103. (53) *p.* 886.
(54) *Vid.* Herodot. *ubi sup.* (55) *See before, p.* 887.
(56) *See before, Ibid.* (57) *See before, p.* 886.
(58) *Ibid.* (59) *Ibid.*

a *driven him out for his wickedneſs. And ſtrangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the Mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his ſhadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin ſhall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beaſts of the field ſhall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themſelves for their height, neither ſhoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees ſtand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midſt of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus ſaith the Lord God, In the day when he went down to the grave, I cauſed a mourning, I covered*
b *the deep for him, and I reſtrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were ſtayed; and I cauſed* Lebanon *to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to ſhake at the ſound of his fall, when I caſt him down to hell with them that deſcend into the pit: and all the trees of* Eden, *the choice and beſt of* Lebanon, *all that drink water, ſhall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They alſo went down into hell with him unto* them that be *ſlain with the ſword, and* they that were *his arm,* that *dwelt under his ſhadow in the heathen*[q]. . . . . *Thy ſhepherds ſlumber, O king of* Aſſyria, *thy nobles ſhall dwell* in the duſt: *thy people is ſcattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them.* There is *no healing of thy bruiſe: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, ſhall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom*
c *hath not thy wickedneſs paſt continually*[r]? Such was the great empire of *Aſſyria*, ſuch her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himſelf, the firſt and ſupreme of nations, and ſuch her fearful fall; nor is all this meant of any other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who firſt began to afflict *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations; and whoſe ſucceſſors were the firſt that attempted to extinguiſh the great nations on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to naught in the perſon of *Sarac*, *Aſſerhaddon* II. or *Sardanapalus*[s]; ſo that *Aſſyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long ſince no more; falſhood has been invented and propagated to preſerve her the honour truth was deprived of being able to pay her, and concerning which we ſhould have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain aſſiſtance of ſcripture and
d the moſt ineſtimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's Aſtronomical Canon.*

CHAP. IX.

The History of the Babylonians.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of the Country of Babylon, *or* Chaldæa.

e WE have already done conſiderably towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately ſucceſſive to the deluge[t]. Its moſt antient name was *Shinaar*, *Sennaar*, *Senjâr*, *Singara*, and the *Names.* like[u], but whether or no it extended to what has been ſince known more peculiarly for the dominions of *Babylon*, we have already declared[w] we know not, nor is it poſſible to gather it to any great degree of ſatisfaction, though there is ſome reaſon to think it did, becauſe it is uſed to denote this whole kingdom, when in the meridian of empire*. *Babylon* is a name univerſally ſuppoſed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of *Babel*; and *Chaldæa* from the *Chaldæans*, or *Chaſdim*[x].

f THESE two laſt names ſometimes extend themſelves over the whole territory, being indifferently uſurped for each other; but are ſometimes limited to certain parts

[q] Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17. [r] Nahum iii. 18, 19. [s] See before in the notes, p. 902. [t] See before, particularly in the notes, p. 123, 142. [u] See before, p. 122, 142. [w] See before, in the places of the two foregoing citations. * Dan. i. 2. [x] See before, p. 163.

parts of it, *Babylon* being uſed for the parts between the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, a and the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itſelf of *Babylon*; and *Chaldæa* for the parts more immediately conterminous with *Arabia*, and ſtretching ſouth-eaſtward to the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulf. Theſe two great names were alſo uſed in diſtinction of each other upon another account, not ſo much to our preſent purpoſe; finally, they were both ſometimes ſwallowed up by that of *Aſſyria*[y].

Diviſions. By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a conſiderable extent, and including a very great portion of *Meſopotamia*, and a good and valuable tract of what may be, properly enough, called *Arabia*; whence it may be diſtinguiſhed into the *Meſopotamian* and the b *Arabian*.

Extent uncertain. How far this country extended northward is paſt our determination, but for its limits weſtward, ſouthward, and eaſtward, we cannot be very much at a loſs, ſeeing

Situation and boundaries. it was to the eaſtward bounded by the *Tigris*, which divided it from *Aſſyria*; to the ſouthward by the conflux of the two rivers and the *Perſian* gulph, and to the weſtward by the *Deſart Arabia*; to the northward it muſt have been bounded by ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, but by what part of it we ſhall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incroached upon each other, and were conſidered as diſtinct countries. Hence it is ſometimes a practice with geographers to treat of *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia* at the ſame time and once for all[z], as being properly c one and the ſame country.

This ample region may very naturally ſuit with the majeſty of the *Babylonian* kings; but the name muſt certainly have prevailed, in antient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that it did not become even more univerſal, muſt have been owing to its being ſecond to the *Aſſyrian*, which had rooted itſelf firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the *Babylonians* muſt have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, ſeeing it may have been by them deemed their greateſt glory, that they were of *Aſſyrian* origin themſelves, as will be ſeen hereafter. But it is certain, that the proper *Babylon*, in later times, was confined to the very ſouthermoſt parts of *Meſopotamia*, which our maps ſometimes repreſent as a peninſula, or rather, as it is, a cluſter of iſlands; this ſmall territory, together with the proper *Chaldæa* already mentioned, is now deſcribed for this country, which, in antient days, obtained as far to the northward, as ſhould ſeem, as *Senjâr* at leaſt. d

Climate and fertility. This country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholeſome for the moſt part, though at certain ſeaſons of the year no air can be

[y] Strabo, l. 16. p. 736. Herodot. &c. &c. &c. [z] Vid. Cellar. Notit. Orb. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 16. p. 451.

(L) The limits of the *Babylonian* empire were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Aſſyrian* empire after the revolt of the *Medes*, and hence the *Babylonian* name was almoſt as widely extended as the *Aſſyrian*, and indeed they are frequently uſed the one for the other, though this latter ſeems the moſt generally to have had the aſcendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, ſuperior to the former. "*Beroſus* ſaith, That *Nebuchadnez-* "*zar* held *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and "*Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the territories of *Babylon*; "and ſaying, that *Babylon* was antiently the metro- "polis of *Aſſyria*, he thus deſcribes the limits of "the *Aſſyrian* empire, [or more properly the *Baby-* "*lonian*]. *Contiguous*, ſaith he, [l. 16.] *to* Perſia "*and* Suſiana *are the* Aſſyrians; *for ſo they call* "Babylonia, *and the greateſt part of the region about* "*it*; *part of which is* Aturia, *wherein* Ninus [or "Niniveh], *and* Appolloniatis, *and the* Elymæans, "*and the* Parætacæ, *and* Chalonitis *by the mountain* "Zagrus, *and the fields near* Ninus, *and* Dolomene, "*and* Chalachene, *and* Chazene, *and* Adiabene, *and* "*the nations of* Meſopotamia *near the* Gordyæans, "*and the* Mygdones *about* Niſibis, *unto* Zeugma "*upon* Euphrates; *and a large region on this ſide of the* "Euphrates, *inhabited by the* Arabians *and* Syrians, "*properly ſo called, as far as* Cilicia, *and* Phœnicia, "*and* Libya, *and the ſea of* Egypt, *and the* Sinus "Iſſicus:" And a little after, deſcribing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he "bounds it on the "north with the *Armenians* and *Medes*, unto the "mountain *Zagrus*; on the eaſt ſide with *Suſa*, "and *Elymais*, and *Parætacene*, incluſively; on the "ſouth with the *Perſian* gulf and *Chaldæa*, and "on the weſt with the *Arabes Scenitæ* as far as "*Adiabene* and *Gordyæa*:" Afterwards, ſpeaking of *Suſiana* and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Suſa*, and of *Parætacene*, and *Coſſæa*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Siloceni*, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [*l.* 16. *p.* 745.] "*And theſe are the nations which inhabit* Babylonia "*eaſtward: to the north are* Media *and* Armenia, "excluſively; *and weſtward are* Adiabene *and* Meſo- "potamia, incluſively; *the greateſt part of* Adiabene "*is plain*, the ſame *being part of* Babylonia: *in ſome* "*places it borders on* Armenia; *for the* Medes, Arme- "nians, *and* Babylonians *warred frequently on one* "*another* (60)." We here ſee *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia* moſt remarkably confounded together, not only as the ſame empire, but as the ſame country.

(60) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chron. of Anc. Kingd. p.* 324, 325.

a be poſſibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are ſo extraordinary here, that the richer ſort were uſed to ſleep in tubs and ciſterns of water *, nor could bear to live without this pernicious practice, which ſtill continues, as every body that has been in theſe parts very well knows; and at certain ſeaſons they have here the dreadful plague of a peſtilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we ſhall be more particular about in the geography of *Perſia*. It ſeldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; ſo that the inhabitants, in the northermoſt parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and eſpecially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where their engines and b wheels are ſo frequent, as ſometimes to hurt the navigation of the river †. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year [a]; nay, it has been ſometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon, that if it does but rain twice or thrice in a year, it is enough for their purpoſe [b]: this is remarked by *Herodotus* [c], who ſays, that in the land of the *Aſſyrians* it ſeldom rained; and that, though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not cauſed by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreſhment and fecundation of this country, though, however, the ſame ſort of labour is neceſſary even in *Egypt* [d]. The c ſoil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the induſtry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility uſed to vie with any other ſpot on the face of the earth. We have ſeen it compared to *Egypt*, as above, and the ſouthermoſt parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endleſs iſlands, ſome formed by nature, and ſome by art, and is beſides almoſt under the ſame parallel of latitude; nor is the other part of it, *Chaldæa* properly ſo called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much leſs watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reſervoirs or lakes ſeemingly borrowed from the ſame river. And hence it is, that [e] *Herodotus* d compares this country with *Egypt*, and hence, together with the excellence of its ſoil, it was ſo fruitful, that the ſame venerable author [f] imagines it impoſſible any one ſhould believe what he could ſay about it, that had not, like himſelf, been an eye-witneſs of the ſame; though he ventures to aſſert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Aſia*, that is of the *Perſian* empire, and that, when it exceeded even itſelf, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 moſt commonly.

Productions.

BEING a country of ſuch plenty of waters, and being for the moſt part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have abounded with the willow whence it came to be called *The Valley of Willows*, as *Prideaux* [g] would, after *Bochart*, mend the text [h]. e The palm alſo flouriſhed naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we underſtand our author [i], which afforded them, as he expreſſes himſelf [k], meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig, were what this otherwiſe happy country could not boaſt of [l], no more than her ſiſter *Egypt*. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the ſeſame ſhot up here to the ſize of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were uſually four good fingers broad [m]. The ſeſame afforded them oil inſtead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine inſtead of the grape [n]. In ſhort, for vegetable productions it may be juſtly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already ſaid about that country [o].

Rivers, canals, &c.

f ALL this fertility muſt have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which were wont in the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, to overflow their banks, and lay this country under water; the ſnow in thoſe months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of *Armenia*. But this being found detrimental and deſtructive to the inhabitants, theſe inundations were guarded againſt by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were diſtributed and abated,

* PLUTAR. Sympoſ. l. 3. p. 640. † See LEON. RAUWOLF's Travels into the Eaſtern Country, part 2. c. 6. p. 160. [a] Vid. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. 1. c. 12. p. 62. [b] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr. p. 152. [c] l. 1. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. 15. p. 692. [d] See before, p. 179. [e] Ubi ſupr. [f] Ibidem. [g] Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. part 1. book 2. p. 105. in 8vo. [h] ISAI. xv. 7. [i] HERODOT. ubi ſup. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. [o] See before, p. 182.

abated, the country in general benefited, and an eaſy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of theſe canals were ſo large as to be navigable in the winter months [p], but the chief of them all ſeems to have been the *Nahar-malcha*, or *Royal River* [q]. Concerning this, and the reſt of its kind, we muſt always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the aſſiſtance of the antient geographers, without which it is next to impoſſible to fix any thing certain about it in the antient weſtern geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, ſufficient inſtructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated, but by an actual and accurate ſurvey, which is what we can never ſo much as hope for. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the *Nahar-malcha*, which, as repreſented by the antients, muſt have been a vaſt work, is not now eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is ſome difficulty to make the antient geographers, in this particular caſe, conſiſtent with the beſt of our preſent maps, nor are the ſame geographers in this caſe very conſiſtent with themſelves; ſo that in a point of this obſcurity we ſhall be as brief as poſſible, deſpairing, with all the lights and aſſiſtances we have, to be able to fix this *Royal River* quite to the ſatisfaction either of the reader or of ourſelves. The *Nahar-malcha* is then by ſome [r] ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the river of *Cûtha*, now called *Couti*, or *Cûti*; which ſeems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the *Euphrates* into the inland of *Arabia*, where it falls into ſome lakes or waters, called the lake of *Rahama*, or *Al Batayeh*, in *De Liſle*'s maps, and muſt have been, together with ſome overflowed lands, farther eaſtward in the proper *Chaldea*, the *Paludes Babylonicæ* of the antients. This river is ſaid to have been dug by *Cûtha*, or *Cuſh*, king of *Babel*, but it is more uſually by the oriental writers attributed to his ſon *Nimrod* [s]. This *Nahar-malcha* is called a branch of the *Euphrates*, and is ſaid to have emptied itſelf into the lakes and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have waſhed the towns of *Irâk*, and is ſaid to have been the ſame called the river *Sûd*, the river of the *Black Country*, or of the *Black Towns* [t]. By this it ſhould have been no more than a branch of the *Euphrates*, by labour and art conducted into the inland of *Arabia*. The river of *Nehardea*, or *River of Knowledge*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Naarda* of *Ptolemy*, and to have run not above 20 miles above *Sora*, or at leaſt the univerſity itſelf of *Nehardea*, a famous one belonging to the *Jews*, is ſaid to have been no farther diſtant from *Sora*, and to have been ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the *Euphrates*, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the *Royal River*, or *Nahar-malcha*, was derived on the oppoſite ſhore, by which it is to be concluded, that it ran weſtward or ſouthward of the *Euphrates*, and conſequently, that it could not poſſibly have had any communication with the *Tigris*, whereas by all the antients we underſtand, that it was a very large canal, navigable by ſhips, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that it was cut for that very purpoſe. By *Ptolemy* we underſtand, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but alſo diſcharged itſelf into the *Paludes*, or ſtanding waters and overflowed grounds; by him we underſtand, that it was derived more properly from the *Tygris*, that it waſhed the walls of *Babylon*, or at leaſt ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the *Euphrates*, the canal was immediately continued away to the *Paludes*. It is not to be doubted, but that this *Nahar-malca* was contrived more particularly for the great city of *Babylon*, that ſo it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in *De Liſle*'s maps a cut or canal repreſented from the *Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, juſt by what are now called the ruins of *Babylon*; and exactly in a line with the river *Cûtha*, or *Cûti*, as it is now called and repreſented, which continues itſelf to the waters in the inland of *Arabia*; and thus we ſeem to have the true ſituation and extent of this river, which muſt certainly have been the ſame, and the rather as it is to this day called *Almalec*, the *King*, or *Royal*. It is in the ſame maps repreſented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the *Euphrates*, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly conſidered as a branch of the *Euphrates*, it is now moſt properly a branch of the *Tigris*. It appears then,

[p] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [q] See before, p. 57. [r] AL TABARI in cap. de Morte Saræ.
[s] Idem ibid. [t] Vid. HYDE, & Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſar. p. 40.

a then, that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of *Trajan*[u], who reſtored it to its priſtine ſtate, after it had been for many ages dug by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*[w]. Thus, by comparing *Ptolemy* with the beſt of our modern geographers, it ſeems, that we have in general marked out the canal of the *Naharmalcha*, which may at firſt have included no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the incluſion of the river of *Cûtha*, which muſt have been a diſtinct work. At ſome diſtance to the weſtward of the *Naharmalcha* was another river, corruptedly in *Ptolemy* called the *Maarſares*, for the *Naarſares*, or the *Nahar Sare*, the *Stinking River*; this alſo he derives from the *Tigris*, and continues to the *Paludes*; but our beſt maps have no ſign of ſuch a
b river or canal at preſent in theſe parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the *Nehardea*, or *Naarda* of *Ptolemy* above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, muſt by its name have been a river alſo, and, as we are told, to the weſtward of the *Nahar Sare*[x]. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out theſe and the other numerous branches and canals which watered the antient country of *Babylon*, though by the beſt helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly conſiderable, may be now no more, and others may have been formed ſince, that were not in antient days; for a country ſo prodigiouſly watered, ſo low withal, and ſo ſubject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two ſuch great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and ſo neglected as it muſt for ages paſt have been, may
c be fairly concluded to have changed face conſiderably, and frequently, ſince the time *Ptolemy* flouriſhed; and it muſt be next to impoſſible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the ſeat of empire, or when it had ſtrength and riches ſufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

THE *Euphrates*, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be conſidered ſeparately. The name of this river we have already ſpoken to[y], and have now to add, that it takes its riſe from the mountains of *Armenia*, and that it continues its courſe ſouthward, waſhing the eaſtern ſkirts of *Syria*, and ſouth eaſtward dividing *Arabia* from *Meſopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Perſian* gulf. This conſiderable river is ſlow, for the moſt part, in
d its courſe[z], and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, becauſe of ſome parts of it which are ſhoal, and ſome parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable for the larger ſort of barks, any lower from *Bir*, or *Beer*, in *Meſopotamia*, than a place called *Rouſvaine*[a], which muſt be the *Raſaine* in ſome of *De Liſle*'s maps, but that the ſmaller craft may go down quite to *Baſſora*. Beyond this *Rouſvaine* it ſeems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger veſſels[b], but our author ſeems here to be quite miſtaken, for *Rouſvaine*, or *Raſaine*, is an inland place, at a diſtance from the banks of this river. A traveller[c] who actually went down this river, and ſeems to have had as great a ſenſe of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks
e in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls *Deer*[d], and which is conſiderably beyond *Racka*, or *Racca*, where they were obliged to uſe the ſkill and aſſiſtants of pilots[e]. At *Bir* in *Meſopotamia*, which was the common place of embarkation from the weſtern parts, this river is compared to the *Thames* at *London*, but was then obſerved to have been conſiderably fallen[f]; and indeed the breadth of this river muſt be very uncertain, and, as the caſe uſually is, depend upon the ſeaſons and the weather. In many places it divides itſelf into ſeveral ſhallow branches, and forms ſeveral iſlands[g]; in ſome parts it is broad and ſhallow, in others wide and deep like a little ſea[h], and, upon the whole, is not near ſo convenient as the *Tigris*[i]. Though the *Euphrates*, we have
f obſerved above, is moderate in its courſe, its water is ſo continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has ſettled for a time, or been paſſed through a cloth, or a ſtrainer[k]; but its water, when in proper order, is preferred before any in theſe parts, and ſaid to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring

The Euphrates.

[u] Vid. AMM. MARCELL. p. 498. [w] MEGASTHEN. ex ABYDEN. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456. [x] Vid. HYDE ubi ſupr. p. 71. [y] See before, p. 57. [z] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr. part 2. c. 1. p. 126. [a] THEVENOT. Voy. au. Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46. [b] THEVENOT. ibid. [c] RAUWOLF. [d] Idem ibid. p. 152. [e] Ibid. [f] MAUND. Jour. from Alepp. to the river Euphrat. p. 3. See alſo THEVENOT. ubi ſupr. [g] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr. p. 126. [h] Idem ibid. & p. 162. [i] Idem ibid. & THEVENOT. ubi. ſupr. [k] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr. p. 126.

neighbouring people, by a name which ſignifies the *water of deſire* [l]. The fiſh of a
this river is alſo reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken
of one ſomewhat like a carp, which ſometimes weigh 17 or 18 pounds [m], which is
all that may be neceſſary to ſay on this ſubject.

THE antient way of navigating this river has ſomething very ſingular and extra-
ordinary in it. The veſſels they uſed were round, without diſtinction of head or
ſtern, and were no better than great wicker baſkets coated over with hides, which
they guided along with two oars or paddles. Theſe veſſels were of different
ſizes, and would ſome of them carry a burthen of palm wine, or other merchan-
diſe, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their ſize, had live aſſes on
board of them. Having thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their b
cargoe, they ſtripped of their hides, and ſelling the reſt of their veſſel, with the
ſtraw and whatever elſe might have ſerved them for the convenience of ſtowage,
and putting their hides upon the backs of their aſſes, they returned by land to the
place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or baſket, to
repeat their voyage; it being impoſſible for them to ſtem the ſtream up again by
water [n].

Natural and artificial rarities.

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the ſeat of *Paradiſe*, which
is moſt rationally ſuppoſed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it [o];
as alſo for the great plain of *Shinaar*, now *Senjâr*, where the whole race of mankind
were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they diſperſed them- c
ſelves over the face of the earth [p]. The bitumen of this country we have already
[q] ſpoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded [r].
The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as ſuppoſed, of *Babel*,
might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part
of this work [s].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.

Antiquity.

BABEL is the firſt kingdom we find erected in ſcripture, and claims an origin d
prior to that of *Aſſur*, though, according to the common courſe of hiſtory, it
muſt appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it [t], but for many ages it enlarged
not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the
Aſſyrians paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or, on the other hand, if it
be granted, that even under *Nimrod* himſelf it attained a height of power, nothing
ſeems more natural than to conclude, that it ſuddenly fell down to a level with its
neighbours, and even below ſome of them, and particularly the famous and antient
kingdom of *Elam*, or *Perſia*; for ſo early as the days of *Abraham* we meet with
a king of *Semaar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* [u],
as a vaſſal, ſeemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly uſed c
to deſtroy the boaſted antiquity of *Aſſyria* [w], may be exhibited here to deſtroy that
of this empire; but not to repeat what we have ſo fully urged, and which muſt of
courſe affect this empire, as it confeſſedly roſe upon the ruins of the former; we
would only take notice, that ſcripture knows nothing of any king of *Babylon* from
the king of *Shinaar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Merodach Baladan*,
who was contemporary with *Hezekiah* [x]; as alſo that, by the ſeveral hiſtories of the
nations that precede in this work, it is plain, that no *Babylonian* ſcepter awed any
one of them, till many years after the ſaid *Merodach Baladan*. So that, though
we confeſs this to have been the moſt antient kingdom of the world, we deny it
to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in com- f
pariſon of what has been vainly boaſted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, however laid claim to a moſt enormous anti-
quity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any nation elſe, pre-
tending to have regiſtred the tranſactions of 150,000 years [y], according to ſome,
or

[l] THEVENOT. ubi ſupr.
[m] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr.
[n] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 194.
[o] See before, p. 58.
[p] See before, p. 141, 156.
[q] See before in the notes, p. 144.
[r] Ibid.
[s] See before, p. 145, 146.
[t] See before, p. 165.
[u] GENES. xiv, 9.
[w] See before in the preceding chapter *paſſim*.
[x] 2 KING. xx. 12.
[y] Vid. SYNCELL. Chronogr.

a or 473,000 years, according to others [z], reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they first began to observe the stars; a most monstrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deserve some animadversion (M).

Their government.

THE government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod* [a] may be relied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived that first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own sort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the *Assyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the *Queen of the East*. And as from the former it derived its lustre and
b majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as these *Babylonians* themselves were *Assyrians*, descended from *Pul* the great *Assyrian*, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the sequel. The government therefore of *Babylon*, like that of *Assyria* [b], was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, as should seem, hereditary. The whole centered in the person of the king, all decrees issued from his mouth *; and how could it be less, when he affected even deity and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes? And here, by the way, it may be observed, that this political, not to say

[z] DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. 2. p. 81.
* See DAN. iii. 29. iv. 6.
[a] See before, p. 172.
[b] See before, p. 860.

(M) This extravagant and senseless desire of several nations to be thought antient has not only been, in good part, the destruction of history, but has, to all appearance, also been considerably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have shewn (61), first introduced the forging of records to supply the want or loss of them: and as antiquity was thought the most honourable distinction of a people, when nations, as the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, or others came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predecessors made, in comparison, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted; and to perceive, that perhaps some other nations had a great value for themselves for their antiquity, they were ashamed of their deficiencies, scorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the sun, and so not only run up their antiquities they knew not whither, but removed some of their eminent princes, who had lived as yesterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themselves above their fellows, and claiming a right of superiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great measure given a glaring instance of this in the latter *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, *Hadad* and *Hazael*, in his time, and carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives who were carried away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors, just like the *Irish* at this day, who, though chiefly descended from colonies of *English* and *Scotch*, and not very antient ones either, disown both the nations, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or false; and thus these latter *Syrians*, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, *Hadad* and *Hazael*, to reflect a dishonour upon the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger; and hence you have *Adad, the first of gods*, (62).

If the want of regular history was not in some measure the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them thereto, presently grounded themselves upon false principles, and thence proceeded to subtilise themselves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely absurd, which were soon propagated among the studious men in all branches of literature; so that historians and antiquaries thinking there was room enough to range in, and some of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all desirous of it, you have by this means the disorder and disagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with respect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nations, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

	Years.
Zoroaster lived before *Plato*'s death	6000
Before the *Trojan* war	5000
Chaldees had accounts of	470000
From the first *Chaldean* astronomer to *Alexander*	473000
Sais in *Egypt* had chronicles of	8000
Athens built before *Sais*	1000
From *Vulcan* to *Alexander*	48863
Kings of *Egypt* before *Amasis* reigned	13000
From *Osiris* to *Alexander*	10000
Or	13000
Men reigned in *Egypt* after the gods	15000

(61) *See before, p.* 862. (62) *See before in the notes, de Civit. Dei. xii.* 10. *See the Appendix to* WHISTON'S *Essay towards restoring the true text of scripture, p.* 233. *p.* 399. (63) LUDOV. VIV. *in not. ad August.*

say blasphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had such wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means, they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by whom, and in what manner, they pleased. For without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next to impossible to maintain dominion, over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt, the argument they used of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far than they [c], carried a conviction with it, which not only served all purposes for the present, but for the future also. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the east have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the *Assyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Niniveh*, as on that of *Babylon*; and is, as we have said, one of the most politic methods of keeping in subjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who must be a stranger to almost all of them. These proud potentates, however, administred their government by officers of several sorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire [d]; the first had the charge of virgins and their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the second took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the rest [e]. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and sheriffs [f], so that it is plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulation: as for what relates to religion and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

His officers, civil and military.

His household.

THIS great *King of Kings* [g] had a household equal to the sublimity of his station, the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard [h], the prince of his eunuchs [i], and the prime minister [k], in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands [l]; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace [m], and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it is called [n], to hear complaints and to pass judgments. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand [o], to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication. None were allowed the honour of serving in his presence that was not remarkable for beauty of person [p] and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which were, doubtless, the most exquisite of their sex, seem to have been in very great numbers [q].

BUT though these kings seem to have claimed such high honour, and to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and, in short, to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service, and to have consulted nothing but their own glory and majesty; yet

[c] See before, p. 893. [d] STRAB. l. 16. p. 745. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. [f] DAN. iii. 2, 3. [g] DAN. ii. 37. [h] Idem, ibid. ver. 14. [i] Idem, i. 10. [k] Idem, ii. 48, 49. [l] Idem, ibid. 14. [m] Idem, i. 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. [n] Idem, ii. 49. [o] Idem, iv. 9. [p] Idem, i. 4—10—20. [q] Idem, v. 2, 3.

(N) This has always been the custom in the eastern countries, and at this day, "The youths, "that are designed for the great offices of the em- "pire, [in *Turkey*] · · must be of admirable features "and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, "and without any defect of nature; for it is con- "ceived, that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce "inhabit a serene and ingenuous aspect; and I "have observed, not only in the seraglio, but also "in the courts of great men, their personal atten- "dants have been of comely lusty youths, well ha- "bited, deporting themselves with singular modesty "and respect in the presence of their master. So "that when a basha, aga, or spahee, travels, he is al- "ways attended with a comely equipage, followed "by flourishing youths, well cloathed and mounted, "in great numbers, that one may guess at the "greatness of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, "and number of servants which accompany per- "sons of quality in their journies; whereas in the "parts of *Christendom* where I have travelled, "I have not observed, (no not in attendance of "princes) such ostentation in servants as is amongst "the *Turks*, which is the life and ornament of a "court (64).

(64) *Sir* PAUL RICAUT's *Pres. State of the Ottoman Empire, c. 5. p. 46.*

a yet we underſtand, that they would ſometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thouſand of them were at one time entertained by *Belſhazzar* [r]. The common ſtile of accoſting this mighty ſovereign was, *O king live for ever* [s]; and the man, who was ſo happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or ſcarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and inveſted with ſome government [t].

Laws. THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, muſt have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which ſeems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been very politically contrived to keep up and increaſe the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in ſuch manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible for b any man to live ſingle, and deſigned particularly to encourage the poorer ſort to engage themſelves in wedlock, which is generally a great burthen to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to beſtow his own daughters in marriage [u], but they were to be diſpoſed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we ſhall relate hereafter.

Puniſhments. AS the laws were vague and changeable, the puniſhments ſeem alſo to have been unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmoſt, and ſuch as might beſt ſuit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breaſt. Beheading [w], and cutting to pieces [x], and turning the criminal's houſe into a dunghill [y], and burning in a fiery furnace [z], are puniſhments we underſtand to have c been executed by order of the kings of *Babylon*.

Their religion. THE religion and boaſted learning of the *Babylonians* are ſo blended together, that we hardly know how to ſeparate them into diſtinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, properly ſo called, were not only their prieſts, but alſo their learned men; whoſe whole ſcience ſeems to have been ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ſuperſtition and infatuation. The *Chaldeans*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Babylonians*, were in ſome ſort diſtinct from theſe people, and rather more ſo than the clergy were from the laity with us. Theſe *Chaldeans* were as much revered in their country, as the *Egyptian* prieſts were in theirs; and are ſaid to have enjoyed the ſame rank and degree in the kingdom [a]. They were wholly devoted to the buſineſs of their ſu- d perſtitious religion, and pretended to prophecy and the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inſpection of victims; and profeſſed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phœnomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their inchantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happineſs or with miſery [b]. Having by their ſituation been early addicted to ce-leſtial obſervations, they, inſtead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his ſons, fell into the impious error of eſteeming them *Are the authors of the* Sabian *religion.* e as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in ſubordination, however, to the deity, who was inviſible but by his works and the effects of his power [c]. They concluded then, that God had created the ſtars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and ſubſtituted them his miniſters; and that it was but juſt and natural they ſhould be praiſed, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they ſhould be magnified, and feared, and worſhipped; juſt as a king deſires his ſervants ſhould be reſpected in honour of himſelf [d].

Firſt Stage of idolatry. PERSUADED of this they began to build temples, or *Sacella*, to the ſtars, to ſacrifice to them, to praiſe them, and to bow down before them, that through their f means they might obtain the favour and good-will of God [e], ſo that they eſteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a neceſſity for a mediatory office between God and man, is obſerved [f] to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; "Conſcious of their own "meaneſs, vileneſs, and impurity, and unable to conceive how it was poſſible "for

[r] DAN. v. 1. [s] Idem, ii. 4. v. 10. [t] Idem, v. 7. [u] Vid. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 196. & STRAB. l. 16. p. 745. [w] DAN. i. 10. [x] Idem, ii. 5. [y] Idem, ibid. [z] Idem, iii. 19.
[a] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Hiſt. l. 2. [b] Idem, ibid. [c] Vid. eund. ibid. [d] RAB. Mos. MAIM. in Nore Nevoch.
[e] Idem, ibid. [f] See PRIDEAUX, and the authors he cites, POCOCK, GOLIUS, HOTTING. HYDE.

" for them of themſelves alone to have any acceſs to the all-holy, all-glorious and a
" ſupreme governor of all things. They conſidered him as too high, and too
" pure, and themſelves as too low, and too polluted for ſuch a converſe; and therefore
" concluded, that there muſt be a mediator, by whoſe means only they could make
" any addreſs unto him, and by whoſe interceſſion alone any of their petitions
" could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the
" mediator, whom God had appointed, becauſe as yet he had not been manifeſted
" unto the world, they took upon them to addreſs themſelves unto him by
" mediators of their own chuſing; and their notion of the ſun, moon, and ſtars
" being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which
" animated thoſe orbs in the ſame manner as the ſoul of man animates his body, b
" and were the cauſes of all their motions, and that thoſe intelligences were of a
" middle nature between God and them, they thought theſe the propereſt beings
" to become the mediators between God and them; and therefore the planets
" being the neareſt to them of all the heavenly bodies, and generally looked on
" to have the greateſt influence on this world, they made choice of them in the
" firſt place for their *Gods Mediators*, who were to mediate for them with the
" ſupreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed
" for, and accordingly they directed divine worſhip to them as ſuch; and here
" began all the idolatry that has been practiſed in the world [g]." For, perſuading
themſelves of this doctrine, they became anxious about the moſt effectual means of c
making their worſhip acceptable to the ſeveral deities, whence they firſt began to
build temples or tabernacles to them, as we have ſeen, dedicated to their ſervice,
and to be as places of abode for them, but as in matters of this kind there can
be no ſtable form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men, actuated either
by fear, or avarice, or ambition, or ought elſe, had liberty to pretend to what
they knew nothing of, in proceſs of time impoſtors aroſe, and gave out, that they
had had it injoined and commanded them from God himſelf, That this ſtar, or that,
Second ſtage of idolatry. or all of them, ſhould be worſhipped in this, or that manner, and repreſented under this,
or that form, and that none of any age or degree ſhould be exempt from the worſhip
thereof; and this they impudently gave out, in a ſolemn manner, for revelation. d
Upon this it was, that men began to furniſh the *Sacella*, tabernacles, or temples, with
images, and to erect the ſame under trees, and upon the tops of hills or mountains;
and from henceforward they aſſembled themſelves together to pay them worſhip,
and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them, and
to honour them with deepeſt reverence, and to fear them *; and their prieſts, ſenſible
of the ſweets of the trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be obſerved
by the credulous and deluded multitude †. Other impoſtors there were who
improved upon the firſt, and pretended to have been honoured with particular
inſtructions from particular ſtars, concerning the exact mode of the worſhip due or
peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought not, to be done to pleaſe them; e
ſo that, in proceſs of time, the name of God became obliterated among them;
and the moſt ſtupid idolatry poſſeſſed the whole place of the true religion [h].

Such was the riſe of idolatry and the firſt ſteps of its progreſs, than which
nothing can be more natural to conceive, and ſuch were the original *Sabian* doctrines,
which, taking root firſt among the *Chaldæans*, did afterwards ſpread their branches
ſo far as to over-ſhadow, at one time, all the nations of the eaſt with their prophane
obſcurity. For it muſt be difficult to conceive, how men could have been deceived
into ſo groſs an abſurdity, as to worſhip wood, ſtone, or metal, formed and
faſhioned by their own hands, if it be not at the ſame time allowed, that they muſt
have imagined their images to have been, ſome how or other, animated or informed f
with a ſupernatural power, by ſome ſupernatural means. A late author [i] thinks it
more natural to ſuppoſe, that their loſs to know how to addreſs themſelves to the
planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what firſt ſuggeſted to them
the uſe of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in
their tabernacles, or *Sacella*, they directed their worſhip towards the planet, which
they have thought of none effect, when he was abſent and hidden from ſight;
and that therefore they thought to ſupply his abſence by a repreſentation: Thus
it

[g] Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Part I. Book III. p. 177. in 8vo.
* Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi ſup. † Vid. eund. ibid. [h] Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi ſup.
[i] Prideaux, ubi ſup.

a it may have been, though it may be as natural to ſuppoſe, that, as their prieſts obſerved the ſtars as their gods, and made them the chief ſubject of their ſtudy, and perſuaded themſelves that each ſtar or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that thoſe ſuperior beings had revealed their will to them, juſt as their crazy imaginations, or deſigning craft, may have ſuggeſted to them.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain, that the firſt image worſhippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, ſtone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their tranſition from planet-worſhip to image-worſhip, pretended to have infuſed the vertues of the planet into the image that b was meant to repreſent it; which they thought to effect by forms of conſecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the ſtars their ſeveral intelligences into their reſpective idols; and hence came all the foolery of *Teleſms* [k], or *Taliſmans*, and upon theſe pretended principles of communicative operation all the branches of magic and ſorcery muſt have had their foundation.

THAT this was the firſt origin of image-worſhip is evident, and that the ſame was firſt derived from the heavenly bodies, the moſt conſpicuous and glorious to ſight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can underſtand no other than the ſun, and moon, and the five greateſt luminaries next to them [l].

c THIS was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Aſſyrians*, and *Meſopotamians*, even before the days of *Abraham*; nay in the days of *Enos*, the ſon of *Seth* [m], whoſe deſcendants are ſaid to have been the firſt that cultivated aſtronomy and aſtrology [n]; the *Sabians* themſelves boaſting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a ſon of his called *Sabius*, as alſo to have among them what they call the book of *Seth*, written by that ſame patriarch [o].

THIS was the ſtate of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celeſtial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the firſt, and that the *Syrians*, whoſe empire was confeſſedly older than either the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* [p], ſhewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, d *Benhadad* the ſecond and *Hazael* [q]. A late learned author [r] is inclined to think, that the firſt *Sabians*, or idolaters, deſirous to have all the mediation poſſible with the ſupreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of thoſe they thought to be ſuch, and that thus they added to their polytheiſm: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church, which teaches the ſame doctrine, and allows of the ſame practice; and calls to our mind, how frequently *Rome* is ſuppoſed to be ſignified unde the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be ſo wide a difference between ſome parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our pur-e poſe, we ſhould rather chuſe to think, that they deified their greateſt and moſt powerful men, and that however they may have paid the ſame honour to men of virtue, their moſt conſpicuous gods of this claſs were their greateſt warriors and moſt potent kings.

Third ſtage of idolatry.

ACCORDING to this we are told [s], That *by the vain-glory of men idols entered into the world* · · · That, *in proceſs of time, an ungodly cuſtom grown ſtrong* was kept as a *law, and graven images were worſhipped by the commandment of kings, or* [as it is in the margin] *tyrants.* That *whom men could not honour in preſence, becauſe they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his viſage from far, and made an expreſs image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end, that, by their forwardneſs, they might* f *flatter him that was abſent, as if he was preſent.* This was moſt certainly the caſe with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being leſs than gods. The ſame author [t] aſſigns two other reaſons for this practice, which muſt ſtrongly co-operate with the former; firſt, "The grief of a parent for his "child untimely ſnatched away, whoſe image he may have been tempted to honour "as God when dead, and to deliver to thoſe beneath, or in ſubjection to him, "ceremonies and ſacrifices of duty and commemoration;" and ſecondly, "The "ſkill of the workman, who by his art, might contribute greatly to the decep-

"tion

[k] See PRIDEAUX, ubi ſup. [l] Vid. eund. ibid. [m] Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi ſup. [n] See before, p. 81. [o] See PRIDEAUX, ubi ſup. [p] See before, *paſſim*. [q] See before in the notes, p. 372. [r] PRIDEAUX, ubi ſup. [s] Wiſ. of SOLOMON xiv. 14, 16, 17. [t] Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21

" tion of the ignorant; for that, ambitious to flatter ſome great man, he may a
" have exerted all in his power to repreſent him beyond what he truly was, and
" ſo, by the beauty of his work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who
" took him now for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; and
" that thus men, ſubject either to calamity or tyranny, did aſcribe unto ſtones and
" ſtocks the incommunicable name of God."

SUCH were the cauſes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to conſent to it, and the exquiſite ſkill of the workman to allure to it. That the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the firſt of theſe, muſt appear by the hiſtories of their ſeveral kings, who ſeem, at leaſt, to have been as abſolute tyrants as were ever ſuffered to live; and that they b
did give into this error is plain, both by ſacred authors and prophane writers; theſe laſt, for the moſt part, aſſerting, That the *Aſſyrians* were the people that firſt ſhewed the example of it to others; though that this was falſe, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the *Syrians*, who before them deified their great kings[u].

Pul *meant by* Belus.

HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that *Ninus* was the firſt that ſet up images to be worſhipped, and particularly one to his father *Belus*[w], and granted privileges and pardons to thoſe who reſorted to it. Who this *Ninus* ſhould have been but *Tiglath-pileſar*, the ſon of *Pul*, or *Belus*, in ſcripture, we know not, and therefore we muſt conclude, that *Pul*, and none other, was the firſt that was worſhipped in theſe parts as a god[x], and that conſequently he, who was the undoubted founder of the empires c
both of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, and none other, was the boaſted *Belus* of the latter *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, and others, where the deſcendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple.

THUS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the firſt founder of all the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and ſource of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his ſucceſſors, both at *Babylon* and *Niniveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly deſcribed ſo famous in all ages ſince; though it ſhould ſeem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have obſerved before, conſiſted of eight towers raiſed upon d
one another, and in the uppermoſt was a bed magnificently ſet forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here[y]; nor was any body ſuffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the prieſts gave out, was in an eſpecial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught, that he was wont to come and repoſe himſelf[z]; ſo that, according to this, they muſt have

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true God.

held him to have been the ſupreme over all, the living and ſelf-ſubſiſting, who either could not be repreſented, or would not bear ſuch preſumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter*, [*Belus*] all of gold, with a table before him of the ſame metal; his throne was gold alſo, as was all the furniture about him; inſomuch that the whole c
work was valued at 800 talents of gold[a]. This, it ſeems, was not the only ſtatue in this temple; for, we think, we read of another all of ſolid gold, and twelve cubits in height[b]; but whether our author really deſigns to deſcribe two diſtinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimenſions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimenſions above as belonging to one and the ſame, is not quite clear.

HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who, we think, cannot poſſibly be any other than the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, by being thus placed in ſubordination, as ſhould ſeem, to the great and ſupreme God, was exalted to the utmoſt height they could raiſe him; for by this they muſt, to all appearance, have implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided f
the empire of the univerſe with him, and that as he was Lord above, the other was lord below; that as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at leaſt delegated god on earth, and inveſted with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the inviſible ruler of all things. Thus the thing ſeems to have been by

[u] See before, p. 372. [w] AMBR. in Epiſt. ad Roman. c. 1. [x] See before in the notes, p. 888.
[y] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 180. [z] Idem ibid. c. 182. [a] Idem ibid. c. 183. [b] Idem ibid.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, muſt have to him what the *Egyptians* did to their god *Ceph.* taught of this inviſible God, and attributed (65).

(65) *See before*, p. 204.

a by this account of the temple at *Babylon* (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their ſuperſtitious perſuaſions, and agreeable to what we may ſafely conceive concerning this their firſt warrior, we know not how to think otherwiſe; and wonder not at what has been ſince exaggerated, concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great *Belus*.

The two altars, and the different ſacrifices upon them.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it alſo two altars; they ſtood without, one of gold of a moderate ſize, and another much larger; upon the golden altar none but ſucking victims might be ſacrificed [c], and on the great one none that were not full grown [d]; concerning which we leave the reader to make his own conjectures, only obſerving, that as it was evidently two
b diſtinct gods they ſacrificed to, the golden altar ſeems to have been devoted to the ſupreme God, and the other to his ſubordinate *Jupiter*; for by the ſucking victims they ſeem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nouriſher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he deſigned them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures ſacrificed to him. But as here they plainly ſacrificed to them in diſtinction of each, they at other times ſeem to have ſacrificed to them in common; for the prieſts reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus [e]; this may ſeem to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended
c as an acknowledgment from *Belus* to the God above him, might be inſiſted on, ſo far as it is poſſible to be certain in things of ſuch an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture.

SUCH was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and ſuch his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventor of the ſidereal ſcience, or of aſtrology, as ſome would [f] have it, muſt not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Semiramis*, as we have partly ſeen already [g], and as we ſhall ſee farther in a more proper place. Nor muſt this ſame *Belus*, or *Baal*, be confounded with the others we read of in ſcripture, before the riſe of the *Aſſyrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites* [h], the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites* [i];
d the title ſignifies lord with all theſe people, who, and particularly all ſuch as are ſaid to have *paſſed their ſeed through fire*, meant thereby the ſun, whoſe heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be ſacred; which muſt have been one of the firſt doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldæa* (Q), who, as we have ſaid, firſt broached this error, and communicated the ſame, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country, on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, for the idolatries of the land [k], and, to avoid them, came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the ſentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for *Melchiſedec* was then alive in *Canaan*, and ſtiled the prieſt of the moſt high God [l],
e and the people were, for the moſt part, in a ſtate of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about muſt alſo have been [m]; nay, in theſe days we do not find, that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected with idolatry; ſo that whatever the *Greeks* may pretend of the *Egyptians*, that they brought idols and falſe gods into faſhion [n], the contrary appears by the book of *Geneſis*, which ſufficiently informs

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. [g] See before in the notes, p. 883. [h] See before, p. 285. [i] Ibid. p. 293. [k] Ibid. p. 422. and in the notes, p. 132. [l] See before, p. 327. [m] See before in the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c. [n] See before, p. 204.

(P) It may be diſputed, whether or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the ſun, rather than God himſelf. We are told, they never repreſented the ſun, or, at leaſt, that the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from theſe people, concluding it ridiculous to repreſent what was ſo glorioufly conſpicuous (67), and we have ſuppoſed, that they ſometimes paid adoration to the ſun and moon immediately (68); but it does not ſeem likely, that theſe *Babylonians* ſhould ever give it out, that the ſun himſelf was wont to come and repoſe himſelf upon the top of this tower, as we have ſeen; they never could have perſuaded the people to that abſurdity; ſo that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they muſt have deſigned it for the intelligence of the ſun, and that may with them have amounted pretty much to the ſame thing.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worſhipped fire, was derived from the *Sabians*, as we ſhall obſerve a little farther on in this ſection.

(66) *See before*, p. 373. (67) *Ibid.* (68) *See before*, p. 401.

informs us, that while the country on the other ſide of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this ſide were as yet ſtrangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that all we have ſaid concerning the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philiſtines*, is only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees*; ſo that we ſhall not here need to repeat what we have ſo fully exhibited in the hiſtories of thoſe ſeveral nations. a

BUT upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Aſſyrians*, the old religion, it ſeems, fell into ſome diſcredit, and eſpecially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he muſt have ſoared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the *Babylonians* before the city itſelf was built; for as much is granted by all authors, who ſuppoſe *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Aſſyrian* greatneſs, and therefore deified; but who this *Belus* was we may read in ſcripture [o], and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by *Ptolomy*'s canon, and therefore we are not to look ſo far back as *Nimrod*, or any man elſe that lived a thouſand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* underſtood either the ſun, or their founder *Pul*; but whether or no they tranſlated him into the ſun, or whether they kept their planet-worſhip and their heroe-worſhip ſo diſtinct as never to confound them with each other, may be paſt our ſolution, and a point which might draw us into a needleſs length. b c

Succoth Benoth, *the* Aſſyrian Venus.

THE deity next in order to this ſeems to have been the *Venus* of latter days in the weſt, and that ſhe was no other than the goddeſs *Aſtarte* of the *Phœnicians*, may be gathered moſt evidently from what is to follow. *Succoth Benoth* is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians* [p], though it was apparently rather the ſhrine, or ſhrines of an idol belonging to ſome deity we have ſince tranſlated into the laſcivious goddeſs *Venus*, for the import of the word is, *the tabernacles of* Benoth, or, *the tabernacles of the daughters* [q], though there are thoſe who render them, *a tabernacle of wings* [r], and ſuppoſe the idol itſelf to have been repreſented as a hen brooding over her chickens, and that ſhe was deſigned in honour of the conſtellation, called vulgarly, *the hen and chickens*, but more learnedly the *Pleiades*; but this a dream ſeemingly. It is more likely, that theſe tabernacles of the daughters were for *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* called [s] *Mylitta*, ſignifying *Genetrix*, or *Mother*, or *Urania*, as the *Greeks* will have it, and to this goddeſs, the daughters of the country, or the women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a ſacrifice of their modeſty and virtue, a practiſe which will be found among the cuſtoms of this people. And hence it is, that a very learned author [t] gathers her not only to have been our *Venus*, but hence it is alſo, that he derives the very name itſelf from *Benoth*, by changing the *B* for a *V*, and the *Theta* for a *Sigma*, whence you will have *Venos* (R). This ſeems partly confirmed by an author, who ſeems to call her *Binos* [u]; but particularly by what we are told of a city in *Africa*, called *Sicca Venerea* [w], a name which ſeems to have been tranſported from *Phœnice*, and evidently formed from this *Siccoth*, or *Succoth*, *Benoth*; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchaſe their marriage-money by the proſtitution of their bodies [x]. Her temples ſeem to have been fixed at this place, and at *Aphac* [y], and at *Babylon* [z], and may likewiſe have been erected at other places; but for the convenience of ſuch as had not ſuch a building dedicated among them, the prieſts ſeem to have taken them into their conſideration, and to have carried ſmall tabernacles, or models of the ſeveral temples, upon their ſhoulders, for the public emolument and their own gain for their labour. d

The derivation of the name of Venus.

Both maſculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddeſs, for ſhe is underſtood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed ſecond to *Belus*, is generally underſtood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are ſure he lived in; but this is upon a ſuppo- e f

ſition

[o] See before in the notes, p. 888. [p] 2 Kings xvii. 30. [q] Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. [r] KIMCHI & JARCHI, apud eund. ibid. [s] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 131. [t] SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. [u] SUIDAS, ad vocem. [w] VALER. MAXIM. l. 2. c. 6. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See before in the notes, p. 399. [z] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 199.

(R). *Voſſius* (69) ſubſcribes to this. *Beyer*, in his additamenta to *Selden*, diſputes it, though with no great ſtrength of argument.

(69) *De Idololat.*

a fition, that the prophane hiſtorians, poets, and mythologiſts are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from the words of *Æſchylus* [a], who calls *Phœnicia* the land of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, to which the ſcholiaſt ſubjoins, that ſo it was called, becauſe it was ſacred to her on the account of *Byblus* and *Libanus*, where ſtood her temple at *Aphac* [b]; but this may be no very great argument to prove it; for if the *Aſſyrians*, whence the *Phœnicians* had her, are not ſo very antient as pretended, this deity muſt be deprived of the veneration conceived for it on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the riſe of the *Aſſyrian*, or *Babylonian* empire, if it was a ſtar they meant by this *Venus*; for we have already
b obſerved, that the *Chaldees*, as they are called, worſhipped the ſtars by images before they conſecrated the *Aſſyrian Belus*, or perhaps any other mortal man; ſo that it may be worth the while juſt to enquire, whether or no this idol was really deſigned to repreſent ſome ſtar from among the hoſt of heaven, or ſome woman who may have been preferred to deification, for reaſons, in thoſe days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the caſe of *Baal*, both a planet and a perſon may have been intended, and reciprocally tranſlated into each other?

WE have ſeen, by ſome parallel circumſtances, that ſhe was, to all appearance, the ſame with the *Phœnician Aſtarte*, and we ſhall produce ſeveral others, to confirm the ſame, in the courſe of this ſubject. In the mean time, to begin with
c this *Beroth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddeſſes ſeem to be derived; She is called the celeſtial *Venus*, and ſaid to have been firſt of all worſhipped by the *Aſſyrians* [c], whereby, though our author, it is moſt likely, means the *Syrians* properly ſo called, we ſhall plainly diſcover, that the former were the firſt authors of this worſhip, and tranſmitted it to the latter. This goddeſs was of both ſexes, and accordingly it was the cuſtom to worſhip her ſometimes in the habit of a man, and ſometimes in the habit of a woman [d], the men and women mutually changing dreſſes with each other [e], whence it is ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* forbids [f] *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment.* Accord-
d ing to this, the worſhip of this planet, or idol, muſt have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worſhipping, is underſtood by *Maimonides* [g], who obſerves, that in the book of magic, compoſed by one *Centir*, as he is corruptly [h] called, it is written, that a man ſhould put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he ſtood before the ſtar called *Venus*, and that a woman ſhould put on the arms and armour of a man, when ſhe ſtood before the ſtar called *Mars* [i]; and hence the *Aſſyrian* prieſts are ſaid [k] to have been unfit to wait on the goddeſs *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and aſſumed all the ſoftneſs and dreſs of a woman. And hence a *Greek* author [l], who calls her the moon, ſays, that the men ſacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reaſon, becauſe ſhe was both maſculine and
e feminine; whereby it is plain, that it is this *Aſſyrian Venus* he means, though, being tranſlated into *Greece*, he may not exactly have meant the ſame. That this *Uranian* or celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians* was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank ſhe holds next to *Bel*, or the ſun; and that ſhe was ſo, will be immediately ſeen by what we certainly know of her, under other names; and that ſhe was of both ſexes, will appear as plain by the ſame evidence. For to bring her nearer to us, we ſhall find ſhe was the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs.

A rite in the worſhip of the Aſſyrian *or* Babylonian Venus.

THIS *Syrian* goddeſs, as we have her deſcribed to us, and by her rites, was no other than the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*. She was called *Juno*, and the ſtatue of her was contrived ſo as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*,
f and the *Deſtinies*, as if ſhe included them all, and that ſo ſhe did has been ſufficiently proved by very great men [m]. She was drawn, or ſupported, by lions, ſhe had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the ceſtus, or girdle of the celeſtial *Venus* [n], and as ſhe was contrived to be the ſource of all idolatry, in honour of the female ſex; ſo we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians* [o], who all came in

She is the ſame with the great Syrian *goddeſs.*

[a] In Supplicib. [b] See before in the notes, p. 399. [c] PAUSAN. in Attic. [d] Vid. SELDEN de Dis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 4. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. [f] Deuteron. xxii. 5. [g] In More Nevoch. part III. c. 38. [h] Vid. SELDEN, ubi ſup. [i] MAIMONID. ubi ſup. [k] JUL. FIRMIC. c. 4. [l] PHILOCHOR. apud MACROB. Saturnal. 3. c. 8. [m] Vid. LIL. GYRALD. de Diis Gent. SELDEN, de Dis Syr. Voſſ. de Idololat. [n] See before, p. 373. [o] Ibid. p. 374.

in pilgrimage to this mighty goddeſs of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this reſpect, ſeems to have ſucceeded the city of *Babylon*, whence ſhe had been chaſed by the *Perſians*. Her eunuch prieſts, who took on them the habit and offices of women [p], declare her to have been one and the ſame with the *Aſſyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, who, among others, are ſaid to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it. a

She is the ſame with the Aſtarte *of the* Phœnicians.

IF then it appears, that this great *Syrian* goddeſs was no other than the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*, the ſame will as evidently appear of the *Phœnician Aſtarte*. We have ſeen her the *Queen of Heaven* [q], the *Moon*, *Lucifer*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Io* [r], and married to an *Aſſyrian* [s]. We have ſeen her the luſtful goddeſs [t], and the warlike deity [u], and accordingly addreſſed to under both ſexes; nor need we cite the monſtrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac* [w], or the impudent and mercenary proſtitution of the women at *Byblus* [x], to prove, that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for as to the proſtitution of the women in particular, it muſt be confeſſed to owe its origin to an infamous cuſtom, among the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to be mentioned hereafter. b

She is the ſame with Derceto *of* Aſcalon.

NOR ſhall we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Derceto* [y] of the proper *Paleſtine* in general, or of *Aſcalon* in particular, was any other than the *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian Venus*. For although ſhe is made diſtinct from the great *Venus*, and is ſaid to have undergone her diſpleaſure, and in conſequence of that to have ſuffered a metamorphoſis into a fiſh [z]; the worſhip that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddeſs at *Hierapolis*, declares her to have been the ſame; and this is not conjecture only, for *Atargatis* is ſaid to have been worſhipped at *Hierapolis*, by a very judicious author [a], who, in ſo ſaying, moſt evidently confounds her with the *Syrian* goddeſs, and makes them one and the ſame. Nor is he ſingle in this, for others [b] do the ſame, and particularly one [c], who call her the mother of the gods, and *Aſtarte*, and the *Hierapolitan*, or *Aſſyrian* goddeſs. In ſhort, *Atargatis* was alſo *Venus*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and the *Syrian* goddeſs [d], and conſequently the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*. That ſhe muſt, at the ſame time, have been *Aſtarte*, we need not ſay; but that we may depend as little upon probability as we can, we have an author [e] who ſays, that the *Syrians* abſtained from fiſh, in regard to the rites of *Aſtarte*; ſo that we ſee her the ſame goddeſs tranſported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which ſhe is ſaid firſt to have plunged herſelf, to eſcape the fury of the [f] inexorable *Typhon* (S); and but juſt varied ſo as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the *Syrians*, who ſeem to have received her firſt, and were neareſt to the place of her native abode, preſerved her, it is likely, in the moſt genuine form; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician*; and the *Philiſtines*, or *Aſcalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own alſo, turn her into a monſter, woman upwards and fiſh downwards [g], and rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in ſubordination to ſome other goddeſs, who had power over her to the degree of chaſtiſing her by a change from her firſt ſhape [h]. c d e

IT appears then, that all this adoration to this various goddeſs came from *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, and that it was eſtabliſhed in theſe countries by the prevailing might of thoſe two potent empires, who ſucceſſively ſubjugated all theſe parts; and while they flouriſhed, it is likely, they maintained a ſtrict uniformity of worſhip and tradition among them; but theſe empires being aboliſhed by the *Perſians*, who had an averſion to all this *Sabianiſm*,, each of them forgetful of the ſource whence they derived their ſuperſtitions, claimed them as peculiar to themſelves, and new modelled them accordingly. f

Is worſhipped as Semiramis.

AND now it may not be amiſs to inquire, how far the tradition of *Semiramis* quadrates with what we are told of this goddeſs; as alſo, whether or no we cannot from

[p] See before, ibid. [q] See before, ibid. [r] See before in the notes, p. 401. [s] p. Ibid.
[t] See before in the notes, p. 401. [u] Ibid. [w] See before, p. 398, 399. [x] Ibid. p. 399.
[y] Ibid. p. 875. [z] Ibid. [a] STRABO, l. 16. p. 748. [b] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 23.
[c] MACROB. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 23. [d] Vid. SELDEN, ubi ſup. [e] ARTEMIDOR. apud eund. ibid.
[f] MANIL. Aſtronom. iv. [g] See before, p. 875. and in the notes, p. ibid. [h] See before, p. ibid.

(S) We ſee here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian*; but we may perceive by ſome parallel circumſtances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

a from thence make it out, that ſhe, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other ſubject, may have been adored as the celeſtial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddeſs. Her preſence in the temple at *Hierapolis* [i] is as ſtrong an argument as any, that the ſuperſtition there migrated from *Babylon*; and her inferior degree [k] there will argue nothing againſt her original ſuperiority, if it be remembred, that this temple was rebuilt by *Stratonice* [l] the wife of *Antiochus Soter*, who may have had ſome pique to the memory of *Semiramis*, whom ſhe may have remembred with envy, and therefore reſolved to degrade her; if it may not rather be attributed to the ſenſeleſs caprice, or ſome ſtrange inconſiſtence with relation to this *Aſſyrian* heroine, whom they might ſome how or other, and in ſome caſes, make inferior to herſelf. Theſe
b are points not for us to dive into.

THUS much is certain, we ſhall in the tradition of *Semiramis* find ſo many circumſtances to make us believe ſhe was worſhipped as the ſupreme goddeſs of the *Babylonians*, that few will heſitate perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have ſeen her born of a goddeſs at *Aſcalon* [m], who, for the ſhame of conceiving her, plunged herſelf into a lake, and became a fiſh [n]; and hence fiſh are ſaid to have been worſhipped, though indeed not ſo much upon her own account, as ſhould ſeem, as on account of her mother *Derceto*, or *Atargatis*, who underwent this transformation. We have ſeen her miraculouſly fed by doves or pigeons in a deſart [o], and hence that bird became ſacred; hence it ſhould ſeem, and from other
c fabulous circumſtances it is, that you have the *dove from the land of Aſſyria* [p]. We have ſeen it predicted, that ſhe ſhould not die, but vaniſh from the ſight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Aſiatic* nations [q]. We have ſeen it was pretended, that ſhe made her exit in the form of a dove, and that ſhe went off attended by a flight of them [r]; and hence another reaſon is given why the dove became ſacred. We have ſeen her the abandoned proſtitute [s], and the martial heroine [t]; and hence ſhe may have been the celeſtial *Venus* adored under both ſexes, and the *Phœnician Aſtarte*, now painted in arms [u], and now repreſented as the patroneſs of lewdneſs and effeminacy [w]. In ſhort, we have ſeen her the firſt that made eunuchs [x]; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch prieſts, or *Galli*, who attended
d upon the *Syrian* goddeſs [y]; which was certainly more the caſe than what is pretended in the idle ſtory of *Combabus* and *Stratonice* [z], who, being wife to one of the *Seleucidæ*, lived ſome hundreds of years after *Semiramis*, and who, as we have ſuggeſted above, may have affected to raiſe herſelf upon the depreſſion of this great *Babylonian* queen, who is ſaid even to have firſt built the temple at *Hierapolis* [a], which, though it is certainly falſe, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that ſhe was meant by the celeſtial *Venus*, or the *Syrian* goddeſs, and that ſo ſhe was muſt appear ſtill farther, by her being directly called *Rhea* [b], *Nemeſis* [c], and the like, if there could be any neceſſity farther to inculcate this opinion, after ſuch variety of corroborating evidence.

e UPON the whole, we think it ſelf-evident to conclude, that the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Aſtarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto*, or *Atargatis* of the latter *Philiſtines* were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever elſe her true name was, the firſt *Babylonian* foundreſs; who ſeems to have been tranſlated into the bright and various *Queen of Heaven*, the moon, as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* monarch, was into the ſun; and that whatever the mythologiſts and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worſhip into an adoration of the univerſe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we may profeſſedly treat of in the mythology of the *Greeks*, as we have partly already in the theology of the *Egyptians* [d]; yet nothing
f is more certain, than that all the *Jupiters* and *Juno*'s, and the reſt who are ſuppoſed to have been once mortal, or converſant here on earth, are all derived from this ſource, and that on this *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation the whole ſuperſtructure of the *Greek* polytheiſm and idolatry was raiſed. For the *Greeks* had their religion from

[i] See before, p. 373. [k] See before, ibid. [l] See before, p. 374. [m] See before, p. 875. [n] See before, ibid. [o] See before, ibid. [p] See before in the notes, p. 875. [q] See before, p. 880. [r] See before, p. 883. [s] See before, p. 880. [t] See before, p. 877. [u] See before in the notes, p. 399. [w] Ibid. [x] See before in the notes, p. 833. [y] See before, p. 374. [z] See before, Ibid. [a] Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 2. p. 308. [b] See before in the notes, p. 883. [c] Vid. Jos. SCALIG. in animadverſ. [d] See before, p. 204, 205, & ſeq.

from the *Phœuicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious ſtate of the countries on this and that ſide of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abrahaim*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* ſeem in time, indeed, to have erected a ſyſtem of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonian*, as any body that will compare them together will at the firſt glance perceive. The *Phœnicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, ſeem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly ſeen, that they worſhipped what the *Babylonians* worſhipped, what had been impoſed on them by the tyranny of that empire; in ſhort, *Aſtarte*, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, was the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was alſo as plain the *Egyptian* goddeſs *Iſis* [e]. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of thoſe two great and antient nations, who being in conſtant rivalſhip with each other, and emulous of ſurpaſſing each other, you thence have the ſeeming differences between them in religious matters, the *Egyptians* particularly contending the honour of antiquity [*] and ſanctity with the *Babylonians*, though by the *Moſaic* hiſtory they muſt yield to theſe laſt; nor is there any diſcrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is there any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity between all the nations on both ſides of the *Euphrates*, as to the fundamentals of their religion; and conſequently, if we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the ſame time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immenſe labyrinth of heatheniſm and idolatry: But for want of this certain ſtand to take the ſurvey from; for want of a due attention to the natural progreſs of idolatry, but eſpecially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of prophane writers to the tenor of ſcripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the firſt great *Aſſyrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and tranſlated; our mythologiſts have rambled backwards to *Noah*, and *Nimrod*, and the whole tribe of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs, to diſcover in them what is deſigned more particularly for mortal men, who lived many and many ages after them; whereby they have moſt ſtrangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more ſo, and, what is worſe, have caſt an impenetrable miſt upon the firſt days of profane hiſtory, which moſt certainly is fabulous, and quite ſo, if we make a very few exceptions, till about the firſt riſe of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Joſiah* king of *Judah*. For not only the art or method of writing a regular hiſtory was not diſcovered, or at leaſt practiſed, as ſhould ſeem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived in about the middle of the *Perſian* empire; but the gods of all theſe nations being ſuppoſed to have been once meer men, and no more, the prieſts and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as poſſible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other inſtance of this than *Sanchoniatho*'s *Phœnician Hiſtory* [f], i would be abundantly ſufficient to juſtify us in what we ſay; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Joſephus*, who, in thoſe days boaſted of the antiquity of their great god *Adad*, who was one of their deified kings [g], who, at moſt, did not live above 901 years before Chriſt [h]; it might be deemed enough for our purpoſe. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the moſt learned, who, inattentive to the hiſtory of the antient empire of *Syria*, ſuppoſe this *Adad* to have been an *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* deity [i], and only, as ſhould ſeem, becauſe he is in prophane authors called an *Aſſyrian*, forgetting, that the name of *Aſſyria* extended itſelf over all *Syria* and the adjacent parts [k]. He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been ranſated into the heavens by the antient *Syrians*, and, as ſhould ſeem, revived again after the deſtruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whoſe new gods muſt have brought him into diſcredit [l], not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, but alſo as being a ſtranger to the people tranſplanted into theſe parts [m], in

Adad not properly a Babylonian deity.

[e] See before in the notes, p. 398. [*] Ibid. p. 90. 93. [f] See before, p. 86. [g] See before in the notes, p. 388, 399. [h] See in the margin, p. 383. [i] Vid. LYL. GYRALD. Hiſt. Deor. SELDEN, de Diis Syris. VOSSIUS, de Idololatr. [k] See before in the notes, p. 857. [l] Ibid. 888. [m] Ibid. p. 890.

a in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of *Pul*; though some how or other received again into veneration, as we have observed before [n]. However, *Adad* was also the sun as well as *Bel*, or *Baal*, *Osiris*, and others. And this is what we have thought necessary to premise preparatorily to what we shall hereafter have to say of the *Greek* mythology, and which we have on purpose deferred, till we came to this place, as the most proper for a research of this nature.

To return to our celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess, or *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, or *Semiramis*, we find, that fishes [o] and doves [p] were peculiarly sacred to her; and whence this superstition took birth we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of *Derceto* [q], and the birth, education, and apotheosis of *Semiramis* [r], and we have *Fishes and Doves worshipped, and whence.*

b seen, that both at *Ascalon* [s] and *Hierapolis* [t] they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people, and are seemingly so allied to this great and multiplied goddess, that, though we have some other deities of this nation, who may deserve to take place of them, we have not been able to separate them from their great mistress. As for fishes in particular, they are said to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Assyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphosis above [u], but also because they were said to have saved one *Derce*, [*Derceto*] a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the sea [w], or because she took refuge among the fish when she fled from *Typhon* [x]. It is said, that *Venus* and *Cupid* being in *Syria* on the banks of the *Euphrates*. the giant *Typhon* came suddenly

c upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fishes to save themselves [y]; in short, *Venus* and *Cupid* are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign called *Pisces* [z]; such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but worshipped them likewise. As for doves, they seem to have been worshipped as symbols only of lust and fondness, which made up part of their goddess's character (T); but of these we have said enough in this place [a].

Salambo, as she is called [b], was also a goddess of the *Assyrians* or *Babylonians*, and is plainly *Astarte*, or any other of the goddesses whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention *Astarte*, because this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is said to have been a demon, or goddess, who was eternally roaming **Salambo.**

d up and down, and mourning her lost *Adonis* [c], so that we need add nothing farther concerning her.

Shach, *Saca*, or *Sheshach*, is another god, or goddess, of the *Babylonians* as usually reckoned [d], and supposed to have been the earth, and to have been the same the *Romans* afterwards worshipped under the names of *Tellus* and *Ops* [e], and if so, she was partly the same with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods [f], in whom all these titles and imaginary deities are said plainly to have centered. However, there is some doubt, whether or no she may not be more properly a *Persian* goddess [g] than a **Sheshach.**

e *Babylonian*; though that she was the latter, may appear to satisfaction from the prophet [h]; who calls *Babylon* the land of *Sheshac*, before the *Persians* arose to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when *Babylon*, to all appearance, had disdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemorations of this goddess, the *Babylonians* were wont to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which confessedly gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

Nebo,

[n] See before in the notes, p. 911. [o] See before, p. 862. [p] See before, p. ibid. [q] See before, p. 875. [r] See before, p. 883. [s] See before in the notes, p. 875. [t] See before, p. 373. [u] See before, p. 875. [w] THEON. apud GYRALD. Hist. Deor. Syntagm. 1. p. 85. [x] MANIL. ubi sup. [y] DIOGENET. apud. HYGIN. in Astronom. [z] Vid. Voss. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254. [a] See before, p. 862, and in the notes, p. 875, 883. [b] HESYCH. apud SELDEN, & ALIOS, Etymol. Magn. ad vocem. [c] Etymol. Magn. ibid. [d] Vid. Voss. SELDEN, &c. [e] WILLET upon Dan. i. 16. [f] See before, p. 919. [g] Vid. SELDEN, de Dis Syr. Syntagm. 2. [h] Jerem. xxv. 26. to v. 41.

(T) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg which, being rolled out of the water by the fish of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove who sat thereon (70). This must be the primigenial egg mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and according to this, our great goddess must have been the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon so strange an inconsistency, as this seems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Assyrian* goddess into the same with *Oannes*, may be a fruitless task.

(70) NIGID. *apud* VOSS. *de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254.* (71) *See before, p.* 90. (72) *Ibid.*

Nebo. *Nebo*, or *Nabo*, was also an *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* deity [i], and his name is often a
compounded in those of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings [k]: he therefore may be
concluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have
been one of their most antient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemosh*, or
the *Baal-peor*, of the *Moabites*, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in
the religion of *Moab* [l], and said almost as much of him as we know. However, we
have to add, that by the prophet he is joined with *Bel* [m], and supposed generally
to have been the sun; and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we
have asserted to have have been the deified *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* [n], who may, by the
vicissitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are
of another mind, and conceive, that, by their being joined together, we are rather b
to understand him to have been designed for the moon [o], *Bel* being, for certain,
known to have stood for the sun, concluding it to be a senseless tautology to mention
the same deity, at the same time, under different names; so that, instead of supposing
him to have been one with *Bel*, we are rather to conclude him to have been the same
with *Mylitta* the great goddess; but this may appear a weak argument to those who
perceive how apt these people, and all that followed them, were to multiply one and
the same god into many; and especially if it be recollected, by what steps sabaism
or idolatry advanced among these apparently first founders of it, and how, by
degrees, it began from the host of heaven till it degenerated, if we may use the
expression, into the adoration of men; till a full stop seems to have been put to c
this practice, in honour of the great *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* family, who must, for
very strong reasons suggested formerly [p], have eclipsed all that went before them;
so that nothing need prevent our supposing *Nebo* to have been worshipped as the sun
before the rise of *Pul*, to whom he may, according to the fantastick theology of this
people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This *Nebo* seems to have been
famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying prophecy or divination [q]; but all this, and whatever else may be advanced concerning him, is too
palpably obscure for us to dilate on; all we know, for certain, is, that he was
some god of the *Babylonians*.

Sardanapalus. HOWEVER, if true it be, that he was the same with *Chemosh*, or *Baal-peor*, or d
Phegor, and if what is said of the obscene rites of this god [r] be just, we have a
seeming reason to assert, that the famous, or, as the common tradition goes, infamous
Sardanapalus took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the *Assyrian*
family; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god,
when they destroyed the city of *Niniveh*, and extirpated the kings there. For that
he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the same
temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy City* [s]. We find him there
in a particular habit and attitude [t], but whether or no this attitude was the same we
have formerly mentioned [u], it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him [w], e
and as it is likely, that all the kings of *Assyria* to a man were deified after their death,
he may very well have served for a god of beastliness and sensuality. And this is
plainly understood by the common way of spelling his name, for the most part,
in antient manuscripts, which write him *Sardanapallus* with a double L [x], and
seemingly with an obscene intention, for *Phallus*, or *Pallus*, signifies the privities
of a man; and hence *Cicero* pronounces [y], he was not more odious for his character
than this name; and the *Priap* which stood near him [z], in the temple of *Hierapolis*,
may have been intended for him; for as there were confessedly two statues of *Semiramis*
Rach. in this temple [a], the same may have been with regard to *Sardanapallus*, as we will
for this once write him.

OTHER gods the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* had, as *Rach* [b], who is generally
thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore we may class him under
the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, who, as we have seen, was substituted for the same. But
a dispute may take place, whether or no he was a deified man or some intelligence, as
for example, that of the sun; and if this latter be the case, he must be removed
higher

[i] Isai. xlvi. 1. [k] See before, p. 867. [l] See before, p. 286. [m] Isai. ubi sup. [n] See before in the notes, p. 888. [o] Vid. Voss. de Idololat. [p] See before in the preceding chapter, *passim*. [q] HIERONYM. in Esai. in loc. supr. citat. [r] See before, p. 285. [s] See before, p. 373. [t] Ibid. [u] See before in the notes, p. 885. [w] See before p. ibid. [x] Vid. Jos. SCALIG. Animadvers. ad Græc. EUSEB. p. 64. [y] De Repub. l. iii. [z] See before, p. 373. [a] Ibid. [b] Vid. WILLET ubi sup. SELD. de Dis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c. 17.

a higher up, as he muſt have been much more antient than *Belus*. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular beſides related of him.

Nego[c] and *Nergal*[d] were alſo gods of this people, if they were not one and the ſame; but as they are generally agreed to have been worſhipped as fire, we forbear farther mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*. Nego, *and* Nergal

Merodach[e] alſo was a god at *Babylon*; but who, or what he was, is quite in the dark to us. Merodach.

In a word, we may call in the gods of the ſeveral nations, whoſe hiſtories precede in this work, to compleat the liſt of the *Babylonian* idols; for they are confeſſedly ſprung from the city of *Babylon*; and hence it is, that *Maimonides*, in ſpeaking of
b the death of *Thammuz*, who was ſlain a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the ſun at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz*[f]; ſo that we ſhall not here need to repeat what we have ſpoken ſo largly to already.

Thus we have ſeen, that the great *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddeſſes of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and that, inſtead of being ſo antient as mythologiſts and hiſtorians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Chriſt among the *Aſſyrians*, who firſt erected themſelves into what we call a monarchy; as is by all confeſſed, though falſely, for the moſt part, related.

c The *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here conſider them in that light, did we not reſerve that ſubject for the ſection where we ſhall ſpeak of the *Magian* religion, in the hiſtory of the *Perſians*. *Fire-worſhip.*

The ſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon*[g] might here claim to be conſidered, were we not aſſured that the whole is ſpurious. We have therefore only to add, that by the *Dragon* here we ſhould underſtand a *Serpent*, or *Aſp*[h], which the *Babylonians* uſed as the ſymbol of God, for which they had ſeveral reaſons to give, as that this creature without the aſſiſtance of limbs, and by a kind of virtue or power latent within himſelf, could not only move[i] at a conſiderable rate, but alſo wind and turn himſelf into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed
d his life with his coat every year; and that the acuteneſs of his ſight might aptly enough qualifie him to repreſent divine providence, or God[k]. Other reaſons were given for this ſerpent-worſhip both by the *Babylonians* and the *Egyptians*, but we wave them, and ſhall only obſerve, that theſe ſame people revered the ſame reptile as the ſymbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting alſo, that they made him the emblem of fraud[l].

As the *Babylonians* were hardly at all different in religion from the *Egyptians*, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fiſhes[m], ſo in other points of worſhip they were the ſame with each other. The goat they worſhipped as well as the *Mendeſians*[n] in *Egypt*, and for the ſame reaſon; and *Worſhip a goat.*
e the onion, as mean an object as it may ſeem, was conſidered with a religious eſteem by both the nations[o], and for a reaſon, it is moſt likely, we have already given[p].

Their god *Thurras*, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have ſpoken to already[q]; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, beſides what we have obſerved here, and ſhall relate hereafter, to what we have ſaid of the kind in the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Aſſyrians*.

We have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their prieſts, in the epiſtle of *Jeremiah*[r]. Their idols were of gold, and ſilver, and wood, and carried about in proceſſion, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and *Their temples, idols, & prieſts.*
f worſhipping them. They were crowned, and cloathed with purple, and beſmeared with the ſmoak of incenſe, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of ſmoke and duſt, raiſed and cauſed by the numerous reſort of votaries; and their prieſts took care of themſelves. They would ſometimes make free with the gold and ſilver preſented to their gods, and either keep

[c] Vid. Eoſd. ibid. [d] See before, p. 861. [e] Ibid. p. 867. [f] Ibid. p. 402. [g] In the Apocrypha. [h] See before, p. 210. [i] Ibid [k] Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 9. p. 233. [l] Vid. eund. ibid. [m] See before, p. 205, [n] See before, p. 209. [o] Alexand. ab Alexand. l. 6. [p] See before, p. 212. [q] See before in the notes, p. 883. [r] Baruch vi. *paſſim*.

keep it for themſelves, or beſtow it upon lewd proſtitutes, who were accounted ſacred. a
Whatever was offered a ſacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themſelves; and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they were ſure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to ſit in the temples with their beards and their heads cloſe ſhaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods, as for the lamentation of ſome perſon deceaſed; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the ſpoiler, they were ſure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and ſuch their practice, which muſt have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the ſequel. b

In the mean time;

Human victims.

The *Babylonians* having given riſe to all the idolatries and ſuperſtitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we muſt charge them with the horrible cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims to appeaſe or conciliate their god or gods. That this muſt have been an antient cuſtom with all theſe people, we have ſometimes as good as aſſerted, in what we have ſaid of them in their religious capacity; and that it took birth among the *Babylonians*, muſt be as readily granted, as that they communicated the reſt of their ſuperſtitions to all their neighbours about. That this was a practice, in early days, in *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, may appear by the attempt *Abraham* made to ſacrifice *Iſaac* [s], for he came from thoſe parts; and c
though he is abundantly to be juſtified in that attempt, it is ſeemingly plain, that the thing was familiar to him; But if we had no other proof of it than in *Jephthah*, who, as the ſtory is commonly taken, actually made a victim of his only daughter [t], that would be ſufficient to charge the deed upon the nations of thoſe early times. This cuſtom, however, grew ſo ſhocking to human nature, that the prieſts ſeem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be diſuſed, and ſeems, in the latter days, at leaſt, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular ſect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are ſaid, by way of diſtinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have *burnt their children in fire to* Adram- d
melech *and* Anammelech, *the gods of* Sepharvaim [u]. Who theſe two gods were, we have ſeen already [w], and that theſe *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly ſo called, appears very plainly, if we can, with the moſt learned geographers, agree, that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. However, there are traces of this antient cruelty to be diſcerned in the worſhip and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Aſſyrian*, goddeſs, at *Hierapolis*, to whom they without remorſe made away with their children, by precipitating them down a ſteep at her temple [x]; which is all we need ſay about it.

To enter into the the allegory of all this worſhip and deification is what we have above profeſſed to avoid; for the preſent, and indeed for the future, we ſhall have no great matter to add to the ſubject, which we have in general treated already. e
In the hiſtory of the *Egyptians* [y] we have already declared almoſt as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a phyſical or natural view; nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only obſerve, that if the *Babylonians*, and others after them, made gods of the ſun, the moon, or any other luminary; that if they extended their view to the whole ſyſtem of nature in the worſhip they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth it ſelf, the air, or any other element or created being of any ſort or degree, the whole muſt be attributed to a kind of miſtaken gratitude at firſt for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into every f
thing

[s] See before, p. 430. [t] See before, p. 751. [u] 2 Kings xvii. 31. [w] See before, p. 861, 293. [x] See before, p. 375. [y] See before, p. 204.

(V) Sir *John Maundeville* (73) has ſo judiciouſly ſummed up the hiſtory and progreſs of idolatry, that, for the curioſity of it, we cannot, though ſomewhat long, but preſent it to the reader, in his own words: ſpeaking of a people in *India*, he ſays, "Summe of hem worſchipe the ſonne, ſumme the "mone, ſumme the fuyr, ſumme trees, ſumme "ſerpentes, or the firſt thing that thei meten at "morwen; and ſumme worſchipen ſymulacres, and "ſumme ydoles. But betwene ſymulacres and "ydoles is a gret difference. For ſymulacres ben "ymages made aftre the lykneſſe of men, or of wom-"men, or of the ſonne, or of the mone, or of ony "beſt, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles is an "ymage made of the lewed wille of man, that a man "may not finden among kyndely things; as an "ymage

(73) *Voyage and Travels*, c. 15. p. 198.

a thing that was bad and ſtupid; and this ſhall ſuffice for the preſent to have ſaid concerning idolatry, and leſs than this we could not have ſaid in this place, where the whole ſeems to center, and where the whole, or at leaſt a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of uſe to us hereafter, in ſpeaking of theſe deities, or ſome borrowed from them, in climes far remote from this.

Their Cuſtoms. IT may be now time to ſpeak of the cuſtoms of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*; and of theſe one of the chief ſeems to have been their method of diſpoſing of all their young women in marriage. No man ſeems to have had a right to diſpoſe of his *Sale of Virgins.* own daughters, but as ſoon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were b expoſed in ſome public place appointed for the purpoſe, where, in the midſt of a crowd of men who attended upon theſe occaſions, they were ſold one by one. The moſt beautiful of them were firſt put up, and delivered to the higheſt bidder, and ſo on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus diſpoſed of, the money, that was raiſed by this ſale, was applied in behalf of ſome of them to whom nature had not been ſo laviſh of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to ſuch as would take the leaſt money with them; and the poorer ſort, to whom the uſe of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had been before in vying for the fair ones. The conſequence of this was, that their young women were c all diſpoſed of in marriage; the poorer ſort of the men only labouring under this particular reſtriction, that they ſhould give ſecurity to take the girls they had conſented to, before they were in proper poſſeſſion of the money they had agreed to take with them.

Purification. WHEN a *Babylonian* had lain with his wife, they both ſat by hot perfumes, and took care to waſh themſelves about twilight, accounting themſelves unclean, till they had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing [a].

Proſtitution to Venus. EVERY *Babylonian* woman was once in her life-time bound to proſtitute herſelf to ſtrange men, at the temple of *Venus*. A number of them ſat crowned with knots and garlands

[z] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 196. STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.

" ymage, that hathe four hedes, on of a man, ano-
" ther of an hors, or of an ox, or of ſum other
" beſt, that no man hathe ſeyn aftre kyndely diſ-
" poſicioun. And thei that worſchipen ſymulacres,
" thei worſchipen hem for ſum worthi man,
" that was ſum tyme, as *Hercules* and many
" othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme.
" For thei ſeyn wel, that this be not goddes: for
" thei knowen wel, that there is a god of kynde,
" that made all thinges; the whiche is in hevene.
" But thei knowen wel, that this may not do the
" marvayles that he made, but zif it had ben be
" the ſpecyalle zifte of God: and therefore thei ſeyn
" that he was wel with God. And for be cauſe
" that he was ſo wel with God, therfore thei wor-
" ſchipe him. And ſo ſeyn thei of the ſonne; be
" cauſe that he chaungethe the tyme, and zevethe
" hete and noriſſchethe alle thinges upon erthe; and
" for it is of ſo gret profite, thei knowe wel, that
" that myghte not be, but that God lovethe it more
" than ony other thing. And for that skylle, God
" hath zeven it more gret vertue in the world:
" therefore it is gode reſoun, as thei ſeyn, to don it
" worſchipe and reverence. And ſo ſeyn thei, that
" maken here reſounes, of othere planetes; and of
" the fuyr alſo, be cauſe it is ſo profitable. And
" of ydoles, thei ſeyn alſo, that the ox is the moſt
" holy beſt, that is in erthe, and moſt pacyent and
" more profitable than ony other. For he dothe
" good ynow, and he dothe non evylle. And thei
" knowen wel, that it may not be with outen ſpe-
" cyalle grace of God: and therfore maken thei
" here god, of an ox, the on part, and the other
" halfondelle of a man; be cauſe that man is the
" moſt noble creature in erthe; and alſo for he
" hathe lordſchipe aboven alle beſtes; therfore make

[a] HERODOT. l. ibid. c. 198. STRAB. ibid.

" thei the halfendel of ydole, of a man upwardes,
" and the tother half of an ox dounwardes: And
" of ſerpentes, and of other beſtes, and dyverſe
" thinges, that thei worſchipen, that thei meten firſt
" at morwe. And thei worſchipen alſo ſpecially alle
" tho that thei han gode meetynge of; and whan thei
" ſpeden wel in here jorneye, aftre here meetynge;
" and namely ſuche as thei han preved and aſſayed
" be experience of long tyme. For thei ſeyn, that
" thilke gode meetynge ei may not come, but of
" the grace of God. And therfore thei maken
" ymages lyche to tho thinges, that thei han beleeve
" inne, for to beholden hem and worſchipen hem
" firſt at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious
" thinges. And there ben alſo ſumme criſtene men,
" that ſeyn, that ſumme beſtes han gode meetynge,
" that is to ſeyn, for to meete with hem firſt at
" morwe; and ſumme beſtes wykked meetynge:
" and that thei han preved ofte tyme, that the hare
" hath falle evylle meetynge, and ſwyn, and many
" othere beſtes. And the ſparhauk, and other foules
" of raveyne, whan thei fleen aftre here praye, and
" take it before men of armes, it is a gode ſigne:
" and zif he fayle of takynge his praye, it is an
" evylle ſigne. And alſo to ſuche folk, it is an evylle
" meetynge of ravenes. In theiſe thinges, and in
" ſuch othere, ther ben many folk, that beleeven,
" be cauſe it happenethe ſo often tyme to falle,
" aftre here fantaſſyes. And alſo there ben men ynow
" that han no beleeve in hem. And ſithe, that
" criſtene men han ſuch beleeve, that ben informed
" and taughte alle day, be holy doctryne where inne
" thei ſchold beleeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that
" the *Paynemes*, that han no gode doctryne, but only
" of here nature, beleeven more largely, for here
" ſympleneſſe (74)."

(74) *Ibid.*

garlands at the door of the temple, while ſome were continually going and others coming. They were ſo ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the ſame in ſuch manner, that the men had paſſage among them, and the convenience of getting at thoſe they beſt liked. The women having once ſet down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till ſome ſtranger had thrown money into her lap or boſom, and taken her aſide; the man, as he threw the money to her, ſaying, *I implore the goddeſs* Mylitta *for thee*. The money, how little ſoever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted ſacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accoſted her in the form preſcribed, but ſhe was abſolutely to retire with him without delay; and having ſuffered his embraces, and performed the accuſtomed rites to the goddeſs, ſhe returned home; after which no temptation, though ever ſo great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Thoſe who were handſome were ſoon diſpatched, but thoſe who were not ſo happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; ſo that they ſometimes waſted two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Thoſe who were rich, and ſcorned to ſit with the meaner ſort, were conveyed thither in ſome covered vehicle, and ſeated therein [b], while their ſervants waited their return at ſome diſtance.

Feſtival of Sacea.

For five days in one month of every year they celebrated a feſtival they called *Sacea*, or *Sacca*, during which the ſervants commanded their maſters, one of them being, for the time, conſtituted chief over the houſe, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana* [c].

Manner of treating the ſick, and burials.

Their manner of treating their ſick was very extraordinary. Having no phyſicians among them, it was their cuſtom to expoſe them publickly in the moſt frequented places, that ſo every body might ſee them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the caſe, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that paſſed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians* [d].

The Babylonians; *their character.*

The *Babylonians* were exceſſively credulous, ſuperſtitious to the utmoſt, and as lewd and as debauched as nation well could be. Their credulity muſt appear by the eſteem their *Chaldeans*, prieſts, or juglers were in among them, and their ſuperſtition muſt appear by the ſame, and what we have ſaid of their religion; and ſo exceſſively prone to idolatry were they, that we even find an inſtance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worſhip him [e]. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were juſtified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet *Belſhazzar* was giving when he ſaw the fatal inſcription on the wall [f]. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their prieſts, and as we have ſeen in the rites of their great goddeſs and others, together with the reverence paid to proſtitutes [g], compleated them the moſt ſenſual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and huſbands would, for money, expoſe their wives and children to the embraces of their gueſts. Drunkards they are particularly ſaid to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon theſe occaſions, firſt appeared modeſt and reſerved, till putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal whatever belonged to them [h]. Such is the character given of the *Babylonians*, and it ſeems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged ſuch monſtrous impudence in the women and ſhameleſsneſs in the men; though it cannot be ſuppoſed, that in the beginning of their empire they were quite ſo diſſolute as here repreſented.

They

[b] Herodot. ibid. c. 199. Strabo, ibid.
[c] Herodot. Ibid. c. 198. Strabo l. 16. ibid.
[d] See before, p. 926.
[e] Beros. apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. 14. p. 639. e Dan. ii. towards the end.
[f] v.
[g] Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

(W) We have this cuſtom, with ſome additional circumſtances, in *Baruch*, (75); *The women*, ſays he, *alſo, with cords about them, ſitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by ſome that paſſeth by, lie with him, ſhe reproacheth her fellow that ſhe was not thought as worthy as herſelf, nor her cord broken.* From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been ſuppoſed they were cords of ruſhes (76), which might be eaſily broken.

(75) *vi.* 43. (76) *See* Purch. *Pilgr. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *p.* 65.

a THEY ſeem to have indulged themſelves in dreſs as well as in other reſpects, and to have affected ſome pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linen veſt, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over [i] with oil of ſeſame [k]. They each of them wore a ſeal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought ſtaff or ſcepter, adorned at the head with ſome particular enſign or figure, as an apple, or roſe, or lilly, or an eagle, or ſome ſuch badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of theſe ſticks or ſtaves. On their feet they wore a kind of ſlippers [l]. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at *Perſepolis*, b as we may obſerve hereafter. *Their habit.*

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly thoſe of them that were peculiarly called *Chaldæans*, who were, as is ſaid, their prieſts, their philoſophers, aſtronomers, aſtrologers, ſoothſayers, and the like. And in reſpect of this pretended claim to learning and ſupernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are diſtinguiſhed quite from the *Babylonians*, and are ſaid to have inhabited a region peculiar to themſelves next to the *Arabians* and the *Perſian* gulf [m], juſt where we have placed them. They were divided into ſeveral ſects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borſippeni*, and known by other names of diſtinction, borrowed either from particular places [n], where different doctrines on the ſame points were held, or from particular perſons, who had doctrines c peculiar to themſelves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Adena*, *Naburian*, *Sudin*, and many others [o]. *Learning of the* Chaldees.

WE have already conſidered this tribe as ſet apart for devotion and ſuperſtitious concerns, when juſt now we ſpoke of the religion of this people; we are now to ſpeak of them as philoſophers only, and of what they taught as ſuch, as well as of their manner of inſtitution.

WE have already ſeen how they pretended to have firſt come by their learning [p], and their ſtrange fable concerning their firſt inſtructor *Oannes*, who, long before the deluge, came out of the ſea, and formed them in the ſeveral branches of policy, religion, and learning, and particularly explained to them geometry and aſtrology; d and have obſerved, that, as the tradition went, he was a monſter, partly man and partly fiſh, and that by his coming out of the ſea he muſt have been ſome ſtranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in *Syriac* ſignifies a *Traveller*, or a *Foreigner* [q]; as alſo that by ſome circumſtances he muſt have been the ſame they meant by their *Mylitta* or great *Venus* [r], and would now add, that, by what is ſaid of his inventions and uſeful communications to men, he may have been conſidered as the *Egyptian Iſis*, or *Oſiris*, or both. However this may have been, the report of *Oannes's* appearance in *Chaldea* from out of the ſea has given birth to an opinion, that *Oſiris* and *Oannes* were at leaſt contemporaries, and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, and that e not much earlier than the days of *Ammon* and *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak*, whom our author [s] will have to have been the ſame with *Seſoſtris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of ſeveral antient authors, the one [t] writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*, and that, ſetling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he inſtituted prieſts with the ſame privileges as in *Egypt*, and that theſe were called *Chaldæans*, and were to obſerve the ſtars after the manner of *Egypt*; another [u] declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the ſon of *Lybia*. In a word, our author [w] concludes, that when *Sabbaco*, the *Ethiopian*, invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldæa*, and carried with them f their aſtronomy, aſtrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preſerved in the æra of *Nabonaſſar*; and, as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypotheſis, ſeems plauſible enough, but muſt be confeſſed to be quite deſtructive of what we read in ſcripture, by which the reverſe ſhould appear. *Had not their learning from the* Egyptians.

BOTH

[i] HERODOT. ubi ſup. c. 195. [k] STRABO ubi ſup. p. 745. [l] HERODOT. STRAB. ibid. [m] STRABO Geogr. l. 16. p. 739. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] See before, p. 90. [q] See before in the notes, ibid. [r] See before in the notes, p. 923. [s] Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 210, 211, & ſeq. [t] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 1. p. 17. [u] PAUSAN. l. 4. c. 23. [w] Sir Is. NEWT. ubi ſup.

Arguments to prove it.

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and situations, have certainly in all respects a very near resemblance of each other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it self-evidently appear. We have seen, that they were constant rivals with each other for antiquity [x], in which the *Babylonians* must have had the preference, according to scripture, where we read, that they kept possession of what we may call the original seat of mankind after the flood; and must have been therefore settled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in *Shinar*, a country which must have been a good deal improved before the dispersion, when all the rest went out in quest of new seats. This historical circumstance may be sufficient to rank them the first of nations, though the *Egyptians* would never allow them that honour; and if these unjustly arrogated the point over them in this respect, why may they not have done the same with regard to others? b

THE truth is, both these nations have been strangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be fairly questioned in most we know of their pretences to superiority; and are doubtless to be equally disbelieved. But if the *Egyptians* are preferred to the *Babylonians* in any respect by the *Greeks*, it must be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of such near neighbours as they were in comparison; and if not to this, at least it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the story but on one side. We have at least as good authority to argue in behalf of the *Babylonians*, as can be produced in favour of the *Egyptians*. c

THE early transaction of attempting to raise the tower of *Babel*, in the very country of this people, must imply them to have been informed of architecture in those days, and some of the concomitant arts; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not seem to have been such as to deserve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge, than the refinement of it, or, at least, it seems to have been built upon such principles, as were a reproach to sound reason, rather than an honour to the human understanding, and rather calculated to deceive, than to inform; to spread the mists of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

HOWEVER, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the *Egyptians* were instructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, and namely by *Abraham* [y], who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the *Jews*, the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, which deserves at least as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people as the pretences of the *Egyptians*, who were immediately parties concerned, or of the *Greeks*, who were particularly biassed in their favour. Nor are these orientals unsupported by the traditions of the westerns, according to whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Belus* was the inventor of the sidereal science [z], and the nation he belonged to the foremost in antiquity for empire and power, and consequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their instructor *Oannes* from times preceding the deluge [a], as should seem, and suppose him to have sprung from the primigenial egg; it is seemingly plain, that whatever constructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the sea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themselves beholden to no nation under the sun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it must be confessed, that by the bulk of what we understand, both by sacred and profane writers, our author has here strained things too violently to accommodate to them his hypothesis; but to insist no longer on this doubt, let us take a survey of what the learning was that is so contested. d e

Their manner of institution.

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the *Greeks*, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they had nothing to do but to apply themselves to the instruction they received, which came not from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue or master. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and, by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed [b]. f

SUCH was the manner of their institution, and the tenaciousness of the adherence to what that they had received from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof

[x] See before, p. 922. [y] See before in the notes, p. 435. [z] See before, p. 90. [a] Ibid.
[b] DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. Histor. l. 2. p. 82.

a proof to assure us, that they made little or no progress, even in the learning they particularly professed, and that so it really was, may be discovered in the sequel.

Their doctrine about the world.

THEY taught, that the world was eternal, that it never had beginning, and never shall have end, though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but also to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of

b futurity.

They were more astrologers than astronomers.

BY this it appears, that whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, with a power of the averting of evil; and the procuring of good; hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers [d].

THE planets they called *Interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call *Saturn*; the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the sun, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; six in all, which were all the planets they reckoned: These they called

c *Interpreters*, as by their motions and aspects they, in a more evident manner, portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular [e].

The system of their astrology.

UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *Counselling Gods*; and half of these they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done by men, or transd acted in the heavens. And they gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior of these stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that in return one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same nature; and that this their mutual correspondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chief of these *Counselling Gods* were 12 in number, and assigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac [f].

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forbode whatever is to befal them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those of them e within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it they called the stars or *Constellations of the Dead*; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: In short, the *Chaldeans* were compleat astrologers, and pretended to excel all other nations therein [g].

Deficient in astronomy.

THEIR astronomy, which ought to have taken place of the former, in respect of its dignity above it, must yield its rank here, it being seemingly what they cultivated as a science secondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarse and plain. They had notions, that the earth was like a vessel or boat, and that it was hollow within; and had a way of supporting this doctrine by various arguments [h].

f WE have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: But they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardiness of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear, for they taught, that she compleated her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumvolved in the heavens. They taught, that she shone with a light not her own, and that when she was eclipsed she was

[f] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid.

was immerged in the ſhadow of the earth. But for eclipſes of the ſun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen [i]. In ſhort, the whole of their philoſophy and learning ſeems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial aſtrology; a ſcience, falſely ſo called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

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Nor has this boaſted knowledge and learning of the *Chaldees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has alſo been condemned by the antients, as inconſiſtent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal neceſſity, and deſtroying the freedom of our will [k]. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldæans* were ſo famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a diſtinct nation from the *Babylonians* for the ſake of it; and indeed from ſcripture we gather they were no better; for *Daniel*, ſpeaking of them, divides them into four ſorts or kinds, as magicians, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, and *Chaldæans* [l], adding afterwards to theſe wiſe-men or ſuch as divined by lots, and ſooth-ſayers or ſuch as foretold events by the inſpection of entrails [m]. And though there are thoſe who ſuppoſe the *Chaldæans*, as here diſtinguiſhed from the five other ſorts, to have been a ſect peculiar to themſelves, and to have been of deeper and more ſolid learning [n]; we may eaſily perceive, that they, as well as the reſt, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the reſt, to diſcover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may ſafely conclude, that they all in their ſeveral ways were ſo many oracles, and that they were all devoted to the ſame end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining thereto; ſo that ſeemingly theſe *Babylonians* had their ſcience branched out amongſt them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* phyſicians had theirs [o]. Their learning muſt have been made up entirely of ſuperſtitious practices and deluſive arts, and if any better they had, they muſt have concealed it under ſuch ænigma's, and far-fetched reſemblances and allegories, as muſt have rendered it quite a ſecret even to themſelves, who, conſidering that they are ſaid from father to ſon to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any ſolid purpoſe; and it ſeems not to have been without good reaſon, that many [p] of latter times have made ſlight of them as philoſophers, and concluded, that the *Greeks* were in this reſpect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the *Egyptians*.

Babylonians *in diſtinction from the* Chaldees; *their arts.*

As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, ſo the *Babylonians*, properly ſo called, were the men of art; though perhaps we ſhall have more reaſon to call theſe the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and ſet apart for, the ſidereal conſultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which muſt, as ſhould ſeem, have made up the ſyſtem of their philoſophy. For in this caſe the *Babylonians*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Chaldæans*, muſt have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as muſt appear by the immenſe buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great ſkill in the ſeveral branches in the mathematics and geometry. This we may ſay in general; but to ſay how far, or how far not, they excelled in perſpective and the true harmony of proportion, may not be quite ſo eaſy a matter, though that their ornaments and decorations fell ſhort of what was afterwards ſeen in *Greece* can never be doubted. This may be plain to any body that has ſeen the repreſentations of the ruins of *Perſepolis*, which muſt certainly have been built in the *Babylonian* manner, which, how far it was beneath the *Grecian* for elegance and proportion, may be more properly conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of the *Græcian* architecture, and to compare it with that of the *Egyptians* and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vaſt in their performances of this nature than exquiſite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and ſtatues, however gaudy, rich, and coloſſean, were nothing to compare with the ſame that took birth with the *Græcian* artiſts.

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[i] Idem ibid. [k] Vid. Bardesan. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & Alios apud eund. ibid. [l] Dan. ii. 2. [m] Ibid. ver. 27. [n] Purch. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 12. p. 63 [o] See before, p. 218. [p] Cæl. Rhodog. Joseph. Scalig. Peucer. &c. &c. [q] Dan. iii. ver. 5.—15.

a What theſe inſtruments exactly were, nobody will ever know; but if he may judge of their ſkill in harmony, by what we can diſcover of their painting and ſtatuary, we muſt not equal them with the *Grecians* in the harmonic ſcience.

THEIR poetry we have nothing to ſay to; but muſt leave the reader to form his judgment of it, by that of the other eaſtern nations their neighbours, both antient and modern. Nor do we pretend to ſay by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldæans* or the *Babylonians*; but as it has at all times been ſacred to religion and ſuperſtition, we may ſuppoſe the former, as prieſts, laid claim thereto as a part of their province. *Poetry.*

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular ſcience among this people, *Phyſick.*
b in what we have ſaid of their manner and cuſtom of treating the ſick; though that the ſame, as a ſcience, grew into vaſt repute with the *Perſians*, their ſucceſſors, will be obſerved when it comes properly in turn.

WE have already declared, there is no more difference between the *Syriac* and *Language.* the *Chaldee*, the language of this people, than between the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch*. Their common alphabet we have already given[s]; and as for the Mendean character, which is alſo peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but alſo ſo nearly like the Eſtrangelo of the *Syriac*[t], that we have thought it unneceſſary to inſert it. *Bochart*[u] ſuppoſes they had a ſacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon a very unſatisfactory foundation.

c THE *Babylonians*, properly ſo called, were great architects, and ingenious in the *Architecture.* caſting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to ſpeak of their great city of *Babylon*; and therefore it may be needleſs to expatiate thereon in this place, when we have reſerved another, where we intend to do them ſufficient honour for their great labour and induſtry in theſe reſpects, wherein they will be obſerved to have fallen ſhort of no one nation under the ſun; and in which they, perhaps in great meaſure, ſhewed the way to every nation beſides.

NOR were they leſs famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich *Manufactures and fine linen.* embroideries, ſumptuous veſtments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linen; inſomuch
d that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately ſold a *Babylonian* cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was aſhamed to wear[w]; and elſewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid for a ſuit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room ſix thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight pound ſix ſhillings and eight pence[x]. It were to no purpoſe to quote authors for farther inſtances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the ſeveral products of their induſtry: we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they ſent into the eaſtern parts by way of traffick[y]. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus* near the *Euphrates*[z]; but as it is diſputed, whether or no this was what may be called a diſcovery among them, and whether they were
e not before uſed to ſupply themſelves therewith from *Tyre*[a], we ſhall not inſiſt thereon, any farther than to take notice, that their country afforded the beſt material of its ſort for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial[b].

THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Particular tribes.* *Chaldæans* properly ſo called; there ſeems to have been other ſubordinate tribes or ſects of them. Three of theſe are ſaid to have fed upon nothing but fiſh[c]; and thereby ſeems to have infringed a ſacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddeſs, for whoſe ſake the *Babylonians* ſeem to have abſtained therefrom. Thus we have ſeen, that ſome of the *Egyptians* worſhipped the fiſh which others of them fed upon. However, it may not have been upon a religious principle that
f this people departed from the reſt of their countrymen; and the rather as it ſeems to be imputed to neceſſity[d], theſe tribes living among the fens, and being deſtitute of corn; to ſupply the want of which, it was their cuſtom to dry their fiſh in the ſun, which they afterwards made into paſte, and having baked it ate it by way of bread[e]. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants of

[r] See before, p. 377. [s] Ibid. p. 719. [t] Ibid, p. 378. [u] Canaan c. 17. col. 773. [w] PLUTARCH. in vita Catonis. [x] PLIN. Hiſt Natur. l. 8. c. 48. See ARBUTH. of anc. coins, weights, and meaſures, p. 142. [y] ARRIAN. Peripl, Mar. Eryth. in minor. HUDSON, vol. II. p. 20, 21. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Vid BOCHART. PHALEG. c. 7 col. 28. [b] Vid. eund. ibid. [c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 200. [d] STRAB. l. 16. p. 746. [e] HERODOT. ubi ſup.

was immerged in the ſhadow of the earth. But for eclipſes of the ſun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen [i]. In ſhort, the whole of their philoſophy and learning ſeems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial aſtrology; a ſcience, falſely ſo called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

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A TABLE *of the Successions of the* Babylonian *Kings, according to* Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon and the Ecclesiastical Account.*

According to the most correct copies of *Ptolemy*'s canon.			According to the ecclesiastical account in *Syncellus*.		
		Years.			Years.
1	*Nabonassar* reigned	14	1	*Nabonasarus* or *Salmanasar* reigned	25
2	*Nadius*	2	2	*Nabius*	8
3	*Chinzirus* and *Porus*	5	3	*Chinzerus* and *Porus*	5
4	*Jugæus*	5	4	*Illulæus*	5
5	*Mardoc-Empadus*	12	5	*Mardocempadocus*	12
6	*Arkianus*	5	6	*Arceanus*	5
7	Inter-reign I.	2	7	Inter-reign I.	2
8	*Belibus*	3	8	*Belithus*	3
9	*Apronadius*	6	9	*Aporanadisus*	6
10	*Rigebélus*	1	10	*Iregiballus*	1
11	*Mesessimordacus*	4	11	*Messisimordacus*	4
12	Inter-reign II.	8	12	Inter-reign II.	8
13	*Assar-Addinus*	13	13	*Isarindinus*	13
14	*Saosduchéus*	20	14	*Saosduchius*	9
15	*Chyniladanus*	22	15	*Cineladanus*	14
16	*Nabopallasarus*	21	16	*Napobalasarus*	21
17	*Nabocolassarus*	43	17	*Nabuchadonosor* his son	43
18	*Ilvarodamus*	2	18	*Ebidan Merodach*	5
19	*Niricassolassarus*	4	19	*Niregelesarus* or *Baltasar*	3
20	*Nabonadius*	17	20	*Nabonadius*, or *Astyages*, or *Darius*, or *Assuerus*, or *Artaxerxes*	17
		210			209

a THIS table contains on the one side a genuine and most correct copy of *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here inquire into the differences between the two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. *Syncellus*, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has under the same head another, the authors of them being *Africanus* and *Eusebius*[i]. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary, to prove the first rise and duration of the *Babylonian* empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by *Ptolemy*, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to scripture history, that if this *The æra of Nabonassar.*
b latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous profane æra's, that of *Nabonassar* the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprising, than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined, by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians from out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by
c the extravagances of one fabulous *Greek* writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the christian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of *Pul*'s first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ;

[i] Vid. Can. Chron. SÆCUL. xvii.

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, and sent by Dr. *Overal*, Dean of *St. Paul*'s, to *Seth Calvisius*, and first published, with *Ptolemy*'s *Hypothesis*, by Dr. *Bambridge*, (79), professor of the mathematics at *Oxford* (80).

(79) *Vid.* GREGOR. *Postum. de æra & Epoch. c.* 7. *p.* 149. (80) *Vid.* MARSH. *Can. Chron. Sæcul.* 17.

Chriſt; which ſhews the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Aſſyrian* origin, according to the prophet *; *Behold the land of the* Chaldæans; *this people was not till the* Aſſyrian *founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs; they ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof.* The kingdom of *Babylon* was then founded by the *Aſſyrians*. This is ſo plain, that it may be needleſs to multiply words in proof of it, eſpecially after what we have ſaid in the chronology of *Aſſyria*, which tends directly to make it appear. a

Ptolemy, we may perceive, could diſcover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonaſſar*, and therefore begins with him; and ſcripture mentions no king of *Aſſyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this ſide of the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the firſt year of the canon; and as *Nabonaſſar* is an *Aſſyrian* name, moſt evidently compounded of *Nebo-addon-aſſur*, we may be certain, that he was the ſon or grandſon of *Pul*, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This is a moſt evident point, and abundantly helps us to underſtand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impoſſible to underſtand how the *Aſſyrians* ſhould have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Aſſyrian* extraction, and conſidered as a ſiſter-kingdom with *Aſſyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with ſomewhat more certainty than that of the *Aſſyrian* empire, which we could have no notice of till the firſt appearance of *Pul* in the weſt. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of *Pul*'s appearance to the weſtward of the *Euphrates*, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Chriſt: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Chriſt. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years compleat; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we ſhall have a number not exceeding 234 for the years of the duration of the great *Aſſyrian* family; whether at *Nineveh* or at *Babylon*, with reſpect to what we know of the riſe of theſe kingdoms; and that *Nineveh*, which is confeſſedly the oldeſt, did not much exceed this number, muſt appear to any one that gives himſelf the trouble to recollect what we have ſo amply obſerved in the third, fourth, and fifth ſections of the preceding chapter. b c d

The *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Aſſyrian*, and, by the undoubted authorities of ſcripture and *Ptolemy*'s aſtronomical canon, this *Aſſyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the exiſtence of another *Aſſyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we ſhall be very ready to congratulate him upon the diſcovery. The canon itſelf directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, meaning the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's reign there begins with the laſt Thoth of his predeceſſor's reign.

SECT. IV.

The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of this people, as conſtituting a wide and moſt famous monarchy, we muſt juſt take a retroſpect of their firſt eſtabliſhment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have exiſted before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader, that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the ſeveral authors, and that we have already ſaid as much of its firſt founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are ſaid to have been his immediate ſucceſſors in this infant kingdom, a liſt of which we have tranſcribed.

* Iſai. xxiii. 13.

a

A TABLE *of the Kings of* Babylon, *that immediately ſucceeded* Nimrod.

	According to *Euſebius.*	Years.	According to *Syncellus.*	Years.
1	*Evechoos* or *Nimrod* reigned	6	1 *Evochoüs* or *Nimrod* reigned	6
2	*Chomaſbolus*	7	2 *Choſmabolus*	7
3	*Porus*	35	3 *Porus*	35
4	*Nechobes*	43	4 *Nechubes*	43
5	*Abios*	48	5 *Abius*	48
b 6	*Oniballus*	40	6 *Oniballes*	40
7	*Zinzirus*	45	7 *Zinzirus*	45
		224		224

OUR authors, we ſee, perfectly agree as to theſe kings who are called the dynaſty of the *Chaldees*, and indeed, in this caſe, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Euſebius*. This dynaſty, which laſted no more than 224 years, was no ſooner expired, than the *Arabians* became uppermoſt, and produced a race of ſix kings at *Babylon*. This
c *Arabian* dynaſty laſted 216 years, and the two dynaſties together 440 years. The whole interval, as we have ſtated it, between the firſt of the reign of *Nimrod* and the call of *Abraham*, is 646 years. This *Arabian* dynaſty then expired 206 years before the call of *Abraham*, and was ſucceeded by the *Aſſyrian* dynaſty, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*, as we have given it in the chronology of the *Aſſyrians*[k]. The *Aſſyrians* muſt then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*, and the ſame muſt have continued at leaſt a thouſand years after him without any intermiſſion, according to the moſt common accounts, which may be ſufficiently diſproved by this one argument. Beſides there can be well no doubt, but theſe *Arabian* kings were, according to ſcripture, of the country of
d *Elam* or *Perſia*; for under *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*, warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*; we may then as good as ſatisfy ourſelves, that this *Arabian* dynaſty, as it is called, ſubſiſted after the call, when *Abraham* reſcued his brother *Lot* from them; ſo that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the firſt monarchy, the *Elamites* or *Perſians* are the people, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper place.

Firſt kingdom of Babylon, *when founded* Amraphel.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this kingdom, except that, about 600 years afterwards, there was a king of it called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *Elam*[l]. This is all we have to ſay concerning theſe early times of this antient kingdom, except
e we adopt the *Cteſian* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, muſt be called the foundreſs of *Babylon*; and that is what we need not repeat.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the ſeries we have given of the *Aſſyrian* kings, as they ſtand in *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynaſty of the *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Aſſyrian*; but concerning this we muſt refer the reader to our chronology of the *Aſſyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may ſatisfy him of the little weight this ſucceſſion of dynaſties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy*'s canon ſhould be called the fourth dynaſty of the orientals, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of the
f *Babylonian*; but this we muſt reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and eſpecially with us, who diſtinguiſh, ſo widely as we do, between the antient kingdom of *Babylon* and the monarchy or empire of the ſame.

WE have now brought all the hiſtory we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonaſſar*; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can poſſibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the ſaid *Nabonaſſar*, we muſt relate what is fabulouſly reported of the man, who, according to ſome profane authors, muſt be accounted the firſt king of *Babylon*.

HE

[k] See before, p. 865. [l] Ibid. p. 424.

The story of Belesis, *or* Nanybrus.

HE is by some called *Belesis*[m], and by others *Nanybrus*[n], and both affect to give us an extraordinary story of him, which will be almost all we shall be able, in these authors, to find concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end. a

UNDER the name of *Belesis* this first prince is represented as a crafty and a mean-spirited knave, and as nothing less than a hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his collegue and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god *Belus*, That if success was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was consumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes that were left to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to stand as a monument, to all who should navigate the *Euphrates*, of the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. He, it seems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch he kept close up to himself, of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration of the palace at *Nineveh*, and knowing it to be a secret to *Arbaces*, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His request was granted him, the ashes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only so, but *Arbaces* constituted him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Belesis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to *Babylon*; but when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to the loss of his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independant government of *Babylon*, saying, The good he had done ought to serve as a veil to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion[o]. b c

IN process of time, and under the successor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dress and shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Nanybrus*, for so we must now call *Belesis*, understanding a certain robust *Mede*, called *Parsondas*, held him in the utmost contempt, and had sollicited the emperor of the *Medes* to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take *Parsondas* and bring him to him. *Parsondas*, hunting somewhere near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and straggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with some of the servants of the *Babylonian Nanybrus*, who had been tempted with the promised reward. He had been all the day at his exercise, and being very thirsty, and these servants being purveyors to the king of *Babylon*, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plyed him therewith, and not only so, but prevailed upon him to stay and eat a meal with them. *Parsondas*, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and sending the prey he had taken to his king, he indulged himself in what was laid before him, and especially in some rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpose to inebriate him. *Parsondas* quite flustered called for his horse, that he might go to the king of the *Medes* where he was encamped, but instead of his horse they brought him some beautiful women, and desired he would pass the night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He consented, and being sated with his pleasures, and fallen into a profound sleep, they rushed upon him in the midst of the night, bound him, and carried him off to *Nanybrus*; who no sooner saw him, than he began to expostulate with him for his subdolous attempts to displace him in *Babylon*, without any the least offence given on his part, that should make him an enemy. In the end, *Parsondas* resolutely declared, That he thought himself to be more worthy of the dominion, than so indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high disdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had suffered himself to be surprised by his servants, vowed, he would make him as soft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body[p]. d e f

HAVING thus sworn by the gods *Belus* and *Molis*, [or *Mylitta* as it should be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his music girls, and ordered him to shave him, and smooth, and paint him, and dress him just after the manner of those girls, and to see that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods possible to transform him into one of them; so that in a very short time *Parsondas* was quite effeminated, and became more delicate than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded

[m] See before, p. 886. [n] NICOL. DAMASC. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 424. [o] CTES. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 78. [p] NICOL. Damasc. ubi sup.

a exceeded them all in ſinging, and playing, and the other arts of allurement; and whoever ſaw him at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the moſt beautiful of the train in waiting [q].

THE king of the *Medes*, *Artæus* it ſeems by name, had in vain ſought after his favourite companion *Parſondas*, and in vain offered rewards to whoever ſhould produce him alive or dead, and hearing no news of him gave himſelf up to grief for his faithful ſervant, concluding, he had been deſtroyed by ſome wild beaſt in the chaſe when he loſt him. At length, after ſeven years, it happened, that an eunuch having been moſt cruelly ſcourged and beaten by *Nanybrus*'s order, *Parſondas* took the opportunity of the man's diſcontent, and, with great promiſes, prevailed on him
b to fly to the king of the *Medes*, and to make known to him his metamorphoſis. The eunuch went and told what he was ordered, and the king of the *Medes* no ſooner heard it, than he was moved with the higheſt indignation. Immediately he diſpatched an officer to *Nanybrus* to demand *Parſondas*; but when the officer arrived at *Babylon*, he denied, that he had ever known any thing of any ſuch perſon. This anſwer being carried back to the *Mede*, he ſent a more reſolute and robuſt officer, than the former, with letters commanding *Nanybrus*, without delay or reſerve, to ſend him the man whom he had ſhamefully debaſed and confined among his eunuchs and muſic girls, or to expect the ſudden loſs of his head; and ordered the officer, if he perſiſted in the denial to bind him with his ſaſh or girdle, and to lead
c him to immediate execution. *Nanybrus*, ſcared at this, and conſulting his own ſafety, promiſed to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly juſtify himſelf with the king of the *Medes* for what he had done in this reſpect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the diſhes were no ſooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom *Parſondas* was, made their appearance, ſinging and playing upon various inſtruments; but *Parſondas* was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the reſt; and accordingly *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede* which he liked beſt? he immediately pointed at *Parſondas*. The *Babylonian* at this clapt his hands; and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and aſking his gueſt, whether or no he ſhould be willing to paſs his night with his favourite?
d and he declaring his deſire that the thing might be ſo; *Nanybrus* told him he could not poſſibly grant it: Why then did you aſk me the queſtion, ſaid the *Mede*? *Nanybrus* pauſed a while, at laſt, This, ſays he, is the *Parſondas* you want. The officer was aſtoniſhed, and incredulous of what he heard, till at laſt the *Babylonian* convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with *Parſondas* he could anſwer for before the king of the *Medes*. *Artæus*, wondring at the prodigious alteration he ſaw in *Parſondas*, aſked him, how it had been poſſible for him to live ſo long under ſuch a load of infamy? *Parſondas* pleaded neceſſity, and the deſire he had to ſee his face again, as alſo to live to ſee himſelf revenged; and begged of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. *Artæus* promiſed him
e fair, and *Parſondas* recovered himſelf to his former maſculine habit and appearance [r].

Artæus came to *Babylon*, attended by *Parſondas*, who was continually calling upon him for juſtice; but when *Nanybrus* appeared before the king, he pleaded his cauſe with great reſolution, urging, that *Parſondas*, towards whom he never was guilty of the leaſt offence, would ſubdolouſly and barbarouſly have procured his death, that ſo he might ſucceed him in the kingdom of *Babylon*. The king of the *Medes* obſerved, that this was but a weak argument in him, who had preſumed to act as judge in his own cauſe, and inflict puniſhments in his own right, inſtead of appealing to him, and ſubmitting to what he ſhould have ſeen to have been moſt proper to be done in the caſe; and, in ſhort, declared, that in ten days time he
f would paſs the ſentence on him he had deſerved [s].

Nanybrus, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called *Mitraphernes*, who was in greateſt favour with the king of the *Medes*, and promiſed him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of ſilver, 10 golden cups, 200 of ſilver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but ſtand his friend. As for the king of the *Medes* himſelf, he made him by his eunuch, at the ſame time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of ſilver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the ſame in ſilver, innumerable veſtments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life ſpared, and the kingdom of *Babylon* ſecured to him [t].

THE

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid.

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bed-chamber, and preſſed a
him very much in the behalf of his client, repreſenting, that he had done nothing
worthy of death; that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on *Parſondas*; that
he had abſtained from his blood, and ſerved him only in kind. He then urged,
that, if after this it ſhould be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be ſpared
for his ſake, and promiſed, that if the favour was granted him, the *Babylonian*
ſhould preſent him with vaſt gifts, and give *Parſondas* 100 talents of ſilver. The
king, at length, gave ear to the inſinuations and arguments of this his favourite
eunuch, and ſentenced *Nanybrus* to a fine accordingly; which, as it gave great joy
to *Nanybrus*, affected *Parſondas* equally with indignation and diſdain, who be-
ſtowed his maledictions upon the man that firſt found out gold, ſeeing for the ſake b
of that he was to live the ſport and deriſion of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The
eunuch, who had thus interpoſed with his good offices, underſtanding, that *Par-*
ſondas ſtill glowed with rage, and even more than ever, not only exhorted him to
be reconciled to *Nanybrus*, but told him, it was the king's will and pleaſure he
ſhould be ſo. But *Parſondas*, deaf to all that could be ſaid to him on that ſubject,
continued to meditate revenge both on *Nanybrus* and his friend the eunuch; and in
the end had the ſatisfaction of being revenged on both [u].

BUT we have been too particular in theſe ſtories about this firſt king of *Babylon*,
ſo ſelf-evidently fabulous, and to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition
of what is gone before in diſproof of all of it. c

The genuine hiſtory of the Babylonians.

FROM this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine hiſtory of the
Babylonians, in which there is a vaſt chaſm of many hundreds of years, between the
times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel* to the time we are now reached down to; the firſt
Babylonian king we meet with after theſe, and thoſe we have mentioned to have
Nabonaſſar. ſucceeded between them, that we meet with in hiſtory ſacred and profane, is *Na-*
bonaſſar, the firſt in *Ptolemy*'s canon. Concerning this king, ſo well known for
the æra that paſſes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded; but as it
may be of great uſe to know in what manner he came to be king of *Babylon*, and
how it comes to paſs, that *Ptolemy* could be aſſured of no *Babylonian* king who lived
before his time, ſo late in compariſon of what has moſt generally, and till very d
lately, been pretended, we will venture to ſupply the deficiency by ſome probabi-
lities and conjectures, which may carry ſo much weight with them, after what we
have ſaid of the firſt riſe, progreſs, and apparent obſcurity of the antient kingdom
of this people, as may ſatisfy every reader, that no point of hiſtory has been ſo
perfectly miſtaken, as that which relates to the firſt riſe of the *Babylonian* kingdom,
ſo much talked of by prophane writers.

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already, but this muſt be here
premiſed, or rather repeated, that, however, we diſtinguiſh the *Aſſyrians* and
Babylonians from each other; they were but two branches of one and the ſame
family. By ſcripture this moſt evidently appears, where the *Babylonian* names e
are pure *Aſſyrian*; and by prophane authors as much is explicitly confeſſed, who own
and declare the city of *Babylon* was built by the *Aſſyrians*; and hence we are to
conclude, that the antient people, that were in immediate ſubjection to *Nimrod*, have
properly nothing to do with the great *Babylonian* kingdom, which aroſe in after-
times, but that the whole muſt be attributed to the people who migrated with
Aſhur, or *Aſſur*, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be
wanting, after what we have ſo often attempted in favour of it, we might not only
recur to *Cteſias* himſelf and to *Herodotus*, but to the whole tribe of *Greek* and *Latin*
writers; we therefore ſhall inſiſt no farther on it here, ſuppoſing it to be what muſt
be univerſally granted, and ſhall only obſerve, that in *Ptolemy*'s canon the kings of f
Babylon are called *Aſſyrians*, and that in the ſame the kings of *Perſia* are called the
kings of the *Medes*, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were
natural branches; for, in ſtrictneſs, the hiſtory of the empire of *Babylon* is no other
than a continuation of the hiſtory of the *Aſſyrian* empire; juſt as the empire of the
Perſians is of the empire of the *Medes*, and hence in the title of the canon above
you have mention only of the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, though none but the kings
of *Babylon* and *Perſia* are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow
Alexander the great.

[u] Idem ibid.

HAVING

a HAVING ſettled this point, as we think, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, we ſhall next endeavour at the proof of what we ſuggeſt, by the very ſituation of the countries in reſpect of each other, and the nature of things; by which it muſt be plain, that the kingdom of *Babylon* took birth with the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and that they were twin ſiſters, or at leaſt produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we muſt juſt repeat, that *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* with us, does not appear as a conqueror weſtward above 24 years before the firſt of the reign of *Nabonaſſar*, and we would venture to aſſert, that *Pul* muſt then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at leaſt 24 years. And this being ſuppoſed, as it very naturally may, we ſhall have as good a proof as we can almoſt
b require, that he divided his empire between two of his ſons; for, according to *Ptolemy*, *Nabonaſſar* had *Babylon* for his portion, and, according to ſcripture, *Tiglath-pileſar* had *Aſſyria* for his; for in ſcripture we find him as the immediate ſucceſſor of *Pul*, in about ſeven years after whoſe death, as we have here ſtated it, he appears on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations; ſo that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the ſcripture and the canon in this particular; and what is more, they will, at the ſame time, help us to ſome lights to guide us to the truth of what *Cteſias* and his followers have ſo ſeemingly diſguiſed, as we ſhall not fail to obſerve. In the mean time to return to our point: The very ſituation of theſe countries may convince us, that the
c thing was as we contend; for they ſo mutually extend againſt each other on the banks of the *Tigris*, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and *Babylonia* was ſo throughout a barrier between *Aſſyria* and the weſtern parts, that the *Aſſyrian* could not have reached any of them, but by croſſing ſome part or other of the country of *Babylon*[w], and but to imagine he attempted to croſs the *Euphrates*, before he had made a conqueſt of this rich and fertile land, were an abſurdity of the moſt glaring kind. And accordingly we find, that *Cteſias*, how inconſiſtent ſoever he may have been in other points, was ſo ſenſible of this, that he makes this the firſt conqueſt the *Aſſyrians* attempted, even though he as good as confeſſes his *Ninus* never to have croſſed the *Euphrates*, concluding, it would appear
d ridiculous, that a man, who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other countries, ſhould not firſt make ſure of ſo near a neighbour, which muſt have been more tempting to him than any other he could poſſibly have in view.

The kingdom of Babylon *in ſubjection to that of* Aſſyria.

Now, as we have plainly ſeen, that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconſiſtent to ſuppoſe, they were not in ſubordination to one another; and accordingly it appears, that *Nabonaſſar* was the younger ſon, and conſequently in ſubjection to his brother *Tiglath-pileſar*, who is ſtiled the king of *Aſſyria*, and held his reſidence at the original ſeat of the empire *Niniveh*, which that it was older than the city called by us *Babylon*, is not only to be gathered from the prophet [x] and
e other paſſages in ſcripture, but from the bulk of prophane authors, who concur, that *Niniveh* was finiſhed before the foundations of *Babylon* were laid.

THIS being ſettled, we ſhall have no more reaſon to wonder, that theſe two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers ſhould agree together; the ambition of the one muſt have contributed to the grandeur and proſperity of the other reciprocally; and that a right of ſuperiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at *Babylon*, towards the elder at *Niniveh*, may be eaſily conceived. If this was not exactly the caſe, we ſhall have ſuch difficulties ſtart up againſt us, both in the hiſtory of *Babylon* and that of *Aſſyria*, as are quite inſurmountable. We know they exiſted as collateral kingdoms, for while the great *Sennacherib* was
f in his full glory, and warring in the weſt, we read of an embaſſy from *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to *Hezekiah*; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the ſtricteſt union, and a moſt natural ſubordination, between the two kingdoms on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; is it to be imagined, that any king of *Aſſyria* would have croſſed that river to war in the weſt, while he was disjoined from his own country by ſo formidable and powerful a kingdom as *Babylon* muſt have been and who might have taken the advantage in his abſence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country

[w] See the map of theſe countries. [x] See before, p. 936.

try of the choiceſt of his ſoldiery, to ſpoil and deſtroy it? Or might they not have joined the Ciſeuphratenſians againſt him, and have ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, by the additional numbers they muſt have brought into the field, have routed and utterly deſtroyed him? And muſt not this or the other have really been the caſe ſome time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the moſt ſolemn ties of obligation every way? Could the *Babylonians*, who were confeſſedly a kingdom all the time, have been ſo ſupine as ſuppoſed, with ſuch a neighbour at their very door, and when, at the ſame time, they muſt have known, that all the weſtern nations would moſt readily have joined them to deſtroy theſe ambitious princes, who, by ſo frequently croſſing the *Euphrates*, expoſed themſelves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often in great meaſure to their mercy? Other irreſiſtable arguments may be urged to maintain us in what we would here advance; but, apprehending, we have ſaid rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we ſhall paſs them over as needleſs.

Nabonaſſar *likely to have been the* Ninus *of profane authors.*

FROM all this we may gather, that *Nabonaſſar*, this firſt king of *Babylon*, bids as fair to have been the *Ninus* of *Cteſias* as *Tiglath-pileſar*, and rather more ſo; and particularly as he was, as is moſt likely, the huſband of *Semiramis*, who, if ſhe had any right to be denominated from any city of theſe parts, was confeſſedly, according to the common notion, a *Babylonian*, as we ſhall obſerve immediately. For notwithſtanding the *Ninus* of *Cteſias* is ſaid to have raiſed the city of *Niniveh*, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in ſo many other points with the perſon of *Nabonaſſar*, that he makes full amends for it. We have ſeen him the viſible ſon of *Pul*, whom we have aſſerted to have been the *Belus* of that author; and that he was a warrior, cannot be doubted, when it is conſidered, that the family he was a branch of had juſt began to eſtabliſh a power, by conqueſt, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, muſt not aſtoniſh us, when we remember, that this younger family, riſing upon the ruins of the elder, may have arrogated more to themſelves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always ſpreads as it goes.

THUS far again we ſee a reſemblance between *Ninus* and *Nabonaſſar*, the conqueſts of the former are confined wholly to the Tranſeuphratenſian regions, he never once makes his appearance on this ſide of the river[y], except in the romantic liſts of his conqueſts. And ſo it is moſt likely to have been with *Nabonaſſar*, who may have warred upon the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldeſt brother, was proſecuting a war, and graſping at conqueſts of far greater importance, whereby he hoped to become maſter of the great and wealthy kingdoms of *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Paleſtine*, and thereby to pave his way to *Egypt* itſelf; ſtates, who for their great opulence muſt, above all others, have allured a race of princes, poſſeſſed with an unnatural luſt to live upon the ſpoil.

AS we have ſeen, that he may poſſibly have been the *Ninus* of profane writers, we are next to declare, that he can never have been either the *Shalmaneſer* of ſcripture, or the *Beleſis* of *Cteſias*, according to the generality of chriſtians. *Shalmaneſer* he cannot poſſibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before *Shalmaneſer* ſeems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been *Nabopalaſſar*, for if he be a prince any where in the canon, he muſt have been *Nabopalaſſar*, and indeed can have been no other. Now *Nabopalaſſar* did not begin to reign at *Babylon* till full 108 years after *Nabonaſſar* had been departed this life. Nor conſequently can have been *Nanybrus*, who was confeſſedly the ſame with *Beleſis*.

Semiramis *moſt likely to have been the wife of* Nabonaſſar.

TO dwell no longer on the miſtakes that have been committed with regard to this firſt king of *Babylon*, we would next obſerve, that the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks* muſt have been his wife, if ever there was ſuch a queen of *Babylon*; whereby we ſhall ſtill more amply evince that he may have been *Ninus*. We have been told ſhe was born at *Aſcalon* in *Syria*, that ſhe was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of *Aſſyria*, and that *Ninus* fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen[z]. Now as we have ſtated the chronology of *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, it was about the middle of *Nabonaſſar*'s reign at *Babylon*, that his ſeeming brother, *Tiglath-pileſar*, croſſed the *Euphrates*, and captivated ſome of the tribes and nations to the weſtward. Among theſe

[y] See before, p. 872, 873, & ſeq. [z] See before, p. 877.

a theſe captives, it is very likely, *Semiramis* may have been, according to the ſtory of *Cteſias*; and, as ſhe muſt have been a woman of very ſuperior wit and beauty, it is not ſtrange, that ſome great *Aſſyrian* lord ſhould take her to his bed, and even make her his moſt favourite wife. It is poſſible alſo, that ſhe may have attended him to the war with the *Bactrians* as related [a], where we have made it probable, that *Nabonaſſar* may have commanded. And that this was ſomething of the caſe appears by this, that *Ninus* lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child [b]. Now *Nabonaſſar* reigned but 14 years in all [c]; and it was in the ſeventh year of his reign that *Tiglath-pileſar* firſt made any captives from this ſide of the river. If then we ſuppoſe, as according to the ſtory we may,
b that ſhe lived with her firſt huſband five years, ſhe muſt have fallen to the lot of *Nabonaſſar*, if ſhe was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and ſo he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees ſeemingly with *Cteſias*, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very ſhort [d].

Whence it came to paſs, that Semiramis *ruled over* Babylon.

If we build upon any foundation, as poſſibly we may, we ſhall hereby be able to diſcover, how it came to paſs, that ſhe had the ſovereign ſway over *Babylon*, as alſo that her reign was but very ſhort. For, conſidering her own perſonal excellencies that ſhe muſt have been the idol of her deceaſed huſband, and the mother and nurſe of a tender infant he had left to ſucceed him, nothing is more natural,
c than that ſhe ſhould aſſume the reins of the government, and in conſequence thereof attempt to make herſelf an everlaſting name, for her exploits abroad and her works at home. Accordingly it is poſſible, ſhe may have headed armies to ſome of the people mentioned in her hiſtory; and though ſhe did not build the city of *Babylon*, which by all circumſtances we may aſſure ourſelves ſhe did not; ſhe may ſo have added to it, or embelliſhed it, as to have intitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundreſs of *Babylon*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had to be eſteemed the founder. A woman of the ſort ſhe muſt have been could never ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of making herſelf conſpicuous to all ages; and by her example ſhe is ſaid to have ſtirred an emulation in a queen, who ſucceeded
d almoſt 200 years after her, and who, it ſeems, vied with her to the degree of eclipſing her [e]. The name of this queen is *Nitocris*, and between her and *Semiramis* there is ſaid to have been five generations [f], which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the ſum of the years of the *Babylonian* kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of *Nabonaſſar*'s reign, and as many from that of *Nabonadius*, who was the laſt king, and the ſon of this *Nitocris* [g], we ſhall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument againſt us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of *Semiramis*, and we confeſs it; for after this rate *Semiramis* muſt have lived above ſix generations before *Nitocris*; we would therefore, ſince we have ſo many concurrent
e circumſtances in our behalf, conclude, that *Herodotus* is miſtaken in this matter, which he well may be, in ſo traditionary a piece of hiſtory as this muſt have been in his time. If no hiſtorian had made greater miſtakes than this, we ſhould not have been involved in ſuch labyrinths, as we have often been throughout the courſe of this work.

Her reign but ſhort.

Now if things were as we ſuſpect them to have been, this great and deified *Semiramis* reigned but two years [h], for her ſon, according to this, lived no longer, and muſt have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objection [i], that ſhe ſhould have reigned ſo great a length of time after her ſon was arrived at years of diſcretion. Nor can ſhe have been any other than the
f wife of *Nabonaſſar*, by the tradition which makes her the foundreſs of *Babylon*, of which ſhe is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is ſuppoſing her to have been the firſt queen there, and if ſo, as at the bottom of the profane accounts there may be ſomething of truth, as we have obſerved [k] before, ſhe can have been queen to no *Ninus* but *Nabonaſſar*, and can have reigned no longer than her infant ſon, who was king but two years.

Having thus picked ſome ſeeming truth out of *Cteſias*'s fiction, we may from the ſeveral particulars reflect a light on the worſhip that was paid to her, particularly

[a] See before, p. 876. [b] Ibid. p. 877. [c] See before in the canon, p. 935. [d] See before, p. 877. [e] Herodot. l. 1. c. 185, before in the canon, ubi ſup. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Idem, ibid. [h] See before in the notes, p. 883. [i] See before, p. 871.

cularly in *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, and *Babylon*[l]. For ſhe may have really been born in a the firſt, tranſported from the ſecond, and deified in the third; ſo that, each having a ſort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they ſo eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may ſtand with the times we here ſuppoſe her to have lived in; but can poſſibly ſuit with no other that we know of. And that ſhe was of mean extraction at *Aſtalon*, that ſhe was in the ſtate of a ſervant in *Syria* or the parts adjacent; and that thence ſhe was carried to *Niniveh* or *Babylon*, does not only appear by the *Cteſian* account of her, and by what is poſitively aſſerted of her, that ſhe was originally a ſervant or ſlave[m]; but alſo by the fable invented to cover the obſcurity of her birth. In a word, the circumſtances, as related of her by profane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumſtances of the firſt riſe of the *Aſſyrian* b monarchy in ſcripture; and it is plain, they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor muſt we wonder, that ſhe had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the prieſts, or others, who may have had a greater intereſt in magnifying her, than in adherence to the naked truth, any more, than that ſhe ſhould be ſaid to have done infinitely more than it is certain ſhe did; or that in the end ſhe ſhould have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her, contributed the more to confirm her in the ſuperſtitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

Particulars concerning her.

HAVING thus ſeen, that *Semiramis* muſt, in all probability, have been the wife of *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt *Babylonian* king, and ſon to the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, we ſhall c next take notice of ſome circumſtances concerning her, which we purpoſely omitted when we gave her hiſtory as queen of *Aſſyria*. She is equally famed as the foundreſs of the city of *Babylon*, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole known world, as we have ſeen: That ſhe may have embelliſhed or added greatly to that city we have granted, nor can we refuſe ſome ſort of credit to ſo general a tradition; nor will we deny, but ſhe may have warred againſt the *Bactrians*, and other nations in thoſe parts[n]; and this her maſculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that ſhe was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a ſervant, as reported, which muſt naturally have formed her to ſuch exploits. As for what ſhe did at *Babylon*, it muſt have been d but little in compariſon to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve; only for the preſent taking notice, that, as the city muſt in her time have been in its infancy, and ſhe at moſt reigned but two years without the participation of her huſband, and not above four years in all, and in the midſt of the wars then waging by the *Aſſyrians* with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable, but ſhe muſt have left that city in no very extraordinary ſtate for magnificence or grandeur.

AGAIN, as her reign muſt have been very ſhort, we would urge, that ſhe did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine; and that it is almoſt clear, e that ſhe did no more than finiſh the war with the *Medes*, or with the *Bactrians*, or perhaps with both, as tradition informs us; and that thus ſhe compleated what her huſband *Nabonaſſar*, according to our ſuppoſition, had begun and conducted towards an end. More ſhe certainly cannot have done in the ſhort ſpace of her adminiſtration, whether in the days of her huſband or of her ſon; and this muſt have intitled her to immortal fame, if, at the ſame time, as it ſeems, we muſt grant, ſhe did any thing notable towards the improvement or embelliſhment of the city of *Babylon*; nor is it ſtrange, that after this we ſhould be ſhewn her through the magnifying-glaſs of profane authors, who had their accounts from the *Baby-* f *lonians*, who may have thought, they could not poſſibly do themſelves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their firſt and moſt fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily ſwallowed even by the moſt judicious, we have her thence compared with *Seſoſtris*[o] a fabulous hero, and hence we ſee her building fleets, arming legions, raiſing *Babylon*, and, in ſhort, circumnavigating the red ſea, or *Indian* ocean, and reducing the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians*[p]; and hence her altars, together with thoſe of *Hercules*, the *Liber Pater*, and others towards the confines of *India*[q]. Hence ſhe is repreſented to have been a tyranneſs of the moſt rigid and inexorable ſort[r]; and

[l] See before, p. 920.
[m] See before in the notes, p. 878. & PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 35. c. 18. p. 694.
[n] See before, p. 880.
[o] PLUTARCH, Γυναικων ἀρεταὶ, p. 243.
[p] Idem, Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς λογοι, β'. p. 336.
[q] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 16. p. 314.
[r] Excerpt. Chronol. ex AFRICAN. EUSEB. & aliis, p. 74.

a and hence ſhe is fabled to have been ſo active in keeping the people in ſubjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult and an inſurrection of the *Babylonians*, as ſhe was dreſſing her head, ſhe would not give herſelf time to finiſh what ſhe was about, but ruſhed forth from her chamber, with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revolters, and would never ſo much as ſet her hair in order before ſhe had done as ſhe had reſolved[s]; and that thenceforward ſhe was repreſented, by a ſtatue at *Babylon*, in an undreſs, and with her hair half diſhevelled[t]. Hence it is ſhe is repreſented as a monſter of luſt[u]; and hence ſhe is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her[w], and others equally fabulous, which we ſhall not here inſiſt on. In fine, ſhe is ſaid to have been the firſt *Aſſyrian* queen
b and lady, to have firſt ſurrounded *Niniveh* with walls, and to have changed its name into *Babylon*[x], a ſtrange abſurdity we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boaſted of her by the ſame author[y] he acquaints us, that ſhe died in her bed[z].

THE ſecond king of the *Babylonians* is called *Nadius*[a], who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the caſe, as, by comparing things together as we have there done, it ſeems to have been, this *Nadius* muſt have been the *Ninyas* of *Cteſias* and his followers, and muſt have dyed an infant of about three years old. Nadius.

THE next that filled the throne was *Chinzirus*[b] and *Porus*, who reigned five Chinzirus and
c years: Concerning theſe we have nothing to conjecture. The names ſeem to belong Porus.
to two perſons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which ſeem to have no direct affinity either with the *Chaldee* or the *Aſſyrian*.

*Jugæus** reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one Jugæus.
conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as thoſe he immediately ſucceeded, and thoſe that came after him, down to *Aſſar-addin*, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have paſſed their days in ſloth and effeminacy.

Mardoc-empad[c], he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of ſcripture, the ſame that Mardoc-
ſent an embaſſy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, empad.
d and of the latter in ſcripture, agree exactly; and it muſt have been in the ſeventh or eighth year of his reign that he ſent to *Hezekiah*. In *Iſaiah*[d] he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have written him above, but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Berodach-baladan*[e], and in both places, the ſon of *Baladan*, whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who ſeems to have been his father, would be more properly called *Baladan*, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is moſt generally ſuppoſed, he ſent this embaſſy to *Jeruſalem*, to inquire concerning the regreſſion of the ſhadow upon *Ahaz*'s ſun-dial[f], he muſt be concluded to have been a prince of curioſity, and a man that cultivated aſtronomy, or at leaſt encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the buſineſs of this embaſſy, may be diſputed; for there ſeems to
e have been ſome other view in it, by the parade *Hezekiah*, upon this occaſion, made of his warlike ſtores and treaſures[g]. It may be ſuſpected there was ſomething more than the ſolution of a curious enquiry intended; for, as *Senacherib* was then alive, it cannot well be conceived, how there ſhould have been ſuch a liberty taken by his *Babylonian* relation or dependant, as to correſpond with an enemy by ambaſſadors. This is the firſt *Babylonian* king we read of in ſcripture to have had any intercourſe with the kings at *Jeruſalem*; and he muſt have been a man of reſolution and ambition, if we ſuppoſe he wanted to draw *Hezekiah* into an alliance with him againſt the *Aſſyrian* emperor. Upon the whole, the men he ſent from *Babylon* ſeem rather to have been private agents than public ambaſſadors, and what was tranſacted
F with them ſeems to have been quite a ſecret. He may have underſtood, that the *Medes* were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very ſhort time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the ſame; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the *Jews* and others, on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, againſt *Sennacherib*, to ſecure his own dominions, or to enable him

[s] VALER. MAXIM. l. 9. c. 3. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PLIN. ubi ſup. [w] See before in the fourth Sect of the Hiſt. of *Aſſyria*. [x] SUIDAS ad vocem Σεμίραμις. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid.
[a] See before in the canon, p. 935. [b] Ibid. * Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Iſai. xxxix. 1.
[e] 2 Kings xx. 12. [f] See before, p. 839. [g] Iſai. xxx. 2.

him to withſtand ſuch incurſions, as he may have dreaded from the ſame people; a
but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now
began to threaten ſome calamity to *Aſſyria*; and it is likely, *Merodach-baladan*
might have foreſeen it, and beſtirred himſelf to make ſure of what belonged to him-
ſelf. This prince reigned 12 years and was ſucceeded by

Arkianus. *Arkianus* [h], concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and
that after him there was an inter-reign of two years [i]. This is diſtinguiſhed as the firſt
Firſt inter-reign. inter-reign in the *Babylonian* kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded,
that the line of *Nabonaſſar* became extinct in the laſt king, or that it was ſet aſide,
if it be not more rational to ſuppoſe, that the kingdom was not hereditary, ſo as to
fall of courſe to the eldeſt ſon. There may have been diſputes among the ſons b
about the ſucceſſion, or the king of *Niniveh*, who may have appointed the kings of
Babylon according to his own pleaſure and good liking, may not, in this ſpace of time,
have determined who ſhould next be king of *Babylon*. *Aſſar-haddon* was now emperor
of *Aſſyria*, and the *Medes* had actually revolted five or ſix years before, and he may
now have been at a loſs whom to ſubſtitute in the throne of *Babylon*, which, if what
we have obſerved be right, may have been filled with ſlothful and inactive princes
ever ſince the death of *Nabonaſſar*, or his wife, if ſhe was ſo, *Semiramis*. For
while the kings of *Niniveh* were ſucceſſively warring in the weſt, the kings of *Baby-
lon* may have degenerated conſiderably, and have fallen into diſgrace and vice, in
conformity to what profane authors relate of the ſucceſſors of *Semiramis*; and may, c
by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the *Medes* to ſhake off the
yoke.

Belibus. *Belibus* [k] ſucceeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, or by what right, we
know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by *Aſſar-had-
don*. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or
was diſplaced, may be doubted, by the ſhortneſs of his duration as king.

Apronadius. Regibelus. Meſeſſimordacus. HE made room for *Apronadius* [l], who reigned ſix years, and gave place to *Regi-
bélus* [m], who, poſſeſſing the throne but one year, made way for *Meſeſſimordacus* [n],
who held the ſcepter but four years, and gave place to an inter-reign [o], which laſted
full eight years. To fill up this chaſm, it may hence be confirmed to us, that
the kings of *Babylon* were at the pleaſure of the king of *Aſſyria*, and appointed by
him, as he thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family; the ſhortneſs of the four
Second inter-reign. preceding reigns may perſuade us, that the kings, between this inter-reign and the d
former, did not ſucceed each other as father and ſon, and the ſame we may indeed
conclude of the kings between *Nabonaſſar* and the firſt inter-reign, who were but a
little while on the throne, and ſeem to have been rather appointed governors for
a certain term of years, than kings ſucceeding in right of each other; nor can it
well have been otherwiſe. The elder family at *Niniveh* muſt in time have aſſumed
conſiderably over the younger at *Babylon*, and contracted a jealouſy of them, and
impoſed ſuch hardſhips on them, or have ſome way or other behaved to them ſo as
to provoke them at laſt to join with the *Medes* to deſtroy them. Thus the thing
ſeems to have been.

Aſſar-addin. THE eight years of this inter-reign being expired, *Aſſar-addin* [p], the *Eſar-haddon* e
of ſcripture, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already ſaid
all we poſitively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Aſſyria*.
It is remarkable, that he ſhould deliberate ſo long as eight years, before he aſſumed
the government of *Babylon* in perſon. We formerly made it a doubt [q], whether
or no he ſeated himſelf maſter here by art or by violence; but by what we think
we plainly diſcover of theſe collateral kingdoms of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*,
he now ſet aſide the *Babylonian* family as uſeleſs, or dangerous, to his empire, which
muſt now have been in a very crazy condition [r]. By this ſtep of policy he ſeems
to have re-eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought,
that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extenſion of the *Aſſyrian* con- f
queſts weſtward, till he had thus taken *Babylon* to himſelf [s]. Hence it may appear,
that the former diviſion of the empire, however ſmall it may have been, was now
judged hurtful thereto, and that ſo it had been, appears by the conſequences of this
junction, after which the *Aſſyrians* roſe to a higher pitch than ever they had been,
at

[h] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [i] See before, ibid. [k] See before, ibid. [l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. [q] See before, p. 895. [r] See before, ibid.
[s] Ibid.

a at leaſt in the weſtern parts, where under this king they eſtabliſhed their power more firmly than it ever had been, and even conquered *Egypt* [t]. The obſcurity of the kings of *Babylon*, between *Nabonaſſar* and this *Aſſar-addin*, may have given birth to what is related of the ſloth and inactivity of all the kings that ſucceeded between *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince [u]; but at the ſame time we have ſhewn there were two of the name, a warrior and an effeminate man. This then muſt have been *Sardanapalus* the warrior, for his hiſtory declares him to have been ſuch, but that is what we need not repeat. He reigned at *Babylon* 13 years, and was ſucceeded by

Saoſducheus, or *Saoſduchinus* [w], who, as well as his predeceſſor, was king both Saoſducheus.
b of *Niniveh* and *Babylon*. We have already ſaid all of him we have been able to collect [x], as king of *Aſſyria*. He reigned 20 years, and was ſucceeded by

Chyniladan [y], whom we have ſhewn to have been the *Nabuchadonoſor* of the Chyniladan.
book of *Judith* [z], where we have given all the hiſtory we know of him. He, as well as his two predeceſſors, was king both of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned 22 years. The length of theſe three reigns, which in ſum make up 55 years, which exceeds the ſum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonaſſar* and *Aſſar-addin* by two years, may convince us, that the kings of *Babylon* during that interval were little better than governors, placed and diſplaced by the kings of *Aſſyria* at their will and pleaſure; and continued or diſcontinued juſt as they approved themſelves
c more or leſs truſty and ſerviceable to the *Aſſyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependent on the emperors at *Niniveh*; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up the head as an empire, exalting itſelf on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy.

For *Nabopallaſſar* [a] ſucceeded *Chyniladan*, and is ſaid to have wreſted the king- Nabopallaſſar.
dom of *Babylon* from the *Aſſyrians*, and to have ſeized on it himſelf, and is plainly the man who transferred the ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy to *Babylon* [b]. His name declares him to have been an *Aſſyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonaſſar* his ſon, it partaking equally of both; for as *Nabonaſſar* is plainly com- Year of the
pounded of *Nebo-adan-aſſur*, this man ſeems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*, Flood, 2373.
d and to have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-aſſur*; which, it is likely, he Year before
may have aſſumed upon his revolt from the *Aſſyrian Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sarda-* Christ, 626.
napalus [c], and claims, as ſhould plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally deſcended from *Pul* by *Nabonaſſar*, and ſo, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family had been unjuſtly deprived by the elder branch of *Aſſyria*. Thus it ſeems natural to conclude; if ſo it was, he had a fair opportunity of aſſerting his right, for being appointed over *Chaldæa* upon the death of *Chyniladan*, who left the *Aſſyrian* affairs in great confuſion, and at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their purſuit againſt the kings at *Niniveh* [d], he took the advantage, and, ſeizing on the kingdom of
e *Babylon* for himſelf, he entered into alliances with *Aſtyages* the *Mede*, and to confirm the ſame deſired his daughter *Amyite* in marriage for his ſon *Nabocolaſſar* [e], and joining heartily in the war with him againſt the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have made it appear [f], he did not live to ſee the final deſtruction of it; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a ſtop to the progreſs of theſe new allies, for the ſpace, as we are told, of 28 years [g].

This prince is called by contraction *Nabulaſſar* [h], but by the ſame author he is alſo called *Nabuchadonoſor* [i], as he is by others [k] *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence he is diſtinguiſhed from his ſon, as the firſt of the name [l]; in a word, he, and no other, muſt have been the *Beleſis* of *Cteſias* [m], and the *Nanybrus* of *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus* [n];
f but what is ſeemingly ſtrange, he is alſo called *Sardanapalus* *, which we have taken notice of already. This prince, beſides what he muſt have ſuffered and apprehended from the *Scythians*, who during his time prevailed in *Aſia* [o], was in imminent danger

[t] See before, p. 896. [u] See before in the notes, p. 896. [w] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [x] See before, p. 897. [y] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr. [z] See before in the notes, p. 897, 898, &c. [a] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [b] See before, p. 902. [c] See before in the notes, p. ibid. [d] See before, p. ibid. [e] Alex. Polyhist. apud Syncel. p. 210. Euseb. in Chron. [f] See before in the notes, p. 903. [g] See before in the notes, p. ibid. [h] Beros. apud Joseph. contr. Ap. l. 1. p. 1044. & Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [i] Idem apud eund. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [k] In Libr. Juchasin. p. 136. [l] David Gantz II. Chron. l. 2. n. 285 [m] See before, p. 938. [n] See before, ibid. * See before in the notes, p. 902. [o] See before in the notes, p. 903.

danger of being blasted in his hopes by an invasion from *Egypt*. For *Pharaoh* a *Necho*, at that time king of the country, understanding, that the kingdom of *Assyria* was as good as dissolved, by the combination of the *Babylonians* with the *Medes*, and that the confederates themselves were under restraint from the *Scythians*, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the Transeuphratensians, who had captivated the kingdom of *Egypt* in the days of the great *Esar-haddon* [p], and to raise himself an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this side of the *Euphrates*, which had, for some time past, been under the kings of *Assyria* by conquest. He prosecuted his design, succeeded to his wish, and even took the great city of *Carchemish*, *Circutium*, or, as it is most corruptedly written, *Carchabesa* [q], upon the *Euphrates* [r]. This we are told was his case, but we have seen it is false; for before b
this invasion of *Necho* he must have been dead [s] some time, as appears by the circumstance we are told of *Josiah*'s death, who was slain at *Megiddo* in making head against *Necho*, as he was marching against the king of *Assyria* [t], who can have been none other than *Sarac* [u]; for as *Josiah* reigned full 31 years [w], he must according to the course of scripture and *Ptolemy*'s canon, have survived *Nabopallasar*. It is therefore plain, that we cannot rely upon *Berosus* [x], when he informs us, that he sent his son *Nabuchadonosor* to quell the rebellious satrapa, or governor, of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, as he plainly calls *Pharaoh Necho*; nor did *Nabuchadonosor* effect this till after his death, and after he had subverted *Niniveh*, which was brought to pass by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with *Cyaxares* the *Mede* his brother in- c
law [y]. There was then no war between *Babylon* and *Egypt* during the life of *Nabopallassar*, nor was there any such officer as a satrapa over *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, in his time, for the *Assyrians*; *Egypt* had recovered itself a considerable time before [z] from the conquest and captivation of *Esar-haddon*; and *Judah* was all this time under her own king *Josiah* [a], and that all the western regions, on this side of the *Euphrates*, had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke is plain, not only by the history of *Chyniladan* [b], but by the trouble the great *Nebuchadnezzar* had afterwards to reduce them to *Babylon*. We may perceive then, that *Berosus*, in the passage before us, confounds the father and son together, and that he is too hasty in bringing on the destruction of *Niniveh*; for till that had been effected, there is no supposing the d
Babylonians could have pretended to cross the *Euphrates*; and that there was a king of *Assyria* subsisting in the day that *Josiah* was killed by *Necho*, we learn from scripture [c], and that *Josiah* survived *Nabopallassar*, we understand by comparing the same with the canon [d]. This satrapa of *Egypt* and *Syria* must be understood proleptically, except we suppose the office to have subsisted upon the conquests of *Esar-haddon*; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boast but the empty title, as may be easily discovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to *Nabopallassar*, except that he withdrew obedience from the king of *Assyria*, that he joined with the *Mede*, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was succeeded by his son. e

Nabocolassar. Year of the Flood, 2394. Year before Christ, 605.

Nabocolassar [e]; this is the great *Nebuchadnezzar* of scripture, by the *Greeks* called *Nabuchadonosor* (A). It was he that compleated what his father had aimed at, and subjected what had been before the *Assyrian* empire to the obedience of the throne at *Babylon*; it is he that must be called the first *Babylonian* monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the

[p] See before, p. 896. [q] Joseph. Antiq. ubi sup. c. 7. [r] See before, p. 267. [s] See before in the notes, p. 903. [t] See before, p. 845. [u] See before, p. 902. [w] See before, p. 845. [x] Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra Apion. l. 1. [y] See Newton's Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. p. 292. [z] See before in the notes, p. 896. [a] See before, p. 841, 842, 843, & seq. [b] See before, p. 897, 898. [c] 2 Kings ubi sup. [d] See before in the notes, p. 903. [e] See before in the canon, p. 935.

(A) His name, taken which way you will, may be discovered to have been *Assyrian*, by the termination *Assur*. We have already given the seeming derivation of it, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have so often asserted, that the *Babylonian* monarchy, how much soever it may have been distinguished from the *Assyrian*, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince was not only the first emperor at *Babylon*, properly so called, for his father can never be quite considered as such; but as he was also the man in whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* greatness arrived at its utmost height, as appears by *Daniel*, who, summing up the whole of it in his person, declares, that the golden head he saw in his vision was meant to signify himself *.

* *Dan.* ii. 38.

a the government ſome years before he died, and that, in conſequence of this, he waged war with *Pharaoh Necho*, who had conquered all *Syria* to himſelf, while the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were under reſtraint by the *Scythians*, or buſied in the reduction of *Niniveh*; and that in this war he not only wreſted *Carchemiſh*, or *Circeſium*, or *Circutium*, a conſiderable town on the *Meſopotamian* ſide of the *Euphrates*, from *Pharaoh Necho*, and routed him with a great ſlaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this ſide of the *Euphrates* which had been ſeized by *Necho*, and made a conqueſt even of *Egypt* itſelf, where, underſtanding his father was dead at *Babylon*, he took the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure thoſe countries, and, by the ſhorteſt way of the deſart, haſtened to *Babylon* [f]. This we have ſhewn to be a miſtake, ſo far
b as it is poſſible to detect an error of this nature (B). He certainly did not croſs the

[f] Beros. apud Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 1. & apud Euseb. in Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

(B) We have already (1) demonſtrated the thing to have been as we here ſuggeſt, concerning the death of *Nabopalaſſar*; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the hiſtory of this branch of the *Aſſyrian* family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by ſtating it in another manner, and to make it ſtill clearer, if it be poſſible ſo to do. From the death of *Aſſar-addin* to the firſt year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the firſt of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the 12th, that he warred upon the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manaſſeh* was taken priſoner by *Aſſar-addin* in the 21ſt year of his reign, and, according to all appearance, in the 9th or 10th year of *Aſſar-addin*'s reign at *Babylon*. The 9th or 10th year we ſay; becauſe, as he took *Manaſſeh* captive not long before he invaded *Egypt* and was to hold *Egypt* but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at *Babylon* but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think, he effected his conqueſt of *Egypt* in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly muſt have kept the ſame in ſubjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken *Manaſſeh* priſoner. This being ſtated, if *Manaſſeh* was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of *Aſſar-addin* at *Babylon*, and as *Manaſſeh* reigned 34 years after his ſaid captivity, if, to the 32 years between the war *Chyniladan* made upon the *Medes* and the death of *Aſſarhaddin*, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this laſt king compleat at *Babylon*, it muſt follow, that *Manaſſeh* died either in the 10th or 11th year of the ſaid *Chyniladan*; and as, between the laſt year of *Manaſſeh* and the firſt of *Joſiah*, there is an interval but of two years, *Joſiah* muſt have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the ſame *Chyniladan*; from the 14th or the 13th of *Chyniladan* to the laſt year of his ſucceſſor *Nabopalaſſar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now *Joſiah* reigned 31 years, and therefore muſt either have outlived *Nabopalaſſar* by one year, or have died the ſame year he died; ſuppoſing the reign of this *Babylonian* to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwiſe; for if he had committed the reins of his government ever ſo much to the guidance of his ſon, he muſt have been conſidered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father muſt ſtill have been king, tho' we conſider him but as collegue with his ſon, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, muſt have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when *Joſiah* was killed, there was a king of *Aſſyria* ſtill in being; it was not againſt the *Medes* and *Babylonians* that *Pharaoh Necho* went up, as *Joſephus* * in a hurry miſtakes the matter: His buſineſs was apparently to get a ſhare of the *Aſſyrian* empire, which the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were on the point of dividing between them; *Nabopalaſſar* then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of *Egypt*, who can have been no rebel to him, nor can he have even ſent his ſon to ſuch remote parts as *Egypt*, when he had ſo much to do at home, and found, that his whole force, combined together with that of the *Medes*, was not more than neceſſary to deſtroy the old *Aſſyrian* family; not to mention the *Scythians*, who, if ever they held any dominion in theſe parts of *Aſia*, muſt have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the *Aſſyrians* and the riſe of the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*. *Beroſus* then, in what he ſays of the expedition *Nabopalaſſar* ſent his ſon againſt his pretended Satrapa of the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, ſeems rather to have deſired to magnify this firſt *Babylonian* hero, than to adhere to the truth. No attempt can have been made, either by him or his ſon, on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, till *Niniveh* had been deſtroyed and the *Scythians* expelled. Now in the very laſt year of his reign *Pharaoh Necho* came upon his very frontiers, and took *Carchemiſh* from him, as we have here ſtated it, though, as we computed before †, this invaſion and ſucceſs of the *Egyptian* muſt have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you poſſibly can in the behalf of *Beroſus*, it is plain, he is not ſincere with us in this caſe. *Pharaoh Necho*, who muſt have been the Satrapa or governor he talks of in the weſtern parts, muſt have been by far a more powerful prince than *Nabopalaſſar* his pretended maſter; and we are, for this reaſon, inclined to think, that by the ſame rule he degrades this potent *Egyptian*, he muſt have ſpun out the life of his *Babylonian* beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If *Beroſus* abounded with many ſuch miſtakes as theſe ſeem to have been, he deſerves to be as little regretted as *Trogus*, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an Overſight and ſeeming inconſiſtency, that formerly (3) eſcaped us, where we ſuppoſe the city of *Niniveh* to have been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which, as we have ſtated things there, coincides with the year *Joſiah* was ſlain by *Necho*, though, according to ſcripture, there was then an *Aſſyrian* king abſolutely in being, and though we have elſewhere determined (4), that *Nineveh* was not ruined but in the ſecond, third, or fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which is what we ſtill adhere to as moſt pobable: By the computation here above it muſt appear, that *Niniveh* had been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of *Aſſyria*, when *Joſiah* was ſlain at *Meggido*.

(1) *See before in the notes, p.* 897. 903. (2) *See before, p.* 896. * *Antiq. l. x. c.* 6. † *In the notes, p.* 897. (3) *See before in the notes, p. ibid.* (4) *Ibid. p.* 904.

the *Euphrates*, before he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, a had put an end to *Niniveh*, and eſtabliſhed himſelf on a ſolid baſis in the eaſt.

THIS when he had done, he croſſed the *Euphrates* (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the *Aſſyrian* empire, taking *Carchemiſh* from the *Egyptians*, and reducing *Syria* as related; but as for *Egypt*, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the hiſtory of *Egypt* itſelf, as delivered by profane authors, but alſo by the plain concurrence of ſcripture.

He takes Carchemiſh, *and conquers* Syria.

HAVING deſtroyed the city of *Niniveh*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carchemiſh* [g], he croſſed over to this ſide of the river *Euphrates*, and, having conquered *Syria* and the neighbouring countries, came with a mixed number of nations [h], and having ravaged [i] *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, and the *Jews* in *Galaaditis*, he at length laid b ſiege to *Jeruſalem* [k], and took it on the 9th of the month *Ciſleu*, or *November*, a day the *Jews* commemorate even in our times [l]. He now took *Jehoiakim* priſoner, and bound him in chains with deſign to carry him to *Babylon*; but he changed his mind upon the humble deportment of the captive king, who ſwearing to be true to him as his vaſſal and tributary, he reſtored him to his liberty; though he did not abſtain from the plunder of *Jeruſalem*, whence he tranſported the veſſels in the temple to that of *Belus* in *Babylon* [m], and took with him ſome of the choiceſt and moſt promiſing youths, whom he committed to the care of *Aſhpenaz*, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to ſee them inſtructed in the learning [n] and language of the *Chaldees*, and to educate them in ſuch manner, that they might be fit to attend c him as his royal domeſticks. Of theſe, particular notice is taken of *Daniel* and his three friends, *Hananiah*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah* [o].

Returns to Babylon.

THUS did *Nebuchadnezzar* begin to eſtabliſh himſelf in the weſt (D), and returning to *Babylon*, he reſolved to adorn and inlarge the ſeat of his growing empire, in proportion to the ſovereignty it was to poſſeſs over the nations far and near [p]; and being thus employed at home, it happened, that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams [q]. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, ſorcerers, aſtrologers, and *Chaldæans*, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had eſcaped his memory, but alſo what the dream had been. Perceiving it was in vain he conſulted them, his diſappointment wrought upon him to that degree of fury, that he d reſolved to put them all to death [r], and gave his orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard; who, being on the point to do as he was commanded, was accoſted by *Daniel*, who, expoſtulating with him upon the raſhneſs of the decree againſt the wiſe men, and requeſting him to ſuſpend the execution of it, gave him aſſurance, that he could ſatisfy the king in what he was ſo ſollicitous to know [s].

His dream of the image.

Daniel then went into the preſence of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and, begging that he would grant him a little time to conſider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an addreſs to heaven, the ſecret was revealed to him in a night viſion [t]. Thus inſtructed from above, he went to e *Arioch*,

[g] BEROS. ubi ſup. [h] EUPOL. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. 2 Kings xxiv. 2.
[i] EUPOLEM. ubi ſup. [k] 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. Dan. i. 2. [l] USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3398.
[m] Dan. i. 2. [n] Dan. i. 3. [o] Ibid. 6. [p] BEROSUS ubi ſup. [q] Dan. ii.
[r] Ibid. ver. 12. [s] Ibid. ver. 16. [t] Ibid. ver. 19.

(C) *Eupolemus* (5) tells us, that *Nabuchadonoſor*, king of *Babylon*, underſtanding, that *Jeremiah* had propheſied in his favour, entreated *Aſtibares*, the king of the *Medes*, to aſſiſt him in this expedition againſt *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. That accordingly the army of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* united together, and conſiſted of ten thouſand chariots, one hundred and eighty thouſand foot, and one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe. By this author then it appears, they had made an end of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon *Syria*, which though it is certain, without any ſuch evidence, we may yet quote it, to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and moſt natural it muſt appear: he had ſettled himſelf in the eaſt, and his buſineſs now was to ſtrip *Pharaoh Necho* of his new empire over *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. He does ſo, drives the *Egyptians* from *Carchemiſh*, whence they pretended to curb the *Babylonians* even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* quite to the river of *Egypt* (6), and the king of that country dares no more ſhew his head in theſe parts (7); being more ſollicitous to defend himſelf in his own country, which was to have its turn of invaſion, as having been joined to the *Aſſyrian* empire by *Eſar-addon* (8), than any thing elſe.

(5) *Apud* EUSEB. *Præpar. Evang. l.* 9. *c.* 39. *p.* 454. (6) 2 *Kings xxiv.* 7. (7) *Ibid.*
(8) *See before, p.* 896.

a *Arioch* the captain of the guard, desiring, he would not so much as think of the orders he had received against the wise men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to satisfy [u]. When the king saw *Daniel*, or *Belteshazzar*, (that was his name in *Babylon*) he asked him if he could tell him his dream, and what it portended; to which he answered, with a prefatory introduction to instil into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, that his dream had been as follows [w], That in his sleep he saw an image, vast, and resplendent, and terrible to the sight; and the head of this image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay; that from an invisible power he saw a stone, that struck the
b image on the feet, which were part iron and part clay, and crushed them to pieces; that immediately all the metals in the body of the image became as dust, which was swept away by the wind and no more seen; while the stone, which had caused this destruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth [x]. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himself, as king of kings, was signified by the golden head of the image; that a second kingdom, inferior to his, should arise, which was denoted by the breast and arms of silver; and that from thence a third kingdom of brass should arise, and lord it over the whole earth; that a fourth kingdom should arise, and be as strong as iron, and destroy all that had gone before; but that, the feet and toes being part iron and part
c clay, this fourth kingdom should be nevertheless partly strong and partly feeble: That after these, God would set up a kingdom which should endure for ever, and that this was signified by the stone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had shattered the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay of the image into dust, which had been scattered abroad by the wind [y] (E).

Nebuchadnezzar, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped *Daniel*, commanding, that they should strait offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings [z]. He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of *Babylon*, and made him chief of the
d presidents of all the wise men. But *Daniel* requested, that his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abed-nego* (so they were called in *Babylon*) might have charge of the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, and the thing was so; while *Daniel* was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself [a].

Sends several nations to harass Jehoiakim.

WHILE he was thus at *Babylon*, news came to him, that *Jehoiakim* had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute; but, not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* to make incursions into the territories of *Judah* [b]; and in this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years; till, at length uniting, they besieged *Jerusalem*, and laying hands on *Jehoiakim*, they slew
e him, and threw his body into the highway [c]; a warfare related a different way by

[u] Dan. ii. 24. [w] Ibid. ver. 31. [x] Ibid. ver. 35. [y] Ibid. ver. 45. [z] Ibid. ver. 47.
[a] Ibid. ver. 49. [b] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [c] See before, p. 848.

(E) "In this vision of the image composed of "four metals, the foundation of all *Daniel*'s pro- "phecies is laid. It represents a body of four "great nations, which should reign over the earth "successively, *viz.* the people of *Babylonia*, the "*Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. And by a "stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the "feet of the image, and brake all the four metals "to pieces, *and became a great mountain, and filled "the whole earth*, it further represents, that a new "kingdom should arise after the four, and conquer "all those nations, and grow very great, and last "to the end of all ages.

"The head of the image was of gold, and sig- "nifies the nation of *Babylonia*, who reigned first, as "*Daniel* himself interprets. *Thou art this head of "gold*, said he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. These nations "reigned till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon*; and, within "a few months after that conquest, revolted to the "*Persians*, and set them up above the *Medes*. The "breast and arms of the image were of silver, and "represent the *Persians*, who reigned next. The "belly and thighs of the image were of brass, and "represent the *Greeks*, who under the dominion of "*Alexander* the great, conquered the *Persians*, and "reigned next after them. The legs were of iron, "and represent the *Romans*, who reigned next after "the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the "eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For in that "year they conquered *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, "the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*; and "from thence forward grew into a mighty empire, "and reigned with great power, till the days of "*Theodosius* the great. Then, by the incursions of "many northern nations, they brake into many "smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the "feet and toes of the image, composed part of iron "and part of clay *.

* *Sir* Is. NEWTON's *Observ. on the Prophecy of* Dan. *Part i. c.* 3. *p.* 25, 26.

by *Josephus*[d], according to whom *Nebuchadnezzar* must now himself have been a
before *Jerusalem*, and must have taken it in person, and have put the flower of
the inhabitants to the sword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into
captivity.

Year of the Flood, 2400. Year before CHRIST, 599.

BUT to return to scripture[e]; these confederated nations, though they had thus
destroyed the king of *Judah*, did not possess themselves of *Jerusalem*, and continued
to blockade it till *Nebuchadnezzar* came, who appeared in a few months (F) at
the head of his whole army; and investing it with a regular siege, he forced *Jeho-
iachin* to surrender himself, with the circumstances before related[f]. He now
resolved to exert the utmost of his rigour, and to give a glut to his avarice; and,
in consequence thereof, he emptied the sacred and the royal treasuries, and cutting b
to pieces the golden vessels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the
inhabitants that were considerable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the
land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer sort just to cultivate the land;
and appointing *Mattaniah*, whose name he changed into *Zedekiah*, king over the
desolate kingdom of *Judah*[g]. Thus did he march back in triumph to *Babylon*,
laden with the spoils of the *Jews*, and followed by numbers of the captive people,
who, by their valour and skill, might have been, and no question were, of great
use to him in the stupendous works he had begun or projected at *Babylon*, and highly
serviceable to him in the prosecution of his conquests. And thus ended his second
war with the *Jews*. c

NO sooner was this over, than *Jeremiah*[h] began to prophecy the increase of this
prince's dominion, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on
the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (G). This country must have been
the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*, and lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a
borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of
this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after times, the
capital of this country, *Shushan*, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the
Babylonian monarchs.

THIS mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's
wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his d
victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of
Jeremiah, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him
were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely
inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, and *Zidonians*
would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against
the *Babylonian*; *Jeremiah*[i] sent to each of the embassadors in his court, a present of
yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the
Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to
Nebuchadnezzar; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that
such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and e
with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but
that

[d] Antiq. l. x. [e] Ubi sup. [f] See before, p. 848. [g] Ibid. [h] Jerem. xlix. 34.—39. [i] Ibid. xxvii.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to pass, that *Nebuchadnezzar* neglected, for at least three years, to appear in this war personally; it is answered (9), That is uncertain what detained him so long, though it is very probable, he was busied in the conduct of his vast designs at *Babylon*; that, however, he may have been engaged, as a mediator between the *Medes* and the *Lydians*, who, after a war of several years, being on the point of fighting a decisive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to submit to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes, they should agree to chuse for each other. It is now supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar* was chosen by the *Mede*, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon *Judah*; but *Herodotus* expressly saying it was *Labynetus* (11) who was this mediator, we shall defer what may be suggested thereon to the time of his reign.

(G) By the words of the prophecy *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom; *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might. And upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the out-casts of* Elam *shall not come. For I will cause* Elam *to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them,* even *my fierce anger saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in* Elam, *and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord* (12).

(9) PRIDEAUX's *Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and new Test. Vol. I. part i. l. 1. p. 69. 8vo.* (10) HERODOT. *l. 1. c. 74.* (11) *Idem l. 1. c. ibid.* (12) *Jerem. xlix. 35.——38.*

a that thoſe who quietly ſubmitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, ſhould find mercy, and remain in poſſeſſion of their country [k]; ſuch was abſolutely to be their fate if they reſiſted, and ſuch their reward if they behaved ſubmiſſively under their bondage.

A more ſublime elevation no man can be ſhewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible ſoever he was repreſented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the weſtern nations eſpecially; who, notwithſtanding the ſevere remonſtrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*, were contriving how they ſhould free themſelves from the king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, underſtanding that the *Egyptians*, Year of the Flood, 2409.
b the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving to withdraw themſelves from his Year before CHRIST, 590.
obedience; and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jeruſalem*, had been encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, to ſet him at defiance, reſolved particularly to puniſh ſuch ingratitude and infidelity [l] in the moſt extraordinary manner; and putting himſelf at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the ſame time to chaſtiſe all theſe preſumptuous nations; where being arrived, and conſidering with himſelf, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in ſuſpence for a while, dubious where he ſhould firſt open the war; till at laſt he referred this important buſineſs to the ordinary methods of divinatory direction in practice with the *Chaldees*, who, conſulting entrails, their
c images, or teraphim, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their own opinion, That the war ſhould firſt break out againſt the *Jews* [m]. The *Babylonian* army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and in a few days became maſter of all their cities, except *Lachiſh*, *Azekah*, and *Jeruſalem* [n]; which in the latter end of *December*, the ſame year, was blocked up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all his formidable army, and a cloſe and vigorous ſiege enſued [o].

WHILE he thus was employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophra* was on his march to relieve the beſieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle [p], and attack him before he could be poſſibly joined by any of the diſcontented nations mentioned above; but before he left *Jeruſalem*, he took care to ſend all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 perſons, under a good guard to *Babylon* [q]. He then moved againſt the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onſet, as ſhould ſeem by the prophet [r], retreated in
d proportion as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; though others [s] tell us, they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

HAVING

[k] Jerem. xxvii. [l] 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxi. 1. xxxii. 4. [m] Ezek. xxi. 10.—24. [n] Jerem. xxxiv. 7. [o] 2 Kings ubi ſup. Jerem. xxxix 1. lii. 4. [p] Jerem. xxxvi. 5. [q] Idem lii. 29. [r] Idem xxxvii. 7. [s] JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. ubi ſup. c. 10.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mohammediſm* prevailed, which abſolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very ſame in uſe with the *Babylonians* at this time. "The arrows uſed by them for this "purpoſe were like thoſe with which they caſt "lots, being without heads or feathers, and were "kept in the temple of ſome idol, in whoſe preſence they were conſulted. Seven ſuch arrows "were kept at the temple of *Mecca*; but generally "in divination they made uſe of three only; on one "of which was written, *My LORD hath commanded me*; on another, *My LORD hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the firſt "was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation "of the enterprize in queſtion; if the ſecond, they "made a contrary concluſion; but if the third "happened to be drawn, they mixed them and "drew them over again, till a deciſive anſwer was "given by one of the others. Theſe divining "arrows were generally conſulted before any thing "of moment was undertaken; as when a man was "about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the "like [*Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh. & al Beid.* in "Kor. c. 5. *Al Moſtatraf.* &c. Vid. *Poc.* Spec. "p. 327. &c. & *D'Herbelot.* Biblioth. Orient. Art. "Acdâh.] This ſuperſtitious practice of divining "by arrows was uſed by the antient *Greeks*, [Vid. "*Pott.* Antiq. of *Gr.* vol. i. p. 334.] and other "nations; and is particularly mentioned in ſcripture, [*Ezek.* xxi. 21.] where it is ſaid, that *the king of* Babylon *ſtood at the parting of the way, at the "head of the two ways, to uſe divination; he made* his *arrows bright*, (or, according to the verſion of "the Vulgate, which ſeems preferable in this place, "*he mixed together*, or ſhook *the arrows*) *he conſulted with images*, &c. The commentary of "St. *Jerom* on this paſſage wonderfully agrees "with what we are told of the aforeſaid cuſtom "of the old *Arabs*. *He ſhall ſtand*, ſaith he, *in the "highway, and conſult the oracle after the manner "of his nation, that he may caſt arrows into a quiver, "and mix them together, being written upon, or "marked with the names of each people, that he may "ſee whoſe arrow will come forth, and which city he "ought firſt to attack*" (14).

(13) *See the Koran, c. 5. p. 94. of Mr.* Sale's *tranſlation.* (14) *See the prelim. Diſc. to the ſame, p. 126, 127.*

HAVING thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their own country, he had leiſure once more to proſecute the vengeance he had reſolved to take on the king at *Jeruſalem*, which city he beſieged once more, raiſing works about the place from whence he ſo annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not ſo much as dare to ſhew their heads on the walls [t]. And yet this ſiege continued ſo long, and was in a way of continuing ſo much longer, that *Nebuchadnezzar* ſeems to have loſt all patience, and to have retired to recreate himſelf at *Riblah* [u]; if it was not buſineſs rather than pleaſure that drew him thither. While he was at *Riblah*, his generals, *Nebuzaradan*, *Nebuſhaſban*, *Rabſaris*, *Nergal-ſharezer*, and *Rabmag*, (I), ſtuck cloſe by *Jeruſalem*; and at length perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhauſted of their ſtrength and courage, they aſſaulted the city in the middle of the night, [w] and took it after a twelvemonth's ſiege. At firſt they miſſed *Zedekiah* and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to eſcape. *Nebuchadnezzar* no ſooner ſaw *Zedekiah* brought before him at *Riblah*, than, ſeverely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he cauſed his children and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then, depriving him of his eye-ſight, ordered him to be bound with chains of braſs, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to *Babylon* [x]. a b

Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before CHRIST, 588.

HE then diſpatched *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to diſmantle the city of *Jeruſalem*, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in ſhort the whole place. This was executed with the utmoſt rigour, and to compleat the tragedy, every ſoul in the land was led away into captivity, except ſome few of the moſt miſerable of the people, who were left to take care of the ſoil and the fruits as yet ungathered. This did the *Chaldæans*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, deal with the *Jews*; they ſtripped the temple of all its furniture, and deſtroyed the brazen ſea, and the two brazen pillars [y]. c

AMONG the priſoners *Nebuzaradan* brought with him to *Riblah* were *Seraiah* the high prieſt, *Nephaniah* the ſecond prieſt, the three governors of the temple, *Zedekiah*'s chief general, and five of his favourites or counſellors, together with his muſter-maſter, who was alſo his ſecretary; *Nebuchadnezzar* ordered all theſe to be beheaded. In the midſt of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviſeable not to leave the land without ſomebody to look to the miſerable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one *Gedaliah* [z]: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, giving *Nebuzaradan* a favourable charge with regard to that holy perſon, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular protection, or of going forward with him to *Babylon*, there to enjoy himſelf in peace and plenty in his palace. And now *Nebuchadnezzar* returned once more in triumph to the city of his reſidence, adding great ſtrength and glory to it, by an immenſe booty he brought with him, and a numerous acceſſion of new inhabitants. d

WITH the gold he amaſſed in this expedition, it is thought, he erected [a] the monſtrous coloſſus of that metal in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura* in the province of *Babylon*. It was ſixty cubits in height, and ſix cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having ſummoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treaſurers, counſellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, ſhould no ſooner hear the ſound of various muſical inſtruments, than they ſhould fall down and worſhip the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had ſet up; under the fearful penalty of being thrown into the midſt of a burning fiery furnace [b]. They failed not to obey at the ſignal given, all but the *Jews*, and particularly *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego* (K), who being brought before the king, and accuſed e f

[t] Idem, ibid. [u] 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 6. [w] Ibid, ver. 4. [x] See before, p. 850.
[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] PRIDEAUX, ubi ſup. l. 2. p. 87. [b] Dan. iii.

(I) *Joſephus* (15) call them *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Nabaſaris*, and *Echarampſaris*.

(K) It may be thought ſtrange, that *Daniel* was not accuſed as well as his friends, it being impoſſible to ſuppoſe, he fell down and worſhipped the image. To this it is anſwered (16), that he muſt have been either abſent, or, if preſent, muſt have been too great a man to be accuſed: It is obſerved (17) to be moſt probable, that he was preſent, it being impoſſible well to conceive, how ſo important an officer could have been abſent upon ſo general a ſummons, and upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion; but that his enemies

(15) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (16) *See* PRID. *ubi ſup. p.* 87. (17) *Idem ibid.*

a accuſed of the neglect, and contempt, and perſiſting in a refuſal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious againſt them, and ordered, that the furnace ſhould be heated ſeven times more than ever it had been, and that they ſhould be thrown into it [c]. They were then bound with all their apparel about them, and thrown in, but the heat or the fire of the furnace was ſo violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution [d]. This was no ſooner over, than *Nebuchadnezzar* became all aſtoniſhed, and haſtily inquiring, if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being anſwered accordingly, he cried out, *I ſee four men looſe walking in the midſt of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God* [e]. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, and con-
b jured the three men, as ſervants of the moſt high God, to come out to him. They did ſo, and all were aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw, when they perceived, they had not received the leaſt hurt or alteration, even in their garments [f]. *Nebuchadnezzar* bleſſed the God of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, and decreed, that whoſoever of any people, nation, or language, ſhould preſume to ſpeak any thing amiſs of the God of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, the criminal ſhould be cut in pieces, and his houſe turned into a dunghil [g].

THIS mighty prince, thus reformed, was obliged once more to croſs the *Euphrates*, to make war on the nations on this ſide, whoſe turbulence of ſpirit could not reſt. It had been propheſied, that he ſhould ſubdue *Egypt* (L), and ſerve her as *Judah*
c had been ſerved, and that the ſame fate ſhould alſo befal the city of *Tyre* (M). Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before CHRIST, 585.

IN completion of theſe predictions he ſat down with his army before *Tyre*, and underwent there a moſt tedious ſiege of 13 years, and at laſt had nothing but an empty

[c] Ibid. ver. 20. [d] Ibid. ver. 22. [e] Ibid. ver. 25. [f] Ibid. ver. 27. [g] Ibid ver. 29.

enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and choſe to pave the way to his deſtruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculouſly delivered, *Daniel* eſcaped all danger of courſe.

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for* Pharaoh *king of* Egypt, *and ſay unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou* art *as a whale in the ſeas; and thou cameſt forth with thy rivers, and troubledſt the waters with thy feet, and fouledſt the rivers. Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will therefore ſpread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they ſhall bring thee up in my net .... For thus ſaith the Lord God, The ſword of the King of* Babylon *ſhall come upon thee .... There* be *the princes of the north all of them, and all of the* Zidonians, *which are gone down with the ſlain, with their terror they are all aſhamed of their might, and they lie uncircumciſed with* them that be *ſlain by the ſword ....* Pharaoh *ſhall ſee them* (that is, *Pharaoh* ſhall ſee the *Zidonians*, or *Tyrians* deſtroyed before him; for *Nebuchadnezzar* ſubdued *Phœnicia* before he invaded *Egypt*), *and ſhall be comforted over all his multitude, even* Pharaoh *and all his army ſlain by the ſword, ſaith the* LORD GOD. That this prophecy immediately relates to *Nebuchadnezzar*, appears by the recapitulation, made in this ſame chapter, of the conqueſts of this monarch, as *Aſſur*, or *Aſſyria*, *Elam*, &c. *Jeruſalem* may not have been mentioned, as not being yet deſtroyed. The ſame prophet dilates much upon this fearful deſtruction and captivation of *Egypt* in other places (19). *Jeremiah* is quite explicit upon this occaſion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *Behold, I will ſend and take* Nebuchadnezzar *my ſervant .... And when he cometh, he ſhall ſmite the land of* Egypt, and deliver *ſuch* as are *for death, to death; and ſuch* as are *for captivity, to captivity; and ſuch* as are *for the ſword, to the ſword. And I will kindle a fire in the houſes of the gods of* Egypt, *and he ſhall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he ſhall array himſelf with the land of* Egypt, *as a ſhepherd putteth on his garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in peace. He ſhall alſo break the images of* Bethſhemeſh, *that is in the land of* Egypt, *and the houſes of the gods of the* Egyptians *ſhall he burn with fire.* Much more to the ſame purpoſe is to be found in this ſame prophet (21).

(M) Theſe are the words of the prophet (22), *Son of man, becauſe that* Tyrus *hath ſaid againſt* Jeruſalem, *Aha, ſhe is broken,* that was *the gates of the people .... Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I* am *againſt thee, O* Tyrus ... *Behold I will bring upon* Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon, *a king of kings, from the north .... ſhall ſlay with the ſword thy daughters in the field, and he ſhall make a fort againſt thee, and caſt a mount againſt thee, and lift up the buckler againſt thee. And he ſhall ſend engines of war againſt thy walls, and with his axes he ſhall break down thy towers. By reaſon of the abundance of his horſes their duſt ſhall cover thee, thy walls ſhall ſhake at the noiſe of the horſemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he ſhall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horſes ſhall he tread down all thy ſtreets; he ſhall ſlay thy people by the ſword, and thy ſtrong garriſons ſhall go down to the ground. And they ſhall make a ſpoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandiſe;* [This ſeems to contradict what is ſaid of the removal to the iſland, and the emptineſs of the place when *Nebuchadnezzar* got poſſeſſion of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the deſtruction of the old town.] *and they ſhall break down thy walls, and deſtroy thy pleaſant houſes; and they ſhall lay thy ſtones, and thy timber, and thy duſt, in the midſt of the water .... And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be* a place *to ſpread nets upon: thou ſhalt be built no more .... Then all the princes of the ſea ſhall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments; they ſhall cloath themſelves with trembling, they ſhall ſit upon the ground ... and be aſtoniſhed at thee;* and ſo on in this place, and in others (23) of this ſame prophet, to the ſame purpoſe.

(18) *Ezek. xxxii.* 2.—31. (19) *xxix, xxx, xxxi.* (20) *xliii.* 10.——13. (21) *xlii. xliv. xlvi. &c.* (22) *Ezek. xxvi.* 2——.16. (23) *xxvii. xxviii.*

empty town for his pains [h]. For the *Tyrians*, perceiving his obſtinacy againſt them, a
and ſenſible they muſt ſooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of re-
moving to the iſland oppoſite to them, and not above half a mile or ſo from the
ſhore, where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects,
and left *Nebuchadnezzar* to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town,
which he failed not to do [i]. However, during this ſiege, he from time to time, by
detached parties, ſeems compleatly to have ſubjugated all the countries about;
and this he certainly did, in purſuance of the ſeveral prophecies of *Jeremiah* and
Ezekiel. Thus during this ſiege, he ſent *Nabuzaradan* with a party into *Judæa*,
to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor *Gedaliah*: In con-
ſequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, b
and which amounted to no more than 745 perſons, and thereby compleated the
deſolation of the land.

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Christ, 572.

What *Nebuchadnezzar* may probably have done at *Tyre*, before he departed
thence, we have declared already [k]. But to make amends for this diſappointment,
it was promiſed by the prophet, that *Egypt* ſhould pay him for what he had
ſuffered before *Tyre* [l]. *Egypt* was at this time as weak as *Tyre* was apparently
ſtrong; for the country was at this time in great diſtraction, cauſed by a civil war
then raging between *Apries* and *Amaſis* [m]. But concerning this his expedition againſt
Egypt we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the
prophecies of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*; whereby we underſtand, that *Egypt* ſuffered as c
much by him as any nation had till then done (N). And now it muſt have been
alſo, that he conquered the *Lybians*, and *Ethiopians*, and other adjacent nations,
according to the prophecies concerning him (O). As for *Egypt*, it is quite uncertain
in what ſtate, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he
did not appoint *Amaſis*, ſo famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy
there [n]. The glory and proſperity of the reign of this *Egyptian* king, as repre-
ſented by the *Egyptians* themſelves [o], need not prevent us from concluding, he was
no better than a ſubſtitute and tributary to the king of *Babylon*, and the rather, as
the prophet foretels of them, that they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for 40
years afterwards [p], which is a ſpace of time nearly equal to the reign of *Amaſis* [q];
and his defection in the end may have been as good a reaſon as any formerly given
for the rage, as it is repreſented, of *Cambyſes* againſt him [r], when the *Perſians* had d
deſtroyed the empire of *Babylon*.

But to deſiſt from uncertainties of ſo very dubious a nature, *Nebuchadnezzar* is ſaid
to have carried his arms into the very heart of *Lybia* and *Iberia*, and to have far
exceeded even *Hercules* himſelf *. Thus far we have ſeen him a warrior beyond all that
had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and muſt retire with
him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there, and ſeeing the magnificence
of

[h] See before, p. 417. [i] Ibid. [k] See before, ibid. [l] Ibid. p. 268. [m] Ibid. p. 269.
[n] See before, ibid. [o] Ibid. p. 271. [p] Ibid. p. 268. [q] Ibid. p. 273. [r] Ibid. p. 272.
* Abyden, ex Megasth. apud Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 9. p. 456. & Beros. apud Joseph.

(N) This, beſides what we have cited from the prophets to prove it, is directly ſaid by *Jeremiah* (24), addreſſing himſelf to ſuch of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a ſure place of refuge in *Egypt*; *Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *If ye wholly ſet your faces to enter into* Egypt, *and go to ſojourn there, then it ſhall come to paſs*, that *the ſword, which ye feared, ſhall overtake you there in the land of* Egypt, *and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, ſhall follow cloſe after you, there in* Egypt, *and there ye ſhall die. So ſhall it be with all the men that ſet their faces to go into* Egypt, *to ſojourn there, they ſhall die by the ſword, by the famine, and by the peſtilence: and none of them ſhall remain, or eſcape from the evil that I will bring upon them. For thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *ſo ſhall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye ſhall enter into* Egypt: *and ye ſhall be an execration, and an aſtoniſhment, and a curſe, and a reproach, and ye ſhall ſee this place no more* (25).

(24) *xlii.* (25) *Ibid.* 15.——18.

(O) *Son of man* * *propheſy and ſay, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Howl ye, wo worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord* is *near, a cloudy day, it ſhall be the time of the heathen . . . . Great pain ſhall be in* Ethiopia, *when the ſlain ſhall fall in* Egypt, *and they ſhall take away her multitude, and her foundations ſhall be broken down.* Ethiopia, *and* Libya, *and* Lydia, *and all the mingled people, and* Chub, *and the men of the land that is in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword. Thus ſaith the Lord, They alſo that uphold* Egypt *ſhall fall, and the pride of her power ſhall come down: from the tower of* Syene *ſhall they fall in it by the ſword, ſaith the Lord God. And they ſhall be deſolate in the midſt of the countries* that are *deſolate, and her cities ſhall be in the midſt of the cities* that are *waſted. And they ſhall know, that I* am *the* LORD, *when I have ſet a fire in* Egypt, *and* when *all her helpers ſhall be deſtroyed. In that day ſhall meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips, to make the careleſs* Ethiopians *afraid, and great pain ſhall come upon them, . . . for lo it cometh* (26).

* *Ezek. xxx.* (26) *Ibid.* 2.——9.

a of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better, than by a deſcription thereof, which we have particularly reſerved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched the temples of it with the ſpoils he had taken, and, in fine, did moſt of what is attributed to *Semiramis*, except the immediate foundation; and, indeed, as it is evidently under him, and almoſt under him only, as monarch of *Babylon*, that the country flouriſhed, and lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the *Medes*, who upon his death ſeem to have been upon no very good terms with the *Babylonians*; ſo nothing is more natural than to conclude, that the city attained its ſplendor under him, and that what was done to it after him, was rather to preſerve it from aſſaults of the enemy, than to ſet it off as

b the queen of the eaſt. Babylon *deſcribed.*

TOWARDS the deſcription of *Babylon*, and what *Nebuchadnezzar* did there, we have little or nothing to add to what has already been ſaid for us; and therefore we ſhall have no more to do than to tranſcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author [s].

Semiramis, as we have ſeen, by ſome [t], and *Belus* [u] by others, is ſaid to have founded this city; but, whether it was originally founded by *Belus* or *Pul*, or his ſon *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt *Babylonian* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The moſt famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itſelf; the temple of *Belus*; *Nebuchadnezzar*'s

c palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works, which, for magnificence and expence, were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of *China*.

The walls.

THE walls that ſurrounded the city were every way prodigious; for they were in thickneſs 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compaſs 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles [w]. Theſe are the meaſures according to *Herodotus*, who was himſelf at *Babylon*; and though there are thoſe who differ from him in theſe dimenſions, yet moſt, who agree in any meaſures of theſe walls, give us [x] the ſame, or nearly the ſame he does (P). Theſe walls formed an exact ſquare [y], each ſide of which was 120

d ſtades, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen [z], a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city [a], and much more durable and ſtrong than lime. On the outſide of theſe walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it ſerved to make the bricks which built the walls [b], ſo that from the great dimenſions of the walls, thoſe of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each ſide of this ſquare were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of ſolid braſs: Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between thoſe corners and the gates next on each ſide, and each of theſe towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe parts

e of the walls where towers were needful for defence [c]. For ſome parts of them being upon a moraſs, and inacceſſible by an enemy, there the labour and coſt was ſpared, which, though it muſt have ſpoiled the ſymmetry of the whole, muſt be allowed to have favoured of good œconomy; though that is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been ſo determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* muſt have been, to

[s] PRIDEAUX in his Connect. [t] See before, p. 878. [u] ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 457. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. [w] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 178. [x] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. PHILOST. l. 1. c. 18. [y] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [z] Idem ibid. c. 179. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. STRAB. l. 16. p. 743. DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 69. ARRIAN, de expedit. ALEX. l. 7. [a] See before in the notes, p. 145. [b] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, as we have ſeen before (27), diminiſhes the circumference of theſe walls very conſiderably, and takes ſomewhat from the height of them, as in *Herodotus*, though he ſeems to add to the breadth of them, by ſaying, That ſix chariots might drive abreaſt thereon; while the former writes, That one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each ſide of the top of theſe walls, which, according to him, were but one ſtory high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this reſpect. It is obſerved (29), that thoſe, who give the height of theſe walls but at 50 cubits, ſpeak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who had cauſed them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have ſpoken of this city, would be both endleſs and fruitleſs.

(27) *P.* 878. (28) *L.* 1. *c.* 179. (29) *Vid.* PRID. *ubi ſup. p.* 95.

to make the city compleat both for ſtrength and beauty; and hence it ſhould a ſeem, that we ſee a woman in after-ages compleating the walls of *Babylon*; which may have been no more than ſupplying the deficiency of towers in the parts ſo deſtitute of them, which may be better conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of her in particular. The whole number then of theſe towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been neceſſary to have made the uniformity compleat all round. From the 25 gates in each ſide of this ſquare there was a ſtrait ſtreet, extending to the correſponding gate in the oppoſite wall, whence the whole number of the ſtreets muſt have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them croſſing the other 25 exactly at right angles [d]. Beſides theſe whole ſtreets, we muſt reckon four half ſtreets, which were but rows of b houſes facing the four inner ſides of the walls. Theſe four half ſtreets were properly the four ſides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad [e], the whole ſtreets being about 150 of the ſame. By this interſection of the 50 ſtreets, the city was divided into 676 ſquares, each of four furlongs and an half on each ſide, or two miles and a quarter in compaſs. Round theſe ſquares on every ſide towards the ſtreets ſtood the houſes, all of three or four ſtories in height, and beautified [f] with all manner of ornaments; and the ſpace within each of theſe ſquares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleaſure or convenience.

A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the c midſt of it, from north to ſouth (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length [g], or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who ſay, it was no leſs than five ſtades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad [h], a difference we ſhall never be able to decide (R); this bridge however is ſaid to have been built with wonderful art [i], to ſupply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. At each end of this bridge were two palaces [k]; the old palace on the eaſt ſide, the new one on the weſt ſide of the river; the former of which took up [l] four of the ſquares above-mentioned, and the latter [m] nine of them. The temple of *Belus*, which ſtood next to the old palace, took up another of the ſame ſquares. d

The whole city ſtood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil [n]; that part or half of it on the eaſt ſide of the river was the old city [o], and the other on the weſt was added by *Nebuchadnezzar* [p], both being included within the vaſt ſquare bounded by the walls aforeſaid. The form of the whole was ſeemingly borrowed from *Niniveh*, which was alſo 480 furlongs; but though it was equal in dimenſions to this city, it was leſs with reſpect to its form, which was a parallelogram [q], whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact ſquare: It is ſuppoſed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had deſtroyed that old ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* empire, propoſed, that this new one ſhould rather exceed it than not [r], and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants, that he tranſported ſuch numbers of the captives from e countries hither [s]; though that is what may be diſputed, ſeeing he therein only followed the conſtant practice of the kings of *Aſſyria*, who muſt have recurred thereto, as the moſt certain means of aſſuring their conqueſts either to themſelves or their poſterity.

[d] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 180. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 67. [f] Herodot. ubi ſupr. Philostr. l. 1. [g] Strab. ubi ſupr. p. 738. [h] See before, p. 878. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 68. Herodot. l. 1. c. 186. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. Philostr. l. 1. c. 18. [k] Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. Herodot. ubi ſupr. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. Quint. Curt. ubi ſupr. Philost. ubi ſupr. See before, ubi ſupr. [l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 193. [o] Beros. ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. p. 65. [r] Vid. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo. [s] Vid. eund. ibid.

(Q) It ſeems rather to have been a branch of the *Euphrates* (30), than the main ſtream itſelf, that thus divided this city. In *Ptolemy*'s maps it is ſeated upon the *Naharmalcha*, or royal river.

(R) By the former of the dimenſions of this bridge, it is plain, the city was not immediately upon the great river of *Euphrates*, but rather upon ſome artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main ſtream. By the latter indeed it may ſeem, that it ſtood upon the main ſtream itſelf; however, as they both agree ſo well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the trueſt length thereof, the latter being quite diſproportionate thereto; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of *Babylon* was not immediately upon the great river *Euphrates*. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged; but, as it is a point of ſuch obſcurity, we wave them.

(30) *Vide eund. ibid.*

a THUS far however appears; this city was never near inhabited, and, with reſpect to the very meridian of its glory, may be compared with the flower of the field, which flouriſhes to-day, and to morrow is no more; for, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* viſibly intended to have made it; for *Cyrus* removing the ſeat of the empire ſoon after to *Shuſhan*, *Babylon* fell to decay, and never flouriſhed to the degree of any thing like what *Nebuchadnezzar* had certainly propoſed to himſelf. Thus far is allowed, no country could have been better able to ſupport ſo vaſt and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it ſhould have been compleated up to the firſt deſign (S). But neither did *Nebuchadnezzer* live
b long enough, or the empire itſelf ſubſiſt a time ſufficient to bring this to paſs.

THE

(S) This it is thought never to have been; for "when *Alexander* (31) came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* "tells us, no more than 90 furlongs of it was then "built, which can no otherwiſe be underſtood than "of ſo much in length, and if we allow the breadth "to be as much as the length, (which is the utmoſt "that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more "than 8100 ſquare furlongs were then built upon, "but the whole ſpace within the walls contained "14400 ſquare furlongs, and therefore there muſt "have been 6300 ſquare furlongs that were un-"built, which, *Curtius* tells us, were plowed and "ſown. And beſides this, the houſes were not "contiguous, but all built with a void ſpace, on "each ſide, between houſe and houſe. And the "ſame hiſtorian tells us this was done, becauſe this "way of building ſeemed to them ſafeſt. His "words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occu-"paverunt, per* 90 *ſtadia habitatur, nec omnia con-"tinua ſunt; credo, quia tutius eſt pluribus locis "ſpargi.* i. e. *Neither was the whole city built upon "for the ſpace of* 90 *furlongs it was inhabited, but "the houſes were not contiguous, becauſe they thought "it ſafeſt to be diſperſed in many places diſtant from "each other.* Which words [*they thought it ſafeſt*] "are to be underſtood, not as if they did this for "the better ſecuring their houſes from fire, as "ſome interpret them, but chiefly for the better "preſerving of health; for hereby, in cities ſituated "in ſuch hot countries, thoſe ſuffocations and other "inconveniences are avoided, which muſt neceſſarily "attend ſuch as there dwell in houſes cloſely built "together. For which reaſon *Delhi*, the capital of "*India*, and ſeveral other cities in thoſe warmer "parts of the world, are thus built; the uſage in "thoſe places being, that ſuch a ſtated ſpace of "ground be left void between every houſe and "houſe that is built in them; and old *Rome* was "built after the ſame manner. So that, putting all "this together, it will appear, that *Babylon* was ſo "large a city in ſcheme rather than reality: for, "according to this account, it muſt be by much "the larger part that was never built, and there-"fore, in this reſpect, it muſt give place to *Niniveh* "which was as many furlongs in circuit as the "other, and without any void ground in it that "we are told of. And the number of its infants, "at the ſame time, which could not diſcern be-"tween their right hand and their left, which the "ſcripture tells us, were 120,000 in the time of "*Jonah*, doth ſufficiently prove it was fully in-"habited."

Upon this we have to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is cited by *Curtius*, at a time when the city muſt have ſuffered a very great decay, and when the houſes and private buildings in particular muſt have been deſerted and gone to ruin, and leveled with the ground, the ground that became void, amounting to a conſiderable ſpace, may have been converted to the uſe of tillage and paſture. For when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, it muſt have been little better than the ſkeleton of the old city; ſo that let what *Curtius* reports concerning it be ever ſo true, it proves no more, than that ſuch was the ſtate of *Babylon* when *Alexander* came there, not what it had been, and doubtleſs was, when the ſeat of the *Babylonian*, or latter *Aſſyrian* empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is aſſerted by *Curtius*, as to the diſtance left between houſe and houſe, and the example produced in *Delhi*, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that ſtraggling manner, it may be needleſs to animadvert thereon, when at the ſame time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 ſtreets, or 26, including the two half ſtreets, or rows, at the ends and at the ſides. A city built in this proportion muſt have been full airy enough, and by the proportions it muſt appear, that there were ſuch void ſpaces behind all the houſes, as muſt have anſwered all the purpoſes of preventing ſuffocations, and other inconveniencies the inhabitants may have been in danger of. And beſides, if *Delhi*, and other cities in the eaſt, are built in the extenſive and incoherent manner above ſuggeſted; other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built, without this diſcontinuity, but as cloſe as poſſible, and with ſtreets ſo narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to paſs through them; as *Canton* in *China* (32), and other cities in the ſame country, and others.

Laſtly, it is almoſt certain, that *Niniveh* was never ſo big as *Babylon*, notwithſtanding what is inferred from the 120,000 ſouls there, who could not diſtinguiſh their right hand from their left; which, as we have ſuggeſted formerly (33), may be as juſtly underſtood of a religious blindneſs, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expreſſion, which may be very aptly uſed on the occaſion, when *Jonah* was to open their eyes, that they might ſee the dangers their ſins were like to bring upon them. *Niniveh* was in the time of *Jonah* in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of *Aſſyria*, diſtinguiſhed as ſuch (35), and therefore to ſuppoſe that city, in the days of *Jonah*, to have been more conſiderable than *Babylon* was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more juſt to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greateſt; for it is plain, by the hiſtory of all the *Aſſyrian* kings at *Niniveh*, that they never eſtabliſhed a ſettled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were for ever diverted by foreign wars; ſo that they lived rather upon the ſpoil, from time to time, as they made their incurſions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the ſeveral

(31) *Vid. cund. ibid.* (32) *See the* Dutch *Embaſſy.* (33) *See before in the notes, p.* 889. (34) *Ibid.* (35) *Ibid.*

Temple of Belus.

THE next work in *Babylon*, attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, is the temple of *Belus* [t]. This temple or tower, as to its form and dimensions, we have sufficiently described already [u], where we have also declared our thoughts concerning the first foundation and completion of it [w]; but some particulars we must however add, to give a more distinct idea of what it was. The ascent to it was by steps on the outside, by the slope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which shaped it, as it were, into eight distinct towers, as may be observed in the representation we have copied of it. What the uppermost of these towers was set apart for, we have seen already; but on the top of this there was, it seems, an observatory [x], by the means of which the *Babylonians* are pretended to have advanced themselves to their great pretended knowledge in the sidereal sciences. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it is thought, this tower was all the temple of *Belus*, but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city [y], so he did by this [z], making great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it [a], in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 foot [b]. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole, and, in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed [c], that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and is so concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass [d], which, it is thought [e], may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported from *Jerusalem*; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils brought from that of *Jerusalem* [f].

IN this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen [g], 40 foot in height, the same, as supposed [h], with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura* [i]. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high, which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former of 40, yet this last is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one [k], by supposing, that in the 90 foot the height of the pedestal is concluded, and that the 40 foot are for the height of the statue without the pedestal (T); and being said to have weighed 1000 talents

[t] BEROS, ubi sup. [u] See before in the notes, p. 145. [w] Ibid. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 98. [y] BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. [z] Idem apud eund. ibid [a] HERODOT. ubi sup. [b] Vid. PRID. Connect. vol. i. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo. [c] Idem ibid. [d] HERODOT. ubi sup. [e] Vid. PRID. ubi sup. [f] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [g] See before, p. 879. [h] Vid. PRID. ubi sup. [i] See before, p. 954. [k] Vid. PRID. ubi sup.

several people they over-ran, who never rested quietly, for any space of time, under their yoke. *Esar-hadon* was the most powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over *Egypt*, which none of his predecessors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aspired at; but he dying soon after he had thus established himself, and being, as it seems, succeeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. *Nebuchadnezzar*, of all the *Assyrian* race, seems to have raised the family to the utmost it ever was. His great successes, and the length of his reign, in comparison of what was enjoyed by any *Assyrian* king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raised *Babylon* to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur, which had never been seen at *Nineveh*; and if thereto we add his passion to aggrandise and imbellish this city, which plainly eclipsed her sister in *Assyria*, we cannot so much as doubt of it; though, after all, we are very ready to think, *Babylon* never was so very enormous as represented.

(T) With the pedestal or without, this golden colossus must be allowed to be a wonder, and especially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this statue, as a late learned author (36) has done; they may have been just, for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to suspect; as well as that *Diodorus*, by the statue he mentions (37), means that which *Nebuchadnezzar* raised in the plain of *Dura*. It shall suffice, that we take notice, that the same late learned author (38) imagines this statue, vast as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of *Babylon*, and consequently, that, according to the value of the *Babylonish* talent in *Pollux*'s *Onomasticon*, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden statue in *Diodorus* is placed in the temple of *Belus* (39), where *Herodotus* has also seemingly two golden statues of solid gold, the one, which he represents as large, of *Jupiter* or *Belus* (40), in a sitting posture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the same metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of *Babylon*; and another of 12 cubits high, all of solid gold, which if it weighed so much as 800 talents, must have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no more; and that to *Herodotus* (41) seems so much, that he cautiously reports it on the credit of the *Chaldæans* themselves. Whatever was the difference in weight between these two statues, it may thence appear, that *Diodorus*, in allowing but 1000 talents for his statue of 40 foot high, is egregiously mistaken, and consequently, that our author (42) was a little inattentive

(36) *See* PRID. *ubi sup. p.* 101. (37) *See before, ubi sup.* (40) *See before, p.* 916. (41) *l.* 1. *c.* 183. *p.* 879. (38) PRID. *ubi sup.* (39) *See before,* (42) PRID. *ubi sup.*

talents of *Babylon* [l], it is thence computed, that is is worth three millions and an half of our money [m]. In a word, the whole weight of the ſtatues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is eſtimated at above [n] one and twenty millions of our money; and a ſum about equal to the ſame in treaſure, utenſils, and ornaments, not mentioned [o], is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one obſervation, that our author ſuppoſes this immenſe treaſure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that, as he is moſt apparently miſtaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation, which, if it was curtailed conſiderably, might have been, together with other plunder of the ſort, a ſufficient indemnity to *Xerxes* for his *Grecian* expedition.

b NEXT to this temple [p], on the ſame eaſt ſide of the river, ſtood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in circumference. Exactly oppoſite to it, on the other ſide of the river [q], was the new palace built by *Nebuchadnezzar*; it was eight miles in circumference, and conſequently four times as big as the old one. Both theſe palaces we have already deſcribed according to ſuch accounts as we have remaining of them [r], but muſt add, that as vaſt as this palace muſt have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days [s]. *The two palaces.*

BUT nothing in the city of *Babylon* has obtained a greater degree of admiration, than what we call the penſile or hanging-gardens, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his wife *Amyite* [t], who was a *Mede* [u], and deſirous to have ſomething of a c proſpect that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as *Babylonia* was otherwiſe. They are ſaid to have contained a ſquare of four plethra [w] on each ſide, and deſcribed to have conſiſted of terraſſes one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the aſcent from terraſs to terraſs being by ſteps ten foot wide. The whole pile conſiſted of ſubſtantial arches upon arches, and was ſtrengthened by a wall ſurrounding it on every ſide of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: Firſt, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of ſtones, 16 foot long and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courſes of brick, cloſely cemented together with plaſter; and over all theſe were thick ſheets of d lead, and on theſe the earth or mould of the garden. This ſtorage was deſigned to retain the moiſture of the mould, which was ſo deep as to give root to the greateſt trees which were planted upon every terraſs, together with great variety of other vegetables pleaſing to the eye. Upon the uppermoſt of theſe terraſſes was a reſervoir, ſupplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terraſſes were ſupplied. *The hanging gardens.*

THE other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Beroſus* [x] and *Megaſthenes*, or *Abydenus* [y], were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, ſaid to have been ſunk by *Semiramis* [z]. The chief of theſe canals was the *Naharmalcha*, or *Baſilicos Potamos* of the *Greeks* [a]; the lake was to abate the e inundations of the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, juſt as the lake *Mæris* in *Egypt* was deſigned to correct the irregularities of the *Nile* [b]; their uſes are exactly alike, *viz.* to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to reſcue it from the dangers of inundation. *The banks, artificial canal and lake.*

[l] See before, ubi ſup. 879. [m] Vid. PRID. ubi ſup. p. 101. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] STRAB. l. 16. p. 731. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſup. PHILOSTRAT. ubi ſup. [r] See before, p. 878. [s] BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] See before, p. 902. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſup. p. 70. [x] Apud JOSEPH. ubi ſup. [y] Apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. ubi ſup. [z] See before, p. 879. [a] Ibid. p. 57. [b] Ibid. p. 195.

attentive to this ſeeming abſurdity, except he concluded his ſtatue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick ſheet of gold; that indeed might alter the caſe, and he would have done well to have made this diſtinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of maſſy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not ſure, that *Herodotus*, by the height he gives of the one and the weight of the other, does not mean the ſame ſtatue; our reaſon for this, among others, is his omitting to name whom the laſt ſtatue repreſented, which being ſo remarkable a piece of furniture in this *Babylonian* temple, we wonder how ſo exact a writer ſhould have been guilty of the omiſſion; and this inclines us to think they were both *Jupiters*, and conſequently the ſame god, and perhaps the ſame image. If ſo, he may have thought it needleſs to repeat the name, which would have been quite neceſſary if they had been diſtinct deities; but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), ſo now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(43) *Ibid. p.* 100. (44) *See before, p.* 916. (45) *Ibid.*

inundation [c]. This lake, however, if we are to credit our hiſtorians, was vaſtly more in circumference than that in *Egypt*, it being on the one hand [d] ſaid to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other [e], which is much leſs, 160, either of which gave it a ſquare, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the *Egyptian* lake, which has been thought a work too ſtupendous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it ſeems to have more than made good in depth, which was in ſome places no leſs than 50 fathom [f], whereas the depth of this *Babylonian* lake is given but at 35 foot [g], or 75 at the utmoſt [h]; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a ſuppoſition, that the one meaſures only the ſurface of the ſides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon them [i]. a b

THIS lake is ſaid to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while *Nebuchadnezzar* built the banks to each ſide of the city of *Babylon* [k], and to have been to the weſtward of that place. Theſe banks were built for the ſecurity, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly, and were made all of brick and bitumen [l], and extended on each ſide throughout the whole length of the city [m], and even farther according to ſome [n], who reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded [o], they muſt have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal diſtance below it; the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. Theſe banks were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the ſame thickneſs with thoſe that ſurrounded the city; and oppoſite to each ſtreet on each ſide he had a brazen gate in the ſaid wall [p], with ſtairs leading down from it to the river; theſe gates were open by day, and ſhut by night. *Beroſus*, *Megaſthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all theſe works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finiſhed what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this hiſtorian gives her of the whole [q]. If theſe works fell even much ſhort of what we have here ſeen them to have been, it muſt be granted, we have not ſaid too much of the *Babylonians* where we have repreſented them to have been ingenious, induſtrious, and laborious [r], and if *Nebuchadnezzar* did but attempt them, it muſt be allowed, that he deſerves the firſt place among thoſe who have endeavoured to ſignalize themſelves by ſuch ſtupendous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them towards a ſtate of perfection, nothing can be ſaid too much of him conſidered in this view. c d

WE have now ſeen this firſt *Babylonian* monarch, properly ſo called, in all his majeſty, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to ſay of him will be of a different nature: for we ſhall ſee him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly underſtood, degraded beneath the meaneſt of the race of mankind, and ſeemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, ſwoln with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themſelves what they ought not. e

Year of the Flood, 2429: Year before CHRIST, 570.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tree.

HE had ſcarce returned from his late war of 16 or 17 years continuance, and fluſhed with the conqueſt of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Lybia*, and the reduction of all *Syria*, but, repoſing himſelf in his palace, he had a dream, which may be beſt delivered in his own words [s]; "I ſaw, and behold, a tree in the midſt of the "earth, and the height thereof *was* great. The tree grew and was ſtrong, and "the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the ſight thereof to the end of all "the earth. The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it "*was* meat for all: The beaſts of the field had ſhadow under it, and the fowls "of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all fleſh was fed of it. I ſaw in "the viſions of my head upon my bed, and behold, a watcher and an holy One "came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and ſaid thus, Hew down the tree, "and cut off his branches, ſhake off his leaves, and ſcatter his fruit; let the beaſts "get away from under him, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheleſs "leave the ſtump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and braſs, "in f

[c] See PRID. ubi ſup. p. 103. & See before, p. 195. [d] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. c. 185. [e] MEGAST. apud EUSEB. ubi ſupr. [f] See before, p. 195. [g] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [h] MEGAST. ubi. ſupr. [i] Vid. PRID. ubi ſupr. p. 104. [k] Vid. ABYDEN. ubi ſupr. HERODOT. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [l] ABYDEN apud EUSEB. ubi ſupr. [m] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [n] BEROS. ubi ſupr. [o] Vid. PRID. ubi ſupr. [p] Compare BEROS. ubi ſupr. with HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [q] Vid PRID. ubi ſupr. p. 105. [r] See before, p. 933. [s] Dan. iv.

THE CITY OF BABYLON

a " in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and
" let his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be
" changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him, and let seven
" times pass over him. This matter *is* by the decree of the watchers, and the
" demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent, that the living may know,
" that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever
" he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men [t]."

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wise men, astrologers, *Chaldæans*, and the like, and all to no purpose, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, or *Belteshazzar* [u], which, how he should have neglected to do at first, after the b proofs he had had of his superiority and the omnipotence of his God, may be hard to account for, if we do not suppose him to have laboured under some sort of distraction. To wave this, he is represented as revealing his dream to *Daniel*, in words to the effect above; and *Daniel* no sooner heard it, than he *was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him* [w]. At length, after he had recovered himself, and deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to the king, who was very sollicitous with him to tell him the truth without fear or disguise, he told him, The tree he saw was meant of himself; that by the order of the watcher and the holy One concerning the tree it was signified, that he should be driven out from the society of men, and become as a beast, and that, in fine, he should so c continue to be till he had been brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence of God; that the stump of the tree which was to be left signified, that the kingdom should nevertheless revert to him once more [x]. Such was *Daniel*'s interpretation, which he closed with an exhortation to him to abstain from sin, and to shew mercy to the poor, that so he might procure to himself a prolongation of peace and tranquility [y].

The interpretation of it.

THIS extraordinary sentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man whom he must entirely have relied on, seems to have made no lasting impression upon him; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months d afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as some think [z] the fact may have been, on the uppermost of the terrasses of his hanging-garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned; unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, " Is not this great *Babylon*, that I have built for the house of " the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty [a]?" He had no sooner vented himself in this insolent manner, than there fell a voice from heaven, saying, " O king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is spoken, The king- " dom is departed from thee [b]." And straight he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and he ate grass as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles *feathers*, and his nails like birds *claws* [c]. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is some- e times taken in all the strictness of it; it being supposed, that, losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or seven years, had passed over his head [d]; but concerning this metamorphosis, and the duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinion.

His pride and metamorphosis.

DURING

[t] Dan. iv. [u] Ibid. ver. 9. [w] Ibid ver. 19. [x] Ibid. ver. 26. [y] Ibid. ver. 27. [z] PRID. ubi supr. p. 105. [a] Dan. ubi supr. ver. 30. [b] Ibid. ver. 31. [c] Ibid. ver. 33. [d] See PRID. ubi supr.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, " *Origen* (46) believed the thing to be im- " possible, and turned it into allegory. *Bodin* (47) " thought, he was really changed into a bull, and that " he lost even the soul of a man; while others (48) " maintain, he was changed as to the body only, re- " taining his reason, as *Apuleius* did while an ass, and " like the *Italians*, mentioned by St. *Austin* (49), " who having tasted of cheese, presented to them " by certain magicians of the country, were imme- " diately turned into beasts of burthen, but at last " recovered their first form and condition of life. " Some *Rabbins* have pretended, that the soul of " *Nebuchadnezzar* deserted his body, and, for a " time, gave place to the soul of an ox, which de- " graded him into all the inclinations and sen- " sations of that animal; while others (50) admit " no more to have been the case than a vitiated " imagination in the prince, and a kind of fasci- " nation in the eyes of his subjects, which made " them fancy, as well as himself, that he was, for " certain, become an ox, though there was no such " thing.

(46) *Apud* HIERON. *in Dan. iv.* (47) *Dæmonol. l.* 2. *c.* 6. (48) MALDON. *in Dan. ubi sup. &* TERTULL. *de Pœnit. c.* 12, 13. (49) *De Civit. Dei. l.* 18. *c.* 18. (50) MEDIN. *de rect. in Deum fide, c.* 7. VIER. *de præstig. Dæmon. l.* 1. *c.* 24.

His death. DURING this his diſorder, it is ſaid, his ſon *Evil-merodach* adminiſtred the government for him [e], and that he did it ſo ill, as to draw his father's moſt heavy diſpleaſure on him, when he came to underſtand what he had done; for when his ſeven years were expired, he threw him into the priſon where *Jehoiachin*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. Having thus ſatisfied his injured ſubjects by this exemplary juſtice on his ſon, and given the honour and praiſe due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continued in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years. a

Year of the Flood, 2437. Year before CHRIST, 562.

THE circumſtances of his death are omitted in ſcripture, but may be fabulouſly ſupplied from thoſe [f] who tell us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he aſcended to the top of his palace, and that, being there ſuddenly ſeized by a ſpirit from heaven, he propheſied to this effect, and in theſe words; b

His prophecy. "Behold, O *Babylonians*, I foretel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, "or our forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may poſſibly avert. A *Perſian* "mule ſhall come, and by the aſſiſtance of your own gods ſhall load your "necks with a moſt galling yoke; and this deſtruction ſhall befal you by the "means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Aſſyrians* were wont greatly to glory themſelves. "O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people, were ſwallowed up by ſome "whirlpool, or overwhelmed in the depths of the ſea; or that hurried away into "ſome lonely deſart, he might there remain a wanderer, never to behold again the c "footſteps of mankind, and never to ſee ought but birds and beaſts of prey. O grant "unto me, before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to ſhare a happier end;" thus ſaying, he was ſuddenly ſnatched from the ſight of men; the ſame exit *Semiramis* is ſaid to have made [g].

Year of the Flood, 2437. Year before CHRIST, 562.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Evil-merodach* [h], *Ilvoradam* [i], *Ebidan-merodach* [k], *Evil-maluruch* [l], and, as is moſt likely, *Belſhazzar*. That he was this ſeemingly laſt king of *Babylon*, according to *Daniel*, we ſhall endeavour to make out before we cloſe up his reign. In the mean time, we muſt look back to what he ſeems to have done while regent for his father, when under diſtraction of mind, which, among other falſe ſteps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn on d him his father's moſt heavy diſpleaſure, and which, if ſtrictly true, muſt have laid the foundation of that animoſity in the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which hurried on the diſſolution

[e] HIERON. in Eſai. xiv. 19 [f] MEGASTH. ex ABYD. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456. [g] See before, p. 883. [h] Jerem. lii. 31. [i] See before in the canon, p. 935. [k] Ibid. in the eccleſiaſtical account. [l] MEGASTH. ubi ſupr.

"thing. The moſt received opinion is, that, by the "power of God, *Nebuchadnezzar* fell into a black "melancholy, and, under this oppreſſion of mind, "fancied himſelf an ox; as in a lycanthropy a man "perſuades himſelf he is a wolf, a dog, a cat; a "change which exiſts no where but in the diſtem-"pered brain, nor to be diſcovered but by his mo-"tions and behaviour, which tend to the imitation of "a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and deſire to range "the country, and fly from men. That after ſome "ſuch manner it muſt have been, that this king be-"came an ox, and was agitated by all the affections "and deſires of one. That his people, aſtoniſhed at "ſuch an alteration (51), bound him as a madman, "but that, eſcaping from them, he fled into the "fields, and lived after the manner of an ox."

Our author (52). whence we have extracted this, thinks nothing more than this laſt ſuppoſition is required to account for what in ſcripture is ſaid of this extraordinary event; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophets prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, ſo there are varieties as to the continuance of it. "Some with *Theodoret* (53), maintain, that, as "the *Perſians* divided their year into two ſeaſons, "winter and ſummer, the ſeven years of *Nebuchad-"nezzar* muſt be reduced to three and a half. *Do-"rotheus* (54) and the ſpurious *Epiphanius* (55) "affirm, that God had actually condemned him to "a ſeven years puniſhment, but was prevailed on "by *Daniel* to ſhorten it into ſeven months: the "*pſeudo-Epiphanius* adding, that as *Daniel* ceaſed "not to foretel the reſtoration of the king, and the "great men continually diſbelieved him, and derided "what he ſaid, he obtained of God that his time "might be ſhortened for the ſake of convincing "them. Others maintain, he was changed but for "21 months, explaining theſe words of *Daniel*, "*Donec ſeptem tempora mutentur ſuper eum*, as in-"tended for ſeven times the ſpace of three months; "*tempus*, according to them, being a quarter of a "year. *Peter Comeſtor* allows but ſeven months, "which he proportions out in this manner; For "the firſt 40 days he allows him to have been in a "phrenzy, or mad; the 40 days following, he "bewailed his offences; and the next 40 days, he "gradually recovered from his infirmity. But that "nevertheleſs, in compliance with what he had "been exhorted by *Daniel*, he remained ſeven years "in the exerciſe of repentance, abſtaining from "ought but herbs and pulſe, to atone for his pride "and folly." But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commentators, that we need no interpreter but *Daniel* himſelf, who plainly means whole years.

(51) HIERON. THEODORET. MALDON. PEIRERI. CORNEL. SANCT. *in Dan.* VALES. *de Sacr. Philoſoph. c.* 80. BARTHOLIN. *de Morb. Bib. &c.* (52) CALMET. *Dict. of the Bible, Art.* Nebuchadnez. III. (53) *Ubi ſup.* (54) *In Synop.* (55) *De vit. & Mort. Prophet.* (56) CALMET. *ubi ſup.*

a diſſolution of the *Babylonian* empire. While his father was deprived of his ſenſes, this prince his ſon, who was upon the point of marrying the *Nitocris* [m] ſo celebrated by *Herodotus*, took it into his head to divert himſelf with a hunting-match, upon the borders of *Media*, where he underſtood there was great plenty of game, by reaſon of the pacific ſtate the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* had been in for ſome years. He went attended by a ſmall force, light armed, conſiſting both of horſe and foot, and ſeemingly equipt for the chaſe only. Being arrived on the frontiers, he halted near ſome garriſon'd places, where he ſtaid all night, intending to enter upon his diverſion the next morning: But it happening, that certain troops appeared for the relief of thoſe in garriſon in theſe parts, he took a fancy that theſe men, added to
b thoſe he had brought with him, might form ſuch a body as might be able to make ſome notable impreſſion upon the *Medes*, which he judged would redound more to his honour, than the diverſion he at firſt propoſed. He obeyed this irregular impulſe, and the next morning, by break of day, he moved towards the neareſt places that belonged to the *Medes*, leaving his foot behind him to guard his own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horſe. Being advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made halt, and encamped with the beſt of his troops about him, that ſo he might the better keep the garriſons of the *Medes* in awe, and prevent their ſallies; the reſt he ſent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the *Medes*, underſtanding the violences *Evil-merodach*, the
c ſon of the *Aſſyrian*, was committing in his country, marched towards him with ſuch troops as he had uſually attending him, and ſuch as his ſon could raiſe upon ſo ſudden an emergency; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his aſſiſtance, and among theſe was *Cyrus*, now about 16 years of age, and who now firſt ſignalized himſelf in battle. The parties *Evil-Merodach* had ſent out were firſt attacked by the *Medes*, who, at length falling upon his main body, routed and purſued him with a great ſlaughter, quite home to his own borders [n]. Such was the event of this raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, enterpriſe (W); and this action may not only have exaſperated his father in a particular manner againſt him, but may alſo have been the firſt cauſe of that enmity of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which
d ended in the ruin of *Babylon*, as we have already obſerved. And this ſpirit thus rouſed in the *Medes* may have been ſo dreaded, and the conſequences of it ſo naturally foreſeen by his father, the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to have cauſed him to impriſon this his ſon, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have ſeen above.

THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was juſtly called, as his name is interpreted, *Fooliſh Merodach*, having adminiſtred very ill during his father's diſorder, was thrown into priſon upon his recovery: And in this confinement he contracted ſuch a kindneſs for the captive king of *Judah*, that, ſucceeding to the throne upon the death of his father, he took *Jehoiachin* out of priſon, and
e entertained him like a king ever afterwards *. Farther concerning him is uncertain, except that, indulging himſelf in ſloth and wickedneſs, he became intolerable to his ſubjects, and that, after a ſhort reign, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſiſter's huſband *Nerigliſſar*; who that he was a *Mede*, and particularly *Darius* the *Mede*, we ſhall endeavour to make out in his reign; and if ſo, his murder of *Evil-merodach* his brother-in-law may be accounted for by the averſion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen againſt this unwiſe prince, who had ſo behaved to them as we have ſeen.

Evil-merodach. Year of the Flood, 2439. Year before CHRIST, 560.

WHAT we have material to add concerning this king is, that, by all circumſtances, he is more likely to have been the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel*, than any other king
f in *Ptolemy*'s canon. This we gather from the concurrence of ſcripture with profane hiſtory. *Beroſus* [o] repreſents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belſhazzar* is in ſcripture [p] repreſented as the ſame. *Beroſus* [q] relates, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by ſome of his lords; the ſcripture [r] ſays *Belſhazzar* was murdered

Evil-merodach *moſt likely to have been* Belſhazzar.

[m] Vid. USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3421 Jerem. lii 31. JOSEPHUS, &c. [o] Ubi ſupr. [n] XENOPH. Κυρ8 Παιδειά. [p] Dan. v. [q] Ubi ſupr. [r] Ubi ſupr. * 2 Kings xx. 27.

(W) If it was really *Nitocris* this prince was now about to marry, and if ſhe was really a *Mede*, as it is moſt generally underſtood, it is impoſſible to account for theſe his hoſtilities upon that nation, and eſpecially at the time our author here ſeems to mean; but this is what may be conſidered hereafter.

murdered at a great feaſt he gave to a 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by whom. They both ſay he was the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by the name of *Evil-merodach* [s], and ſcripture ſays the ſame of *Belſhazzar*, which is not ſaid of any other of the *Babyloniſh* kings. If to this it ſhould be objected, that both *Evil-merodach* and *Belſhazzar* are mentioned in ſcripture [t], as ſons of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that therefore they cannot be the ſame perſon; we anſwer, that they are not mentioned any where in ſcripture, either together, or in a courſe of ſucceſſion, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in ſcripture it is not unuſual to call the ſame prince by different names in different places. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf is in ſome places, and particularly in the *Prophets*, called *Nebuchadrezzar*. Thus the king, who in one place is called *Ahaſuerus* [u], is in another called *Artaxerxes* [w]: and in one and the ſame chapter [x] is *Eſar-haddon*, the great *Aſſyrian*, called *Aſnappar*; and this authority is ſo much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of ſcripture indiſputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in ſcripture mention is made of the third year of *Belſhazzar*'s reign [y], whereas *Evil-merodach* is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years [z]; we anſwer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; ſo that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an inſtance of which we have in *Ptolemy*'s canon, where *Laboroſoarchod*, the ſucceſſor of *Nerigliſſar*, is left out, becauſe he did not reign a compleat year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This ſhall ſuffice for this ſubject for the preſent; we may reſume it hereafter ſtill farther to the reader's ſatisfaction.

Nerigliſſar. Year of the Flood, 3439. Year before CHRIST, 560.

Nerigliſſar, *Niriglisſoroor*, *Niricaſſolaſſurus* [a], or, as we think, *Darius* the *Mede*, who is repreſented as the chief of the conſpirators againſt *Evil-merodach* [b], uſurped the throne. Of him it is ſeemingly recorded, for he is nor mentioned by name, that, dreading the *Medes* who began to threaten *Babylon*, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances. The ſtory, as it is told [c], repreſents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, *Hyrcania*, and *Arabia*, and to have been buſied in a war with the *Bactrians*, when *Aſtyages* the *Mede* departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the *Medes* and the *Perſians*, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding, that if he could but reduce the *Medes*, the reſt would bow to him of courſe, diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, to *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphplagonia*, the *Indies*, and *Cilicia*, to inſtil jealouſies into the ſeveral princes of theſe countries, and to ſtir them up againſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as if they were about to make themſelves maſters of all, particularly inſiſting on the ſtrict union between them by the mutual ties of marriage. The ſucceſs of theſe ſeveral embaſſies was, that ſome yielded to his reaſons, and others [d] to his preſent largeſſes and future promiſes. Now, by what our author here ſays of this king, and particularly of his conqueſts, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant *Nabocolaſſar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, than any king of *Babylon* that ſucceeded him, and particularly as he makes him contemporary with *Aſtyages* the *Mede*. As for the pretence of union between the *Perſians* and the *Medes*, the ſame was as ſtrongly cemented between the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was married to a *Mede* [e], and it is very likely, that *Nerigliſſar* was a *Mede*, by his being huſband to a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s [f]. In ſhort, the *Medes* and the *Babylonians* ſeem to have been as cloſely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

BUT we muſt allow our author [g] to be a little inaccurate, and eſpecially as it is made a doubt, whether it was a hiſtory he meant to write, or a romance. However, that it is built upon ſome ſort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here ſuppoſed to write concerning our *Nerigliſſar*; for as an uſurper it is but natural he ſhould have made ſuch ſtrong and earneſt applications to the nations round about, as he is ſaid to have done; a method of procedure which can never be reconciled with a conqueror in the full ſtream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author [h], at the ſame time, repreſented to have been. We muſt therefore tax him

[s] Jerem. lii. 31. [t] Ibid. & Dan. ubi ſupr. [u] Ezr. iv. 6. [w] Ibid. ver. 7. [x] Ibid ver. 10. [y] Dan. viii. [z] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr. [a] See before, ibid. [b] BEROS. ubi ſupr. [c] Κυρϐ Παιδ. β. [d] Ibid. [e] See before, p. 961. [f] See before, 965. [g] XENOPH. [h] Idem ibid.

a him with a little inattentiveneſs to what he was writing. *Nerigliſſar*, though he may have been of the royal blood of the *Medes*, may have been dubious, whether or no they and the *Perſians* would ſuffer him to ſit in quiet poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* empire, and may have had ſufficient reaſons to dread they would not; and that in ſuch caſe he ſhould ſo beſtir himſelf in his own defence is no wonder.

LET this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king ſeized on the ſovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and it is not unlikely, but he may have actually ſtood in need of foreign aid. Thus when *Nabuchadonoſor* was threatened with an invaſion by the *Medes*, he iſſued out his commands to all nations to come in to his aſſiſtance [i], a con-

b duct *Cteſias* [k] has deſcribed to his *Sardanapalus*; and which may ſerve to illuſtrate what we advance concerning the diſtreſs *Nerigliſſar* muſt have been in upon his uſurpation; but he does not command as he did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

TO have done with this obſcurity, the army, which ranged itſelf under the *Babylonian* ſtandard, is ſaid to have conſiſted of a mixed multitude as follows. *Cræſus*, king of *Lydia*, came with 10,000 horſe, and upwards of 40,000 light-armed foot; *Artamas*, king of the greater *Phrygia*, brought 40,000 foot, moſtly pike men, and 8000 horſe; *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, led with him 6000 horſe, and 30,000 foot, moſtly armed with miſſive weapons; *Maragdas*, the *Arabian*, conducted

c 10,000 horſe, 100 chariots, and a great number of ſlingers *. Theſe were the confederates of *Nerigliſſar*, and ſuch the quota's they reſpectively furniſhed; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactneſs of them, they being given as upon hear-ſay only, and in a converſation between *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*. *The confederate army under him.*

AS for *Nerigliſſar* himſelf, this potent *Babylonian* and fortunate conqueror, as our author has repreſented him, the numbers he himſelf brought into the field ſeem to be very ſhort, conſidering him in that view; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horſe, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable [l]. Whether or no this confederate army received any farther addi-

d tion, is not certain; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and ſome others, ſeem to have receded from their firſt engagements. So that the caſe is pretty much alike between *Chyniladan* [m], the *Aſſyrian*, and this *Babylonian*, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that diſappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the *Medes* and the *Perſians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a conſiderable re-inforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midſt of theſe great and induſtrious preparations for war, ambaſſadors arrived from *India* to inquire into the grounds and cauſes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in caſe it was rejected, of joining with thoſe who ſhould appear to have the moſt juſtice on their ſide [n].

e HOW this embaſſy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the diſadvantage of *Nerigliſſar*; for *Cyrus* ſubdued the *Chaldeans* in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia* [o]. Theſe *Chaldeans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Aſſyrians*, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly ſo called; but the proper *Chaldeans*, and their mountains, were far away from any part of *Armenia* [p]. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography, we cannot poſitively ſay; but to us it ſeems that he is. Theſe *Chaldeans*, however, according to our author's deſcription, were the moſt valiant race of men in all theſe parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker-ſhield and two javelins, and entered willingly in-

f to foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were ſubdued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the ſame people with them [q]. *War between him and the* Medes *and* Perſians. Chaldæans *next to* Armenia.

THE two armies now appeared in ſight of each other, and the *Aſſyrians*, or *Babylonians*, under *Nerigliſſar*, incamped and fortified themſelves with ſtrong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and the *Perſians* covered themſelves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this poſture they continued for ſome days, till at length the *Aſſyrians*, leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themſelves up in battle-array, and being exhorted by *Nerigliſſar* to behave as became them in the approaching *Battle between the* Babylonians *and the* Medes.

[i] See before, p. 898. [k] Ibid. p. 887. * Κυρυ Παιδ. ubi ſupr. [l] Ibid. [m] See before, p. 898.
[n] Κυρυ Παιδ. ubi ſupr. [o] Ibid. [p] See before, p. 906. [q] Κυρυ Παιδ. ubi ſupr.

approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at ſtake; were attacked by the enemy, who ſhamefully routed them in the field, and purſued them with a prodigious ſlaughter cloſe to their retrenchments, where thoſe within did not dare to ſhoot an arrow againſt the inſulting *Medes* and *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Cyrus*; and no ſooner underſtood, that he intended to force their camp, than they betook them to the moſt precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loſs, in the moſt woeful and ſenſible manner. This when the confederate kings perceived, they haſtened, with the choiceſt of their men that were left them, to repulſe the *Perſians*, and they ſucceeded in their endeavours, and *Cyrus* retreated and encamped at ſome diſtance. But *Nerigliſſar* lived to ſee no more of the war now kindled. He was ſlain in battle, his ſubjects were in the utmoſt conſternation, and *Cræſus* and his allies, quite at a loſs, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, reſolved to ſave themſelves as they could, and left their camp a prey to *Cyrus* and his *Perſians* [r].

Nerigliſſar *ſlain.*

Year of the Flood, 2443. Year before Christ, 556.

Nerigliſſar *moſt likely to have been* Darius *the* Mede.

Such was the unfortunate end of *Nerigliſſar*, who that he was *Darius* the *Mede*, appears by theſe arguments. If, as king of *Babylon*, he is in the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Darius* the *Mede* can have been no other than *Nerigliſſar*. Secondly, *Darius* the *Mede* is ſaid to have commenced king of *Babylon* at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not ſuppoſe him to have been ſlain by *Cyrus* as above, may be thought to ſuit better with *Nerigliſſar*'s ſhort reign of four years, than *Nabonad*'s longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, as *Nabonad* did not end his days with his reign, *Darius* the *Mede* muſt, in this caſe, have been ſtill much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, *Nerigliſſar* is repreſented as a wiſe, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his ſucceſſors were, and juſt ſuch an one does *Darius* the *Mede* ſeem to have been. Fourthly, Though *Nerigliſſar* is not ſaid to have been a *Mede*, yet he very probably may have been ſo, and nothing is ſaid to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of *Babylon*, though he married the daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſiſter of *Evil-merodach*; and theſe marriages, as we have ſuggeſted above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, till *Evil-merodach* behaved ſo impoliticly as he is repreſented to have done, in breach of the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, *Nerigliſſar* is on all hands allowed to have ſucceeded *Evil-merodach*, whom he ſlew, and ſo *Darius* the *Mede* is ſaid to have ſlain *Belſhazzar*, and to have aſſumed his kingdom. And though the ſcripture expreſſion, in this caſe, does not always imply an immediate ſucceſſion, it may be fairly enough admitted in ſuch a ſenſe, in the circumſtance before us, till ſomething to deſtroy it be exhibited againſt it. Sixthly, That *Nerigliſſar* was a *Mede*, may be gathered from the inveteracy he ſeems to have born againſt *Evil-merodach*, whom we take to have been *Belſhazzar*; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from *Xenophon* has any truth in it. Seventhly, The ſcripture does not ſay, that *Darius* was king of the *Medes*, but only that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the *Babylonians*, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And laſtly, He may have been a *Mede*, and yet *Cyrus* may have made war upon him, and ſlain him in battle; for *Cyrus*, it is ſaid, made no ſcruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence *Darius* may not only have been a *Mede*, but may alſo have been very nearly related to *Cyrus*, and yet have periſhed in battle againſt him; for nothing is to ſtand in the way of thoſe who are fired by the waſteful ambition of conqueſt and univerſal monarchy. This is what we have thought neceſſary to ſay in this place.

Laboroſoarchod.

This laſt king was ſucceeded by his ſon *Laboroſoarchod* [s], *Labaſſoaraſc* ‡, or *Chabaeſſoarach* [t]: ſome ſuppoſe him to have been the ſame with *Nabonadius*, or *Belſhazzar*, and to have been the laſt king of *Babylon*. But they contradict an hiſtorical fact very explicitly related; whereby we underſtand, that he came very young to the throne, and that, betraying a moſt vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murthered, as not even worthy to live, much leſs to reign, which he did no longer than nine months [u]; ſo that not having compleated a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

Some of this king's evil doings are ſuppoſed * to have been recorded by *Xenophon* †, according to whom it may have been, that he committed ſuch cruelties on

[r] Κυρϐ Παις ubi ſup. [s] Berosus ubi ſup. ‡ Abyden. ubi ſup. [t] Idem apud Euseb. ubi ſup. [u] Idem ibid. * Prid. ubi ſup. p. 113. † Ubi ſup. c. 5.

a on *Gadatas* and *Gobryas*, two great *Babylonians*, as provoked them to the ſhare they are ſaid to have had in the ſubverſion of this empire. The ſon of the former of theſe he is ſaid to have ſlain for no better reaſon than hitting a beaſt, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himſelf had miſſed; and the latter he is ſaid to have caſtrated, only becauſe one of his concubines had commended him for an handſome perſonage *. By theſe moſt violent acts of tyranny it is ſuppoſed †, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded, over to the enemy. Such is this king ſuppoſed to have been, though there are other ſeeming reaſons why he ſhould have been particularly odious in the eyes of ſome of the *Babylonians*, and particularly of his ſucceſſor and his aſſociates.

b *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder of *Laboroſoarchod*, is ſaid to have been a *Babylonian* [w], ſo that what is ſaid above of the unworthineſs of his ſhort-lived predeceſſor, may have very little of truth or juſtice in it. His greateſt fault may have been, that he was the ſon of a ſtranger and an uſurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himſelf, he may eaſily have been deſtroyed, and reaſons may as eaſily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confeſſedly the ſon of *Evil-merodach*, and grand-ſon to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; one, who muſt have thought himſelf injured by an excluſion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of retrieving the luſtre of his family. Nor muſt we forget,

c that he muſt alſo have been the ſon of the famed *Nitocris*, who is ſaid even to have outſhone *Semiramis* herſelf; and who, if the thing were ſo, could not have reſted in a private ſtate, while the ſon of an uſurper poſſeſſed the throne in prejudice of her ſon; and thus was it the ſcepter came again into the hands of a prince of the old *Aſſyrian*, or *Babylonian*, race, of the male branch, which in him was to ceaſe from empire.

Nabonadius. Year of the Flood, 2444. Year before Christ, 555.

THIS king is alſo called *Nabonduis* [x], *Labynetus*, *Labynitus* [y], *Nabannidochus* [z], *Naboandel* [a], *Belſhazzar*, and *Darius* the *Mede* [b], and by other names, and rather ſtruggled for the empire than poſſeſſed it; for *Cyrus* was now in the career of his victories, and a profeſſed enemy to the kingdom of *Babylon*, and had ſome battles

d with this king, as ſhould ſeem, and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the particulars being no where to be met with, we muſt content ourſelves with the little we know of the matter, and which we ſhall relate hereafter. *Nabonadius* appears, however, to have been the moſt powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been ſuch, that *Cyrus* thought it prudent to ſtrengthen himſelf, the moſt he could, by the conqueſt of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he under-took to deſtroy this.

WHAT ſort of a man *Nabonadius* was, is hard to ſay; but his mother, according to ſome [c], has all the glory of his reign; all the honour of preparing for the de-fence of the falling kingdom is aſcribed to her. Her name was *Nitocris* [d], and is Nitocris.

e ſuppoſed to have been a *Mede* by birth [e], and to have been wife to *Evil-merodach*, and being a woman of great ſagacity and reſolution, ſhe not only foreſaw the ſtorm that was gathering, but prepared for ſhelter againſt it, and particularly by forti-fying the city itſelf of *Babylon*, ſo that it ſhould be proof againſt any enemy that might aſſault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and conſequently by her, that *Babylon* is ſaid to have been firſt ſurrounded with walls [f] next to the river; and it is pretty plain, as we have obſerved before, that ſhe compleated what *Nebuchad-nezzar* had begun. Thus *Herodotus* repreſents her to have not only fortified the ſides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either ſide of the city, but to have ſunk the lake, and done other works aſcribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and

f particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at *Babylon* [g]. This heroine, having done all that could be done to ſecure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her ſon *Nabonadius* wallowed, as ſhould ſeem, in ſloth and luxury, neglectful and careleſs of what threatned him, was commemorated by an extraordinary

* Ibid. † PRID. ubi ſup. [w] ABYD. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. ubi ſup. & BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi ſup. & Id. ubi ſup. [x] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [y] HERODOT. [z] MEGASTH. ubi ſup. [a] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. [b] See before in the eccleſiaſtic account, ubi ſup. [c] HERODOT. and his followers. [d] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 185. [e] Vid. USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi ſup. [f] BEROSUS apud EUSEB. & JOSEPH. ubi ſup. HERODOT. ubi ſup. [g] HERODOT. ibid. c. 186.

extraordinary inſcription on a monument which had been prepared by herſelf, to a
the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHER, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inſcription, ſaid to have been over one of the moſt remarkable gates of the city, is alſo ſaid to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who, conſidering the gate was uſeleſs, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immenſe treaſure, broke it open; but inſtead of what he ſought, is ſaid to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inſcription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS AND b
GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for *Nitocris**; we muſt now return to her ſon, and ſee how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

As the circumſtances of the fall of *Niniveh* are involved in great obſcurity, thoſe of the fall of *Babylon* are in many reſpects no leſs ſo; for all we ſeem poſitively to know concerning it is, that it was deſtroyed by *Cyrus*; and all we can do is, firſt, to relate what profane authors write concerning this laſt king; and, ſecondly, to inquire whether or no he was the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel*.

Herodotus's *account of the fall of* Babylon.

IF we adhere to *Herodotus* [h], who calls him *Labynitus*, we muſt conclude him to have been ſtill a great king, who, as yet, had not been attempted by the *Medes* and the c
Perſians; but to have been, on the contrary, in ſuch high eſteem with the former, as to have been choſen their mediator with the *Lydians*; which apparently deſtroys what *Xenophon* repreſents of the war, which ſubſiſted without any intervention of ſettled peace, from the reign of *Nerigliſſar* to the laſt day of the *Babylonian* monarchy; and this circumſtance being conſidered, it has been thought, that however *Herodotus* may ſeem to give this king, who thus reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, for the laſt of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who alone, of all the kings at *Babylon*, ſeems to have had weight and authority enough to be inveſted with this mediatory office.

Herodotus has a *Labynetus* whom in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labynitus* whom he calls emperor of *Aſſyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this *Labynitus*, according to him, it was that *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*; ſo that, after all, it may have been ſome former *Labynetus*, king of *Babylon*, that reconciled the *Medes* and the *Lydians*; but having thus ſuggeſted all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's deciſion. d

THIS *Labynitus*, underſtanding that *Cyrus* was on his march to beſiege the city of *Babylon*, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquiſhed, the *Babylonians* betook them to their city, which being furniſhed with great ſtores of proviſion to hold out a very long ſiege, they made a jeſt of it, and lived e
within the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midſt of a riotous feſtival, the *Perſians*, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have deſcribed, ſcaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the *Babylonians* were ſurpriſed in the midſt of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire [i].

The fall of Babylon, *according to* Beroſus *and* Megaſthenes.

BY other authors [k] we underſtand, that this laſt king did not retire in perſon to *Babylon*, but choſe rather to go to *Borſippa*, where, being beſieged by *Cyrus*, he ſurrendered himſelf to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and ſent him as his lieutenant, as ſhould ſeem, into *Carmania*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days. And thus was *Babylon* taken, and ſuch was the fate of her laſt king, f
after

* Idem ibid. c. 187 [h] Ibid. c. 188. [i] Idem ibid. c. 191. [k] BEROS. MEGASTH. ABYD. ubi ſup.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inſcription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the ſepulcher of *Bel* himſelf is ſaid to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glaſs veſſel almoſt full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inſcription on a ſmall pillar hard by, That the man who ſhould open it ſhould dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not fill up the veſſel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and ſad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius* by others being ſaid to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a peſtilence is reported to have iſſued thence, and to have deſtroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) *In* Αποφθεγματα *p.* 173. (58) *Vid.* PURCH. *Pilgr. part i. c.* 12. *p.* 65.

a after a reign of 17 years, according to profane hiſtorians ; nor is the ſame inconſiſtent with ſcripture ſo very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

The fall of Babylon *according to* Xenophon.

BUT as much weight as theſe authors may have, *Xenophon* varies from them, and tells us †, that this king loſt all the conſiderable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by *Cyrus*, notwithſtanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Leſſer Aſia*, over whom he conſtituted *Cræſus* his general, and ſent him even to invade *Media*. But *Cræſus* being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, *Babylon* was left as it were to herſelf. The city and the little territory about it was all of the eaſt that now held out againſt *Cyrus*, who

b at length drew near to beſiege the *Babylonian* citizens. The laſt king then marched out to give him battle, but, being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city, and blocked up by a cloſe ſiege. The place was thought impregnable, on account of its walls and the great number of people to defend them ; not to mention a ſtore of all neceſſaries to laſt them for 20 years. The ſiege continued two years ; at the end of which the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a ſtrong party was poſted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. Theſe parties were commanded by the *Babylonians*, *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who, about midnight, obſerving the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a

c feſtival, were uſed to be ſhut, they proceeded to the palace, and ſurprized, and ſlew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cauſe of this confuſion, they ruſhed in and ſlew the king, as he was valiantly fighting with his ſword in his hand*.

The fall of Babylon, *as ſeemingly in* Daniel.

IF he was really *Belſhazzar*, he certainly came to this unfortunate end ; for having made a feaſt for 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the veſſels his fore-father had brought from the temple of *Jeruſalem*, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any perſon then preſent ; the king ſaw this, and was quite terrified ; he trembled, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other [m]. He cried out for the aſtrologers, *Chaldæans*, and the reſt, and promiſed, that the man among them who ſhould decypher the writing, and inform him of what it

d meant, ſhould be cloathed in ſcarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom [n]. He addreſſed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is ſuppoſed to have been *Nitocris* [o], underſtanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of *Daniel*, who had been ſo eſteemed by his father ; but that he ſhould have been unknown to *Belſhazzar*, is what it may be to no purpoſe to inquire into. *Daniel* came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his inſolent pride, and for profaning the holy veſſels which had ſtood in the houſe of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN [p]. "This is the interpretation "of the thing ; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finiſhed it ;

e "TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting ; PERES, thy "kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians* [q]." Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of this doom, *Belſhazzar* performed to *Daniel* all the promiſe he had made to the man who ſhould thus ſatisfy him ; and in that night was *Belſhazzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* ſlain : And *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about 62 years old [r].

Year of the Flood, 2466. Year before CHRIST, 538.

IN the firſt year of the reign of *Belſhazzar* it was, that *Daniel* [s] had the viſion of the four beaſts, which we may reſume hereafter, and in the third of the ſame *Belſhazzar* it was, that he had the viſion of the ram and the he-goat [t]. In the reign of *Darius* the *Mede* it was, that the ſame *Daniel* was thrown into the lion's den [u] ;

f but the particulars of theſe ſeveral occurrences we reſerve for another time, ſeeing we are at a loſs for the proper place of theſe two reigns.

Nabonadius *unlikely to have been* Belſhazzar, *or* Darius *the* Mede.

WE are now to conſider, whether or no this *Nabonadius* was either *Belſhazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede* ; in which we ſhall rather propoſe our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon ſo palpable an obſcurity as is the whole hiſtory of *Babylon*, from the

† Κυρ8 Παιδ 5. ξ. * Ibid. [m] Dan. v. 1.—6. [n] Dan. v. 7. [o] PRID. ubi ſup. p. 122.
[p] Dan. v. 25. [q] Ibid. ver. 28. [r] Ibid. ver. 31. [s] Dan. vii. [t] Ibid. viii. [u] Ibid. vi.

(Y) It is ſuppoſed the writing was in what we call now the *Samaritan* character, which being unknown to the *Chaldeans*, they could not read it (59).

(59) *See* PRID. *ubi. ſup. p.* 122.

the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* died, to the day that *Cyrus* made himself master of a this city. Sir *Isaac Newton* and Doctor *Prideaux* are quite clear, that he was *Belshazzar*, and support themselves by many considerable arguments, but not so very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the several opinions and varieties concerning this succession of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we shall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered in proof, that *Evil-merodach* must have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, and *Nerigliſſar* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same, if they be any kings exhibited in *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon; and to suppose they are not would be a seeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece.

IT is to be observed, that, if any credit is to be given to profane historians, *Na-* b *bonadius* cannot have been *Belshazzar*; for the former must have died in a strange land, while the latter was slain in his own palace. Again, *Belshazzar*'s ignorance of *Daniel* can never be reconciled with so long a reign as that of *Nabonadius*. The utmost we can gather that *Belshazzar* reigned at *Babylon* was not above three years; *Nabonadius* reigned seventeen.

THIS *Nabonadius* was certainly the last king of *Babylon*, and by *Ptolemy*'s canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of profane authors, there was no king there between him and *Cyrus*; nor does the scripture itself, which makes *Darius* the *Mede*, to have preceded *Cyrus*; say, that he reigned after the last king of the *Baby-* *lonian* race, or that there was no king of *Babylon* between *Darius* the *Mede* and c *Cyrus*.

Now that this last *Babylonian* cannot have been *Darius* the *Mede*, as is some-times said [w], may be proved by profane authors [x], who agree, that he was a *Babylonian*, nay, and of the royal race [*]; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince, that he was not *Darius* the *Mede*.

Nabonadius was certainly of the royal race [†]; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and especially if the celebrated *Nitocris* was married to *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the common opinion is. It it is said, that all nations should d serve *him and his son's* [y] *son*; *Nabonadius* may then have been this *son's son*. It is said, that God would cut off from *Babylon* the *son and the grandson* [z], and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as *Evil-merodach*; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if profane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture, can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand, that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that *Evil-merodach*, the undoubted son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was murdered [a], and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to *Nerigliſſar*, and whose name was *Laborosoarchod*, was murdered likewise [b]. Supposing then *Nabonadius* to e have been the grandson likewise of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Evil-merodach*, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then, that *all nations should serve* Nebuchadnezzar's *son and his son's son*, and that God *would cut off his son and his grandson*, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, *Belshazzar*, who, to all appearance, was no other than *Evil-merodach*, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins, than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy; nor can it be consistent with the character we have of *Nitocris* to imagine, she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprise the city in the manner they did; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as *Prideaux* would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the time of a feast, while her great, and wise, and mighty men were in liquor, f it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himself was slain at the same time. That it was taken at the time of a great festival, we have confirmed to us by an historian of the first credit, and nearest to the times [c], and that is sufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

Arguments deduced from Nebuchadnez-zar's *prophecy.*

As we are not wholly to reject profane authorities, but on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would observe, that from the prophecy of *Nebuchad-* *nezzar* [d], which he is supposed [e] to have owed to no less a man than *Daniel* him-self,

[w] DU PIN Biblioth. Univers. des Histor. 296. [x] MEGASTH. BEROS. ABYD. ubi sup. [*] JOSEPH Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. [†] Idem ibid. [y] See before, p. 952. [z] Isai. xiv. 22. [a] See before, p. 965. [b] Ibid. 968. [c] HERODOT. ubi sup. [d] See before, p. 964. [e] Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 106.

a ſelf, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elſewhere above ſuggeſted, concerning *Belſhazzar* and *Darius* the *Mede*, is not very much out of the way. For he ſpeaks of the deſtruction to befal to *Babylon* as juſt at hand, and, though he muſt have been then very old, what he might poſſibly be a witneſs to; and thus *Belſhazzar*, who is in ſcripture expreſly called his ſon, was murdered two or three years after his death. This deſtruction was to be brought on by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Aſſyrians*, or *Babylonians*, were wont greatly to pride themſelves; and what *Mede* can this have been ſo likely as *Nerigliſſar*, who ſeems by his name to have been even naturalized an *Aſſyrian*, and who had married *Nebuchadnezzar*'s own daughter[f]? The *Perſian* mule is plainly *Cyrus*, who, by warring upon
b *Nerigliſſar* to dethrone him, firſt ſtruck at the root of the *Babylonian* empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

UPON the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if *Darius* the *Mede* and *Belſhazzar* are any of the kings of *Babylon* in the canon, and that they are not, cannot well be ſo much as ſuppoſed, they can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and *Nerigliſſar*. The *ſon and grandſon* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, againſt whom it was denounced that they ſhould be *cut off*, cannot well be allowed to have been any but *Evil-merodach* and *Laboroſoarchod*; and *his ſon and his ſon's ſon*, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expreſſed, *ſhould ſerve*, can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and this *Nabonadius*, in whoſe days the empire of *Babylon* came to an
c end, as had been foretold by the prophets · · · · *The Burden of* Babylon, *which* Iſaiah *the ſon of* Amoz *did ſee* · · · · *Howl ye, for the day of the Lord* is *at hand*; *it ſhall come as a deſtruction from the Almighty* · · · · *Behold I will ſtir up the* Medes *againſt them* · · · · *And* Babylon, *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew* Sodom *and* Gomorrah. *It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation*; *neither ſhall the* Arabian *pitch tent there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there. But wild beaſts of the deſart ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there. And the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in* their *pleaſant palaces*[g] · · · *How art thou*
d *fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, thou ſon of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didſt weaken the nations!* · · · · *I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, and cut off from* Babylon, *the name, and remnant, and ſon, and nephew* [*or*, as it ſhould be, *the grandſon*[h]] · · · · *I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction*[i] · · · · Babylon *is fallen, is fallen*; *and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground*[k] · · · · Bel *boweth down*, Nebo *ſtoopeth* · · · · *They ſtoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themſelves are gone into captivity*[l] · · · · *The word that the Lord ſpake againſt* Babylon, and *againſt the land of the* Chaldeans, *by* Jeremiah *the prophet* · · · · *Say* Babylon *is taken*, Bel *is confounded,*
e Merodach *is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces*[m] · · · · *Hear ye the counſel of the Lord, that he hath taken againſt* Babylon, *and his purpoſes, that he hath purpoſed againſt the land of the* Chaldeans[n] · · · · *Behold I will raiſe up againſt* Babylon, *and againſt them that dwell in the midſt of them that riſe up againſt me, a deſtroying wind. And I will ſend unto* Babylon *fanners, that ſhall fan her, and empty her land* · · · · *Flee out of the midſt of* Babylon, *and deliver every man his ſoul: be not cut off in her iniquity* · · · · Babylon *is ſuddenly fallen and deſtroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if ſo be ſhe may be healed. We would have healed* Babylon, *but ſhe is not healed: forſake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted even unto the ſkies* · · · ·
f *Make bright the arrows: gather the ſhields: the Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the king of the* Medes: *for his device is againſt* Babylon *to deſtroy it* · · · · *Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations againſt her, call together againſt her the kingdoms of* Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſhchenaz, *appoint a captain againſt her, cauſe the horſes to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare againſt her the nations with the king of the* Medes · · · · *The land ſhall tremble and ſorrow: for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be performed againſt* Babylon, *to make the land of* Babylon

[f] See before, p. 969. [g] Iſai. xiii. [h] See PRID. ubi Sup. [i] Iſai. xiv. 12.—23. [k] Ibid. xxi. 9. [l] Ibid, xlvi. 1, 2. [m] Jerem. l. 2. [n] Ibid. ver. 45.

Babylon *a deſolation without an inhabitant* · · · · *One poſt ſhall run to meet another,* a
and one meſſenger to meet another, to ſhew the king of Babylon *that his city is taken at*
one *end* (Y) · · · · *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *The daughter of*
Babylon is *like a threſhing-floor,* it is *time to threſh her: yet a little while and the time of*
her harveſt ſhall come · · · · *And* Babylon *ſhall become heaps, a dwelling place for*
dragons, an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing without an inhabitant · · · · *The ſea is come*
up againſt Babylon: *ſhe is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities*
are a deſolation, a dry land and a wilderneſs, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither
doth any *ſon of man paſs thereby* · · · · *The heaven and the earth, and all that* is
therein, ſhall ſing for Babylon · · · · · *And I will make drunk her princes, and her*
wiſe men, *her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they ſhall ſleep a* b
perpetual ſleep, and not wake, ſaith the king, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſts · · · · *The*
broad walls of Babylon *ſhall be utterly broken, and her high gates ſhall be burnt with*
fire, and the people ſhall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they ſhall be weary °.

Such was *Babylon*, and ſuch her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, whether the firſt at *Niniveh*, or the ſecond at *Babylon*, was never thoroughly ſettled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any ſettled form, and that, if we except *Nebuchadnezzar*, no one of theſe monarchs, from *Pul* to *Nabonadius*, could ever boaſt any thing like the conqueſts attributed to *Semiramis*. *Eſar-haddon* may claim the next place after him for conqueſts and dominion, but his life ended by c
the time he had exalted himſelf over the weſt. The reſt of theſe princes were all unfortunate, one way or other: Some of them, with infinite labour and hazard, attempted to ſubjugate the nations; but the flame ſtill broke out ſomewhere or other againſt them; others of them, by a ſupine neglect, ſaw themſelves in danger, from thoſe their warlike predeceſſors had awed, and were ſome of them, in the end, ſubdued, and captivated, and deſtroyed by them. In fine, we ſee both the *Aſſyrian* and the *Babylonian* ſubmitted to that fate, which muſt ſooner or later diſſolve all univerſal monarchies, which muſt have almoſt as many enemies as ſubjects.

° Idem. li. 2.—58.

(Y) Whether from hence it may be gathered, that this laſt king was within the city or without it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the reader; and conſequently, whether or no the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel* was this laſt king or not.

The End *of the* First Volume.

A MAP of ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA according to this History

PART OF ARMENIA

ASIA MINOR

R. Aras

R. Euphrates

M. of Noah

R. Euphrates

M. Niphates

R. Horad Shai

R. Kor

R. Aras

PART of MEDIA

R. Tigris

R. Sert

Lake of Van

Lake of Khalu

Orontes M.

ASSYRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Calachene

Adiabene

Hierapolis

Bir

Cyra or Edessa

Vimbeh

M. Cloatras

R. Euphrates

Gauzanitis

hereabouts

R. Lycus or little Zab

R. Capros or Great Zab

Golden River

PART of the

Rasulain

R. Jaoroan

Birtha

Carræ or Haran

M. of Jenilia

Apolloniatis

PART OF

PERSIA

BABYLONIA

R. Khabor

Haran according to others

Circesium

Thapsacus

Birtha or Rhesbeth

Rahabat Melek

Khabur

Sittacene

Chalonitis

Ruins of Palmyra

R. of Bell

R. of Lebe

River paved with Hair Cement

Sipphara or Felugia

Hit

R. of Hit

Almalek or Malchamalchi

Medain

Babylon

R. Tigris

R. Euphrates

R. Karha

PART OF

SUSIANA

Aracca

R. Choaspes

R. of Cuthia

MESOPOTAMIA

Lake of Babylonia

Teredon

Land under water

A proper

G. OF PERSIA

DESART ARABIA

PART OF THE

J. W. Sculpt.

A N

I N D E X

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

The Numbers direct to the Page, the ſmall Letters to the Line of the Page, and the great Letters to the Notes.

A.

AARON *Moſes*'s brother, married to *Elizabeth* the ſiſter of *Naaſſon*, and daughter of *Aminadab*, ſon of *Ezron*, p, 490, a. Commanded by God to go and meet his brother, ibid. The ſtate of his family at that time, ibid. Joins *Moſes* at mount *Horeb*, 492, b. Preſents himſelf with *Moſes* before the *Egyptian* king, to demand the diſmiſſion of the *Iſraelites*, 492, d. He and his ſons ſolemnly conſecrated prieſts, 523, c. His prieſthood confirmed by the budding of his rod, ibid. By his throwing a handful of aſhes of the furnace into the air, boils break out upon men and beaſts, 427, e. In *Moſes*'s abſence caſts a golden calf, which he ſets up, with an altar, in the ſight of all the camp, 520, a. His weakneſs in complying with the idolatrous requeſt of the *Jews*, ibid. Some endeavour to extenuate his fault, ibid, b. Upbraided by *Moſes*, 521, c. His excuſe, ibid, d. His two ſons, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, killed by fire from heaven, for preſuming to burn incenſe in the tabernacle with ſtrange fire, contrary to *Moſes*'s command, 523, d. Why excluded from ſetting his foot in the promiſed land, 532, b. *Moſes* commanded to ſtrip him of his prieſtly robes, and to array his ſon *Eleazar* with them, ibid. c. Which was no ſooner done than *Aaron* died in the 123d year of his age, the 40th year after the Exod, ibid. The children of *Iſrael* mourn 40 days for him, ibid.

Abana and *Pharpar*, ſtreams of the *Chryſorrhoas*, or *Barrady*, that waters *Damaſcus*, 362, a, & (C).

Abarim, a ridge of mountains, reaching from the tribe of *Reuben* to the land of *Moab*, 537, c, & (B).

Abb, 11th month of the *Jewiſh* year, anſwering *July*, 611, (K).

Abdaſtartus, king of *Tyre*, murdered by his nurſe's ſons, 415, b.

Abdemonus, a *Tyrian*, employed by *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, to explain the riddles of *Solomon*, 414, e.

Abdolominus, ſee *Ballonymus*.

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